Topography and History of Ancient Epicnemidian Locris

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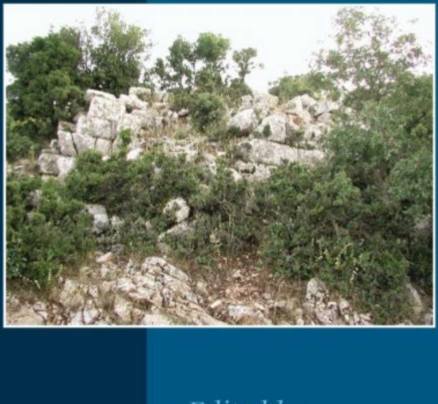

Edited by
JOSÉ PASCUAL
MARIA-FOTEINI PAPAKONSTANTINOU

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Topography and History of Ancient Epicnemidian Locris

Edited by

José Pascual

Maria-Foteini Papakonstantinou

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Cover Illustration:
Left: Trapezoidal isodomic ashlar walls at Paliokastro Anavras in Epicnemidian Locris
Right: The Sea of the Locrians from Cnemides in Epicnemidian Locris with the Lichades islands on the left, the Euboean coast on the right and the Achaea Phthiotis in the background.

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For Fanouria Dakoronia and John M. Fossey

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

As in the table below, for Modern Greek names we have used the UN/ ELOT system.[1]

Greek	UN/ELOT	Greek	UN/ELOT
Α	a	Vowel digraphs (1)	
Β	v	αι	ai
Γ	g	αυ	av (2) / af (3)
Δ	d	ει	ei
Ε	e	ευ	ev (2) / ef (3)
Ζ	z	ηυ	iv (2) / if (3)
Η	i	οι	oi
Θ	th	ου	ou
Ι	i	υι	yi
Κ	k		
Λ	l	Consonant digraphs	
Μ	m	γγ	ng
Ν	n	γξ	nx
Ξ	x	γκ	gk
Ο	o	γχ	nch
Π	p	μπ	b (4) / mp (5)
Ρ	r	ντ	nt
Σ	s		
Τ	t		
Υ	y		
Φ	f		
Χ	ch		
Ψ	ps		
Ω	o		

(1) Except when there is a diaeresis (¨) on the second vowel.
(2) Before β, γ, δ, ζ, λ, μ, ν, ρ and vowels.
(3) Before θ, κ, ξ, π, σ, τ, φ, χ, ψ and at the end of a word.
(4) At the beginning of a word.
(5) In the middle of a word.

[1] UN system: United Nations Romanization Systems for Geographical Names (Greek: January 2003. United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names). ELOT system: Ελληνικός Οργανισμός Τυποποίησης.

For the ancient Greek names of peoples and places we follow the style of *OCD*[2] and for the ancient authorities and their works the Liddell-Scott 1996.[3] So we have preferred to avoid confusion between the name in Modern Greek and ancient Greek one that can have the same transcript but correspond at different locations (i.e. Scarpheia). We have also tried to avoid some possible uncertainties of some abbreviations that could occur and so Demosthenes is abbreviated as Dem. and not D., Polybius as Polyb. and not Plb. or Diodorus as Diod. and not D.S. At the end of the book there is an index of ancient authors in which the abbreviations used are listed.

[2] S. Hornblower and A. Spaworth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. (Third edition). Oxford.

[3] H.G. Liddell and R. Scott (1996): *A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and augmented throughout by H. Stuart Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie and the cooperation of many scholars and with a revised supplement.* Oxford.

ABBREVIATIONS

ATL	B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery and M.F. McGregor (1949): *The Athenian Tribute Lists*. Princeton.
Beloch *GG*²	K.J. Beloch (1967): *Griechische Geschichte*. 4 vols. (Second edition). Leipzig.
Babelon II.3	E.C.F. Babelon (1914): *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*. Volume II. Part 3. Paris.
CID I–IV	*Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes* I: G. Rougemont (1977): *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. Tome I. Lois sacrées et règlements religieux*. Paris. II: J. Bousquet (1989): *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. Tome II. Les comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècles*. Paris. III: A. Bélis (1992): *Les hymnes à Apollon*. Paris. IV: D. Lefèvre, D. Laroche and O. Masson (2002): *Documents Amphictioniques. Corpus des inscriptions de Dèlphes. Tome IV*. Paris.
CIG	A. Boeckh (1828–1877): *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, I–IV*. Berlin.
Der neue Pauly	H. Cancik, H. Schneider, M. Landfester (eds.) (2003): *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, 18 vols. Stuttgart [English edition in 20 vols. Leiden].
FD III	*Fouilles de Delphes III. Epigraphie* 1. E. Bourguet (1911–1929): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule I. Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor d'Athènes*. 2 vols. Paris. 2. G. Colin (1900–1913): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule II. Le trésor des Athéniens*. 4 vols. Paris. 3.1. G. Daux and A. Salač (1932): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule III.1. Du trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*. Paris. 3.2. G. Daux (1943): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule III.2. Du trésor du Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*, Paris. 4.1. G. Colin (1930): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule IV.1. Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire, nᵒs 1 à 86. Monuments des Messéniens de Paul-Émile et de Prusias*. 3 vols. Paris. 4.2. R. Flacelière (1954): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule IV.2. Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire, nᵒs 87–275*. Paris. 4.3. A. Plassart (1970): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule IV.3. Les inscriptions du temple du IVᵉ siècle, nᵒs 276–350*. Paris.

	4.4. J. Pouilloux (1976): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule IV.4. Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire, n°s 351–516*. Paris. 5. E. Bourguet (1932): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule V. Les comptes du IVe siècle*. Paris. 6. N. Valmin (1939): *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III. Épigraphie. Fascicule VI. Les inscriptions du Théâtre*. Paris.
FGrH	F. Jacoby (1923–1958): *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin. Parts A–C: now Leiden; CD-Rom Leiden 2004; new part 4: Leiden 1998; I. Worthington (ed.-in-chief) *et alii*, (2006–), *Brill's New Jacoby*, parts A–C (updated text, with trans. and new comm.), Leiden.
G.H.S.	Greek Hydrographic Service—(1954): Channel of Atalanti-Oreos Sheet (1/50.000).
G.M.A.	Greek Ministry of Agricultural—(1971): Use Land Map (1/20.000). Drhimea Sheet. Forest Departament.
G.-P.	A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page (eds.) (1968): *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams*. Cambridge.
Head *BMC*	B.V. Head (1884): *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins. Vol. VIII. Central Greece*. London.
Head *HN*^{2}	B.V. Head (1977): *Historia Numorum*. (Second edition). London.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.
I.G.M.E.	Institute of Geology and Mineral Exploration—(1989): Sismotectonic Map of Greece with Seismogeological Data 1/500.000 Scale. Athens.
I.G.M.E.	Institute of Geology and Mineral Exploration—(1991): Surficial Sediment Map of the Aegean Sea Floor 1/200.000 Scale: Pagasitikos Sheet. Athens.
I.G.S.R.	Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research—(now IGME) (1957): Geological Map of Greece (Scale 1/50.000): Myli Sheet. Athens.
I.G.S.R.	Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research—(now IGME) (1959): Geological Map of Greece (Scale 1/50.000): Amfiklia Sheet. Athens.
I.G.S.R.	Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research—(now IGME) (1963): Geological Map of Greece (Scale 1/50.000): Stylis Sheet. Athens.
I.G.S.R.	Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research—(now IGME) (1967): Geological Map of Greece (Scale 1/50.000): Elatia Sheet. Athens.
I.G.N.O.A.	Institute of Geodynamics National Observatory of Athens—(2004).
Meiggs/Lewis	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis (1988): *A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC*. (Revised edition). Oxford.
Montanari	O. Montanari (ed.) (1983): *Archestrato di Gela, I. Testimonianze e frammenti*. Bologna.

M.-W	R. Merkelbach and M.L. West (eds.) (1970): *Fragmenta Selecta, en Hesiodi, Theogonia, Opera et dies, Scutum. Edidit Friedrich Solmsen. Fragmenta Selecta, ediderunt R. Merkelbach et M. L West.* Oxonii.
OGIS	W. Dittenberger (1903–1905): *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.) (1983–1989): *Poetae Comici Graeci.* Berolini-Novi Eboraci.
Periphereia I	*Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Διεπιστημονικού Συμποσίου: Η Περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού Κόσμου, Λαμία 25–29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1994*. Lamia, 1999.
Periphereia II	*Πρακτικά Β΄ Διεθνούς Διεπιστημονικού Συμποσίου: Η Περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού Κόσμου, Λαμία 26–30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999*. Athens, 2003.
Pritchett 1	W.K. Pritchett (1965): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part I.* (University of California Press). Berkeley-Los Angeles.
Pritchett 3	W.K. Pritchett (1980): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part III.* Berkeley-Los Angeles.
Pritchett 4	W.K. Pritchett (1982): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part IV.* Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
Pritchett 5	W.K. Pritchett (1985): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part V.* Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
Pritchett 6	W.K. Pritchett (1989): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part VI.* Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
Pritchett 7	W.K. Pritchett (1991): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part VII.* Amsterdam.
Pritchett 8	W.K. Pritchett (1992): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part VIII.* Amsterdam.
P–T	A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson (1912): *Prehistoric Thessaly. Being Some Account of Recent Excavations and Explorations in North-Eastern Greece and from Lake Kopais to the borders of Macedonia.* Cambridge.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
SGDI	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, J. Baunack, A. Bezzenberger, F. Blass, W. Deecke, A. Fick, O. Hoffmann, R. Meister, P. Müllensiefen and W. Prellwitz (1889): *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Vol. II, Gottingen.
SNG Cop.	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Copenhagen, 1942–1979.
Syll^3	W. Dittenberger (1915–1924): *Sylloge Inscriptorum Graecarum*. 4 vols. (Third edition). Leipzig.
Tod *GHI* I	M.N. Tod (1946): *A selection of Greek historical Inscriptions. Vol. I. To the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford.
Tod *GHI* II	M.N. Tod (1948): *A selection of Greek historical Inscriptions. Vol. II. From 403 to 323 B.C.* Oxford.

For the journals we have followed *L'Année Philologique* and *AJA* Title Abbreviations.

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The work would not have been possible without the collaboration of various public institutions and private companies. In fact, we have received the support from the Spanish Ministries of Education, Science and Technology, through different research projects and from the Ministry of Culture

[1] The research included prospecting, photographic documentation and mapping of the study area. The aim was the publication of the results into a book on Topography and History of Epicnemidian Locris. The members of the scientific team from the Spanish side were Dr. Adolfo Dominguez Monedero, Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Dr. José Pascual Gonzalez, Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Dr. Juan Antonio González, Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Dr. Eduardo Sanchez Moreno, Assistant Prof., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Dr. Soledad Milán Assistant Prof., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and Dr. Manuel Arjona, PhD. University of Thessaly—Volos and Honorary Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. They also participated as scientific collaborators Dr. Jorge Juan Moreno Hernández, Honorary Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Ignacio M. Pascual, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Carlos Arteaga, Assistant Prof., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and Mrs Maria Eugenia Prieto, Geographer, Geographic Laboratory—Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. From the Greek side, the participants were Mrs Maria-Foteini Papakonstantinou, then Vice-Director of the Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Mr Petros Kounouklas, Archaeologist, Mrs Ivi Katsouni, final year undergratuate student of the Department of Geography—University of the Aegean and Mr Dimitrios Tselos, Guard of the Ephorate.

of the Hellenic Republic, in particular from to Dr. Nina Kyparissi-Apostolika, Director of the Fourteenth Ephorate at the time when we began this Project and later Director of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of the Ministry of Culture of the Hellenic Republic, and Dr. Evangelos Nikolopoulos, which made possible the participation of the Fourteenth Ephorate.

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Last but not least, this book has received the inestimable contribution of the personnel and the collaborators of the Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and of the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, whose various departments and institutes have cooperated in an exemplary manner with a group of Hellenists formed in this institution.

We, Greeks and Philhellenes, serve the Human Sciences and both ancient and modern Greece, convinced that the knowledge of Greek civilization is also a way of finding oneself and understanding the present.

The editors

FOREWORD

Nina Kyparissi-Apostolika*

This foreword has been promised since 2003, when I was directing the Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Lamia, and when we first met Professor José Pascual and agreed to the proposal by the Department of Ancient History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid for a new project on Epicnemidian Locris, an area well known from history, but one that had been very little studied and published in the past. The project was conducted under the direction of Mrs Maria-Foteini Papakonstantinou.

All these years later, this project has finally been completed and its publication is *ante portas*. It has proved to be a monumental task to cover everything related to the subject under research and give a complete picture of what Epicnemidian Locris was like in the past.

This book is divided into 14 chapters, of which 1–8 are devoted to Geography and Topography and the rest, chapters 9–14, to History, followed by the Conclusions, the extensive Bibliography and Indices at the end of the book. Twenty contributors and possibly a number of unnamed young colleagues have worked hard to contribute the results of their research.

The book starts—as did the project itself—with the geography and topography of the area that contributed to the social and historical role of Epicnemidian Locris. In Chapter 1, J.A. González, C. Arteaga, F. Arteaga-Manjón-Cabeza, M. Arjona and R. García describe the natural landscape and the historical conditions of the physical environment of Epicnemidian Locris on the basis of geomorphological and geoarchaeological observations, together with geological maps, aerial photography and other cartography.

In Chapter 2, J. Pascual describes the ancient topography of Epicnemidian Locris, its frontiers, its total area in Antiquity (c. 321 sq km), locates the ancient settlements of the region and identifies their names wherever possible. At least eight cities (*poleis*) existed, of which the largest, Thronium,

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covered an area of more than 140 sq km, the medium ones 35–40 sq km and the smallest 10–18 sq km. The catchment areas of resources have been analysed in order to explain changes in population from Neolithic to Roman times, and also the organisation of settlements in relation to the natural environment, which was predominantly mountainous in the past, but is rather different today.

In Chapter 3, M.-F. Papakonstantinou and G. Zachos discuss the "myth" of a "Phocian Corridor" between the Opuntians and the Epicnemidians that supposedly started in Phocis and ended at Daphnus and was, according to Strabo, under the control of the Phocians. The chapter disputes its existence, mainly on geopolitical grounds, although it accepts as fact that both Daphnus and Epicnemidian Locris came under Phocian control, possibly in the sixth century BC and certainly during the Third Sacred War. Here new finds from the excavation carried out during work on the peripheral highway along the coast at Agios Konstantinos (Isiomata site), which are related to the ancient city of Daphnus, are briefly presented. Parts of the ancient city were uncovered and date from the Sub-Protogeometric up to Early Roman times. The most important of these finds is a sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius: at the beginning (sixth century BC) it appears to have been used as an open air sanctuary, while its monumental construction (*enkoimeterion, abaton, loutron*) had commenced by the late fifth century and was completed after the end of the Third Sacred War. Its foundation may be related to the presence of the Phocians in the area, although it was completed when Daphnus went back to the Opuntians. The finds suggest that the Hellenistic period was the most vigorous for the sanctuary, while its destruction at the beginning of the first century BC could be related to the First Mithridatic War. After that, the city and settlement activity moved nearer the port (today Agios Konstantinos).

In Chapter 4, M.-F. Papakonstantinou and E. Karantzali discuss the Necropoleis of Epicnemidian Locris, covering the entire period from Prehistory to the Early Christian periods. Because of the limited number of archaeological excavations within what was Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley, they describe the necropoleis on the basis of surface finds and controversial evidence from plundered and unsafely dated tombs. This evidence suggests that there were no prehistoric cemeteries before the Late Helladic period, and the discovery of an Early Neolithic cremation at Trilofo/Trikorfo Renginiou is a unique and exceptional case. The archaeological research has not yet revealed evidence of Early or Middle Helladic burials and information for Late Helladic Epicnemidian necropoleis is sparse and unverified. Looted tombs of the Mycenaean type are

reported from regions where Homeric cities are mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships* but none of the tombs referred to above has ever been archaeologically investigated, and they are dated exclusively on the basis of their architectural style. In contrast, rich Late Helladic cemeteries have been systematically excavated in the Dipotamos valley and are associated with flourishing Mycenaean settlements of all periods. Cemeteries of the entire Geometric period, both along the coast and in the Dipotamos valley, complete the picture of Geometric settlement in the area as a whole. Excavation data provide secure evidence only for the Classical/Hellenistic necropoleis, although no burial places of the period have yet been identified for important cities like Thronium, Nicaea and Alponus, while the abundant Daphnus funerary material confirms that it was inhabited in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods and up to early Christian times, according to the material from the adjacent coastal area. Burial types and practices are reported from these periods, from which we can assume that some continued in subsequent periods, while others were restricted in place and time. Additionally, the grave/burial type and the finds they contain provide indications of living standards and social differentiation within the framework of local societies. The chapter ends with a list of known Epicnemidian Locris cemetery sites.

In Chapter 5, S. Milán studies the vestiges of fortifications in Epicnemidian Locris and despite the poor preservation of the walled enclosures, she has managed to date the walls by following the chronological sequence of their style and the dates established for neighbouring regions. According to these observations it seems that between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the Hellenistic period a programme of fortification was undertaken in isodomic ashlar style.

In Chapters 6 and 7, E. Sánchez-Moreno discusses the Communication Routes and Mountain Passes, which he differentiates as follows: the east-west roads, including the coastal route and the inland routes between Mt. Cnemis and the Callidromus massif, and the north-south roads. In addition, some axes of communication on the border of Epicnemidian Locris are considered, including the famous Anopaea path, the roads between Oeta and Callidromus and the Dipotamos corridor. Finally, he provides a comprehensive survey of the main Thermopylae pass, and also the passes of Kleisoura, Fontana and Vasilika.

In Chapter 8, M. Arjona faces the challenging task of plying the Locrian seas along the 30–35 km of the Epicnemidian coast during the centuries before the Christian era. To compensate for the lack of archaeological research in ancient ports and harbours of the area, he uses the few existing epigraphic, historical and archaeological sources, and takes into account

that the coastline has altered considerably as a result of physical processes such as fluctuations of sea level, the deposition of vast quantities of alluvial sediment, earthquakes and erosion. These processes have caused the coastline to advance by up to 4–5 km out to sea and the remains of any structures that existed will now lie beneath thick layers of soil. Starting from the fact that the Euboean Gulf usually offered excellent sailing conditions, it is clear that it must have been used not only for passenger transport and military expeditions, but also for the commercial transport of foodstuffs, construction materials, luxury goods destined for exchange, religious offerings and even artistic influences that travelled from one shore to the other. And although the archaeological record is not entirely devoid of information relating to certain Locrian trading ports, the presence of imported pottery from cities such as Corinth and Athens, not only at settlements near the coast but also inland, could well be evidence that ships carrying products such as oil and wine reached these shores. He refers to the existence of known ports at Alponus/Alpenus, Nicaea, Scarpheia, Thronium and possibly at the foot of Mt. Cnemis, and deals briefly with the port of Daphnus. The size of the Epicnemidian ports must have been modest, reflecting the size of the settlements they served, although it is possible that occasionally ships of considerable tonnage would have anchored at these ports. However, none of these anchorages could compare with the larger and busier ports of Chalcis, Larymna, Halae or Phalara. Furthermore, the reference in the Iliad's *Catalogue of Ships* to the Locrians taking part in the expedition to Troy by sending a fleet of forty ships shows that the author of the catalogue and his audience recognised that the Locrians were capable of operating a fleet of this size and were experienced seamen. The colonisation of Epizephyrian Locris in southern Italy is another example of Locrian seafaring in the first half of the seventh century BC. But the Locrians do not appear to have had a major fleet of their own during the fourth century BC. Ultimately, it is evident that the geomorphology of Epicnemidia made it difficult to transport heavy cargoes using the narrow and tortuous overland routes, and so the Epicnemidians turned instead to the sea to reach nearby coastal areas and other parts of Greece. Small craft, *lemboi* and *akatoi*, would have been the size of ships in Epicnemidians ports. Arjona closes his chapter by concluding that the Epicnemidian settlements never turned their backs on what the sea had to offer, and were involved in fishing and trading by sea. The relationship between the local aristocracy and naval activities seems to have been close, particularly up to the Classical period.

In Chapter 9, S. Dimaki starts with the history of the poor prehistoric research in the area, and considers the year 1973, when the Fourteenth

Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Lamia was first established, to mark a turning point. Since then, for nearly 40 years, a good number of excavations, taking advantage of major public works such as road building or the construction of new buildings for the private sector, have brought to light important prehistoric finds, helping to complete the picture of the area in that period. The chapter refers not only to Epicnemidian Locris, but also examines Locris as a whole, where the very first habitants settled and developed a network for exchanging goods and ideas, which does not coincide with the divisions of subsequent administrative topography. The author starts with the Neolithic period in Epicnemidian Locris, where in recent years an important site at Trilofo Reginiou was uncovered during the construction of a new railway line, and where a human cremation—the earliest burial found in Locris—proved to be a fascinating and exceptional find. She then moves to the southeast, to the area of Atalanti, at Agios Vlassios, a very important settlement of the same Early Neolithic period. Our knowledge for the following two periods, the Early and Middle Bronze age, rests mainly on work done in the 1970s, while new finds dating to the Early Helladic come from the area of Atalanti and further east at Tragana/islet of Mitrou and at Proskynas/Rachi. The Middle Helladic material comes mainly from graves in the Boeotian Cephisus basin and recently from the islet of Mitrou. Late Bronze Age research has focused on rescue excavations of chamber tomb cemeteries near the Dipotamos valley, while sherds from all the Bronze Age periods have been found at Tachtali, a site between Epicnemidian Locris and the Phocian corridor. Nineteen chamber tomb cemeteries dating to the Late Bronze Age are recorded all over the Locris region. Several sites dating to the Late Helladic III period are reported near Zeli and Kalapodi. These were not part of Epicnemidian Locris but, as previously mentioned, can be treated as part of Locris in archaeological terms. In addition to the hinterland, the role of coastal roads seems to have been very important, as shown by a sequence of coastal sites, such as Larymna, Halae, Tragana/the islet of Mitrou, Livanates/Cynus etc., where contacts and large scale exchanges with the coasts of Attica and the islands are apparent. In conclusion, six Early Neolithic, twelve Middle Neolithic and eight Late Neolithic/Final Neolithic sites are reported, while sixteen dating to the Early, nineteen to the Middle, and thirty-two to the Late Helladic periods prove that Locris was a very rich area in Prehistory, and give a very different picture to the one painted in the 1970s.

The configuration of the Archaic *poleis* is the subject of Chapter 10, by A.J. Domínguez-Monedero. In it he discusses the archaeological data and what is known about the population of Epicnemidian Locris, analysing the

rise of the *polis* in this region and the relationship of this process with the configuration of the Locrian *ethnos*.

In Chapter 11, the same author discusses the situation of Epicnemidian Locris in the Late Archaic period in its regional context, especially Thessaly and Phocis. The role of a frontier between these territories determined its function during the Persian wars, especially the second one, in which Thermopylae played an important role.

In a chronological sequel, in Chapter 12, J. Pascual describes the Classical period (480–323 BC) of Epicnemidian Locris, between the end of the second Persian War and the death of Alexander. In this period the region not only suffered from the ambitions of its neighbours but also, given the strategic importance of controlling the routes through Thermopylae, it was disputed by the leading Greek powers of the day, and was at various times subject to the hegemony of the Lacedaemonians, the Athenians and Boeotians, which controlled Epicnemidian Locris in the Classical period before Macedonian domination. In addition, there was a short period of Thessalian domination under Jason of Pherae and a dramatic confrontation with the Phocians followed by a period of Phocian occupation. Finally, the relationship of Epicnemidian Locris with Opuntian Locris is analysed and the possibility that Epicnemidian Locris participated in a Hypocnemidian Confederacy from which they would withdraw in 356 BC is considered.

The Hellenistic period that followed is examined and presented by J.J. Moreno Hernández and I.M. Pascual Valderrama in Chapter 13. Between 323 and 146 BC, namely between the death of Alexander and the battle of Scarpheia, Epicnemidian Locris was again a cross-roads controlling Thermopylae. Which is why, despite the region's small size, it found itself caught up in conflicts and played an important role in many of them. Coins and decrees mention "the Opuntians and the Locrians in the union of the Opuntians", indicative of the predominant role played by Opus within this *Koinon*. The rise of the Aetolian and Boeotian confederacies caused the division of Eastern Locris—Epicnemidia came under Aetolian control and Opuntian Locris under that of the Boeotians (279–259)—but after this the region remained stable and at peace within the Aetolian orbit for a long time. After several efforts by Philip V to take control at Thermopylae, Epicnemidia became part of Aetolia without bloodshed until 146, when the central Greece *ethne* surrendered to Rome. There is some evidence of the existence of a joint Locrian federal State from at least the second century onwards.

Finally, in Chapter 14, G. Zachos examines the difficult Roman period, from 146 BC to Justinian. In seems that the Locrians' *koinon* ceased to exist in 146 BC but it reappeared in inscriptions at the end of the second and begin-

ning of the first century BC, although it is not clear whether it included the Hypocnemidians, Epicnemidians and Hesperians. The Locrians are referred to as members of the *Koinon* of Euboeans, Phocians, Dorians and Boeotians just before the sea battle at Actium and they also kept their position in the Amphictyony of Delphi as it was reorganized by Augustus. Later on, they participated in the *Koinon* of the Boeotians and that of the Panhellenes under Hadrian, as we know from a letter, now in Louvre, from the emperor to the people of Naryx. Under Diocletian (284–305) Locris became part of the Achaean province and under Justinian II (after AD 695) of the *thema* of Hellas. It is also very probable that Epicnemidian Locris was invaded by the Costoboci, Heruli and Goths. At the beginning of the fifth century AD Scarpheia was one of the most important administrative centres of the region and a major port, since it connected the shores of the Euboean Gulf with the hinterland at the Cephisus basin, as well as with southern Greece. Scarpheia was also a bishop's see from the mid-fourth to the early sixth century AD, during which Locris was highly developed. The earthquake of AD 551, climate change between AD 536 and 545 and the invasion of the Slavs, combined with the empire's financial problems, saw it decline until the tenth century. During this time the coastal towns of Locris were abandoned and the population moved to the naturally fortified highlands of the hinterland.

Having read the studies included in this book and being more familiar with prehistory, because of my specialisation, I must say that I now feel I have a much broader historical knowledge of this area, for which I am most grateful to all the authors. This research gives us a fuller picture of what happened in the extensive area known as Epicnemidian Locris for countless centuries, including prehistoric times, the importance of which depended to a large degree on its natural environment, and mainly on the pass at Thermopylae, which marked the physical boundary between central/northern Greece and the south, and was a place of repeated conflicts precisely because of its importance, at least in historical times.

The researchers, the Spanish team on one hand and our Greek colleagues of the Fourteenth Ephorate on the other, have planned and undertaken a major project that has exhausted all the scientific parameters by simultaneously exploiting technical methods and the entire existing bibliography relating to the Epicnemidian area, and produced fruitful results that meet the highest scientific standards. Even for my Greek colleagues, who are more familiar with the area and its history, this research has provided a good opportunity to refresh their knowledge, adding new information from recent excavations and chance finds, and has given them the opportunity to reconsider certain aspects and establish new perspectives for their research.

At this point, it would be a serious omission on my part not to pay special tribute to the special role played by Fanouria Dakoronia throughout these years in the archaeological research undertaken by this Ephorate: she has spent almost her entire career on it, as shown by the immense bibliography under her name used by all authors of this volume. I would like to congratulate all the contributors to this research and publication and wish them good luck in their next project on another historical area.

Athens, June 2013

INTRODUCTION

> The interest of scholars should be directed not only to the large and famous centers of Antiquity, but also to the outlying regions and those areas still unexplored [i.e. East Locris], which have preserved much information and interesting material.
>
> —F. Dakoronia 1993a: 126–127

The massif of Mount Oeta that dominates Central Greece divides into two separate chains near Thermopylae, one extending towards the Gulfs of Corinth and Ambracia through Mounts Helicon and Cithaeron,[1] while the other, which includes Mt. Callidromus[2] to the south and Mt. Cnemis[3] to the north, crosses Thermopylae[4] and advances through the north of central Greece towards the Gulf of Euboea. Just to the East of the Thermopylae Pass, there is a long strip of land between the sea, along the South side of Northern Euboean Gulf, and the Callidromus chain that extends eastwards until it reaches Mts. Chlomon and Ptoion. This is the area known in Antiquity as

[1] Str. 9.4.12.

[2] The Callidromus (1,419 m above sea level or asl) overlooked the Thermopylae Pass. This mountain was the subject of controversy in Antiquity because, according to Strabo (9.4.13), the chain running from Thermopylae to Phocis had the same name as that extending from Aetolia to the Gulf of Ambracia. We use the name in the first sense.

[3] About Mt. Cnemis (947 m asl) see Str. 9.2.42, 3.17, 4.1–2; Paus. 10.8.2; Plin. *NH*. 4.27; Ptol. *Geog*. 3.14.9; Eust. *Dionysii Periegesin*. 422; Oldfather 1909; Philippson and Kirsten 1950: I.339 ff.; Pritchett 4.147 ff; Kase *et alii* 1991; Die Neue Pauly s.v. Knemis and González, Arteaga *et alii* in this volume.

[4] In Antiquity the Thermopylae ravine formed a narrow pass about six kilometres West-East and was the only way into Locris from Thessaly. It afforded visual control of the Cape Artemisium and the territory of Histiaea in Euboea (Hdt. 7.175), and controlling this pass was an essential element in the struggle for Hegemony in Greece (Str. 9.4.15). The Thermopylae Pass, also called "Pylae" and "Stena" (cf. Hdt. 7.201; Str. 9.3.7, 4.13), separated the Greeks who inhabited the area to the southeast of the Pass, i.e., from the Pass to the Peloponnese, from those northwest of it (Plu. *Flam*. 5.3) and divided continental Greece, with an imaginary line from the Crisaean Gulf to the Thermopylae, into three parts; one to the north, from the mouth of the river Peneus to the Thermopylae, and another two to the south, respectively from the Thermopylae to the Isthmus of Corinth, nowadays Sterea Ellada or Sterea Hellas, and that which was to the south of the Isthmus (*vid*. Str. 8.1.3; 9.4.15).

Eastern Locris,[5] and is today part of an enlarged eparchy (district) of Lokrida[6] in the nomos (province) of Phthiotis, with its capital in Lamia.

The ancient Eastern Locrians belonged to the Locrian *ethnos*, which inhabited in Greece two distinct regions separated geographically by Phocis. The Eastern Locrians inhabited the part of mainland Greece facing the islands of Euboea and Atalanti, at the foot of Mt. Cnemis,[7] while the West Locrians (Hesperians or Ozolians) had settled the northern coast of the Gulf of Corinth.[8] Both East and West Locrians remained aware that they belonged to the same *ethnos* and we have evidence that they sometimes collaborated,[9] although they each had their own federal State.

The Eastern Locrian Confederacy was perhaps formed in the sixth century BC after Thessalian rule ended, and there is evidence to suggest it existed at least in the first part of the fifth century. However, as Nielsen (2000) has referred, before they were known as the Eastern Locrians, the ancient sources used three different terms to refer to them: Hypocnemidians, Opuntians and Epicnemidians. "Hypocnemidians" was the term used in Locrian sources to refer to themselves, to the Eastern Locrians as a whole, so it may have been their official name. "Opuntians" seems to have had an ambivalent meaning: in non-Locrian sources it refers to the inhabitants of the whole of Eastern Locris, but when the Locrians themselves used the term, it referred only to Locrians from the *polis* of Opus. "Epicnemidia" was used primarily to define a geographical subdivision of Eastern Locris, the region situated to the West of ancient Daphnus, in the district of modern Agios Konstantinos, on the Longos plain and in the Dipotamos valley. In this way, although it could sometimes serve to designate all of Eastern

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5 Cf. Fossey 1990: 7.

6 Ancient Eastern Locris measured approximately 866 sq km. Today the eparchy has an area of 1,456 sq km and 128 km of coastline (cf. Kotoulas 2002: 9).

7 Cf. i.e. Str. 9.3.1, 4.1; Paus. 10.8.2, 5; Ps.-Scymn. 481–482; and, in general, Oldfather 1926: 1135–1288 and Nielsen 2000: 91–120.

8 In addition to the Locrians of Greece itself, Eastern and Western, there were the Locrians of Italy or Epizephyrian Locrians. See Schol. *in Pind.Ol.* 2: "The Locrians can be divided into three groups (*gene*): Epizephyrian, Ozolian and Epicnemidian Locrians. The Epizephyrians were the Locrians in Italy, the Ozolians shared a border with Aetolia and the Epicnemidians faced Euboea". According to Locrian tradition, Alponus and Opus were the *metropoleis* of the Eastern Locrians (Str. 9.2.42, 4.17; Plin. *NH.* 1.4.7; Steph. Byz. s.v.'Αλπηνοί). The Eastern Locrians subsequently also colonised Hesperian Locris (Str. 9.4.9). On West Locris, cf. Str. 9.3.1, 4.1, 7; Lerat 1952; Rousset 2004: 391–398 and Domínguez Monedero 2006a: 147–170.

9 For example the Eastern Locrians' demographic reinforcement of Naupactus in the mid-fifth century: *IG* IX 1 334; *Syll*³ 47; Meister 1895: 272–334; *SEG* 15.353, 25.641; Buck 1955, 57; Tod *GHI* I, number 24; Meiggs and Lewis 1988: number 20, pp. 35–40; Larsen 1968: 49–57; Graham 1971: 40–60; Jeffery 1990: 106.

Locris,[10] the Epicnemidian Locrians[11] or simply the Epicnemidians,[12] so called as they lived alongside Mt. Cnemis, strictly speaking, they were spread from the Thermopylae to the West, to Daphnus, in the so-called "Phocian Corridor" to the East (see figure above).[13]

Sometimes this division between the Opuntian and Epicnemidian Locrians was also of political significance. For example, it is possible that Epicnemidian Locris broke away from the Opuntian Locris during the Third Sacred War (356–346), when the Phocians conquered Epicnemidia,[14] or in the third century BC, when it fell under Aetolian hegemony, and the Epicnemidian cities became autonomous *poleis*, perhaps forming their own Confederacy, or possibly joining another, such as that of Aetolia. In short, the term "Epicnemidian Locris" was used in two different ways:

a) To refer to a geographical subdivision of Eastern Locris
b) To define a subgroup of the Eastern Locrians that perhaps had its own political and legal status within the Eastern Locrian Confederacy, either creating its own Epicnemidian federal State when it split away or the Eastern Locrian Confederacy did not exist, or becoming autonomous *poleis*, whether or not these were included in another Confederacy.

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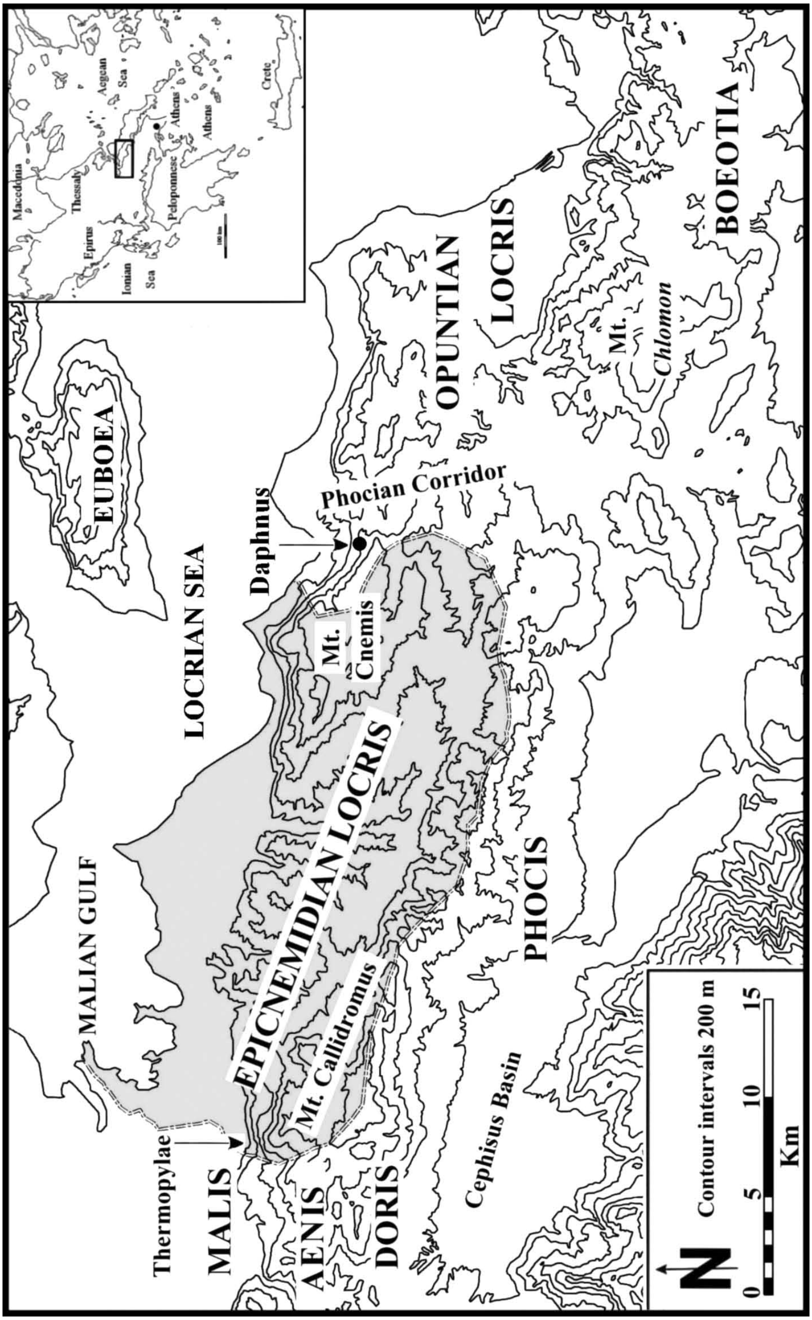
10 Cf. Str. 9.3.17, with the two interpretations in the same paragraph, and Plin. *NH*. 4.27.

11 Str. 9.1.1, 4.4.

12 Str. 8.1.3; 9.3.1, 17, 4.1, 10. Cf. Str. 9.3.1 where "the coast of the Epicnemidians" refers to the entire region.

13 Str. 9.3.1, 17; Steph. Byz. s.v."Αλπωνος (= Hellanic. *FGrH* 4 F12). See Str. 9.4.4 where Cnemides, the first settlement to the West of Daphnus, already belongs to the Epicnemidian Locrians; Ptolemy (*Geog*. 3.15.9–11) also differentiates between Opuntian Locrians and Epicnemidian Locrians, although he erroneously ascribes Cnemides (the settlement or the mountain) to the Opuntians. Cf. also Th. 3.32: the island of Atalanta off the coast of the Opuntian Locrians and Diod. 16.38.3: Naryca, a *polis* of the Epicnemidian Locrians. Pausanias employs different denominations apparently with reference to the Eastern Locrians: the Locrians opposite Euboea (10.8.4); Hypocnemidian Locrians (10.1.2, 13.4); the Locrians at the foot of Mt. Cnemis (10.20.2) and the Locrians from opposite the island of Atalanta (10.21.2).

14 Fossey 1990: 7; Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1195. At the end of the fourth century bronze coins were also issued, perhaps in Thronium, with the legend ΛΟΚΡ ΕΠΙΚΝΑ. They bore the armed head of Athena on the obverse and bunches of grapes on the reverse (*AZ* 9, 1849, 92 number 2; *AZ* 10, 1847, 148, number 16; Head *BMC* numbers 71–76 and *HN*[2]: 336–337; Babelon II.3 number 456, p. 379) which could imply the existence of a political organisation other than the Opuntian or Hypocnemidian Locrians and the cities of Epicnemidian Locris (Nielsen 2000: 106 and n. 90). For the subjugation of Epicnemidian Locris to the Aetolians see Moreno Hernández and Pascual Valderrama in this volume.



Epicnemidian Locris and surroundings.

We will use the term "East", "Eastern" or "Hypocnemidian Locris" to refer to the region as a whole, "Opuntian Locris" for the area to the East of Mt. Cnemis, and "Epicnemidian Locris" to indicate the area to West of the mountain. "Opuntians" will be used exclusively to refer to the inhabitants of the *polis* of Opus. Finally, although we use the name Epicnemidian Locris, the ancient inhabitants, who spoke a North-West Greek dialect, called their region *Epicnamidian* Locris[15] and, therefore, *Cnamis*, and not Cnemis, the Mount.

Certainly, Epicnemidian Locris is rarely mentioned by ancient authors and always in relation to a confrontation between important Greek powers or regarding an earthquake and is never the focal point of the text. Strabo, for example, mentioned only coastal sites and Pausanias omitted the region entirely. This scarcity of information has been transferred to modern research and thus modern authors who have dedicated time to it are few. In fact, in spite of the works of W.A. Oldfather,[16] F. Dakoronia,[17] W.K. Pritchett,[18] J.M. Fossey[19] and J. Buckler[20] and of the new researchers who have taken up the task,[21] Epicnemidian Locris still remains a little known region.[22] Not only has a large part of research been dedicated to the area of the Thermopylae or Opuntian Locris but Epicnemidian Locris has never had and hence still awaits an entire study to be dedicated to it. This work is a humble attempt to fill this void. In a similar way we have included in our study the valley of the river Dipotamos because there is no general monograph describing its western side.

As well as the challenges faced owing to its obscurity, Epicnemidian Locris has offered other possibilities to research. It has presented the opportunity to examine a small region, divided into small *poleis*, a way in which, simply, the majority of the population of Ancient Greece could have lived.[23] Above all, the scarcity of textual, epigraphical and numismatic sources, the few vestiges of fortifications conserved, the limitations of archaeological

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15 This was the name used in the minting of coins (cf. note *supra*) and occasionally in epigraphical documentation: *CID* IV, 24 and 124 (bis).

16 1916, 1918, 1921, 1926, 1927, 1932, 1936a, 1936b.

17 1977a–b, 1978a–b, 1979, 1980, 1985a–c, 1986, 1987a–b, 1988a–c, 1989, 1991, 1992a–d, 1993a–b, 1994, 1995, 1996a–d, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002a–b, 2003a–b, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008.

18 1980, 1982, 1989, 1992.

19 1986, 1988, 1990.

20 1989, 2003.

21 Especially M.F. Papakonstantinou; M. Sipsi; S. Dimaki, E. Karantzali; G. Zachos; A. Papastathopoulou; E. Zachou and P. Kounouklas (see in the final Bibliography).

22 *Vid.* Kyparissi-Apostolika in the Foreword.

23 See Coleman 1992: 270 for the case of Halae in Opuntian Locris.

research in the area, the often imposed resort of having to work almost always with surface ceramic which may be, on occasion, of little significance and does not offer solid evidence, has led to the implementation of a variety of methods of which prospecting, historical topography, chemical and geological analysis, models developed through *Spatial Archaeology* and *GIS* are worth mentioning.

Essentially this study is divided into three parts. In the first the geography of the region is studied, necessary for understanding the area, followed by the topography with the analysis of the information collected[24] and with the intention of revealing the patterns and evolution of the population, the hierarchy of settlements, the fortifications and system of defense and the routes and frequency of navigation along its coasts. The third part is dedicated to the different historical periods from the Neolithic to the end of Antiquity.

The authors

[24] Cf. similarly Fossey 1990: 1–3 for Opuntian Locris.

PART ONE

GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE OF EPICNEMIDIAN LOCRIS: THE HISTORICAL CONDITIONS OF ITS PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT[*]

Juan Antonio González[**], Carlos Arteaga[**], Francisco Arteaga-Manjón-Cabeza[***], Manuel Arjona[****] and Rosario García[*****]

1. Introduction

The area that was known as Epicnemidian Locris in Antiquity is a region of central Greece lying on the eastern seaboard of the Balkan Peninsula, on the shores of the Aegean Sea. Its borders probably coincided, approximately, with Mount Cnemis in the east, the Callidromus massif in the south and the Spercheius river basin in the west. The waters of the Malian Gulf and the Island of Euboea lay to the North.

It is a small region (now approximately 374 sq km) but its topography is very varied. Today there are wide plains along the coast, but inland precipitous mountains alternate with deep valleys carved out by fluvial erosion produced by seasonal streams over the centuries.

A typically Mediterranean climate prevails in the region: mild winters with little rainfall, and dry, hot summers. The average annual temperature

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[*] The authors would like to thank Professors José Pascual, Adolfo Domínguez, Eduardo Sánchez Moreno and Gloria Mora (Dpto. Historia Antigua, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) for general discussions and for help and advice on documentary sources. They would also like to thank María Angeles García del Cura (Instituto de Geología Económica del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) for SEM analysis of travertine deposits from the Thermopylae hot springs. The authors also wish to thank the Hellenic Military Geographical Service for permission to use the aerial photographs included in this study and the Hellenic National Meteorological Service for the help in accessing climatic data. After this chapter delivery, several interesting articles have been published, being some of them the following: Sakellariou *et alii* 2007; Verros *et alii* 2007; Duriez *et alii* 2008; Walker *et alii* 2010.

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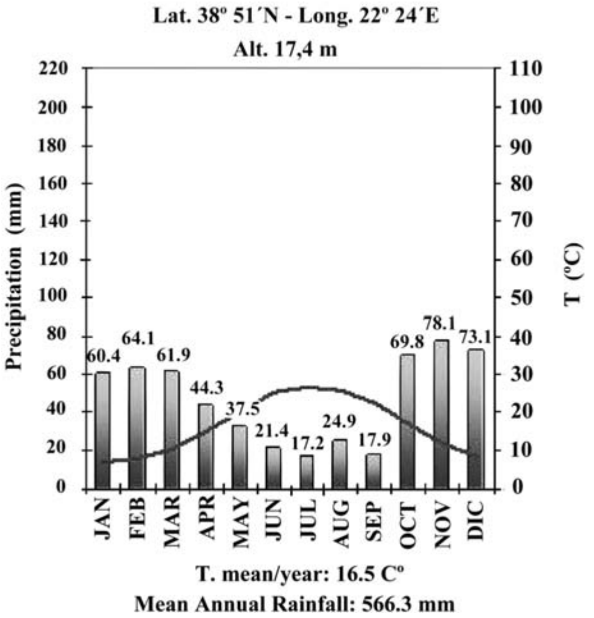

Figure 1.1. Climatic diagram of Lamia (1970–2000). Note the five dry months when rainfall (expressed in millimetres) is less than twice the mean temperature expressed in °C. Source: Hellenic National Meteorological Service.

is 16.5°, and the dry season can last for five months (Figure 1.1). However, the summer heat is tempered by sea breezes and, in particular, the frequent Etesian winds from the northern Aegean. The high mountains running Northwest-Southeast along the peninsula's West seaboard shelter Locris from the humid westerly winds, and its position in the region, enclosed by the surrounding mountains—Mount Telethrium in Euboea, the Othrys in Phthiotis, the Oeta and the Callidromus—means that its annual rainfall is very moderate (an average of about 500 mm a year): less than half that recorded (>1200 mm) at a similar latitude in the area around the Gulf of Patrae on the Ionian Sea.[1]

This climate has produced vegetation that is well suited to dry summers. However, the vegetation that succeeded the dense woods covering the mountains this side of the Aegean during the Quaternary interglacial peri-

[1] Maroukian and Karymbalis 2004.

ods displays considerable diversity. This can be clearly seen in the nearby Mount Oeta National Park on the southwest of the Malian Gulf: its steep slopes rise from 600 to 1900 m, and are covered with forests of oak, beech, chestnut, pine and fir.[2] In the area studied, there is less diversity but its vegetation is also a reflection of the abundant forests that, a few thousand years ago (during the first half of the Holocene) covered its hillsides. From the palinological data obtained in neighbouring areas (the Copaïs basin in Boeotia) with an almost identical climate, it is clear that deciduous oak was found on the deeper soils, evergreen oak on thinner soils and steppe vegetation covered the skeletal soils of the slopes.

The reasons for this more limited biodiversity are to be found in natural and anthropogenic events: water is less abundant because the Locrian mountains are lower (<1400 m) than Mount Oeta and human activity has had greater impact on the landscape. Forests of Greek fir (*Abis Cephalonica*) abound, descending shady slopes to 500 m, although with densities close to 10 % (G.M.A. 1971). Along with them there are often clumps of black pine (*Pinus nigra*) and White Pine (*Pinus strobus*) and mixed woods of black pine and fir. The Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis*) extends right to the seashore on limestone slopes. The open evergreen Mediterranean woodland is composed of holm oak and sclerophyllic species. They rival the conifers at similar heights, but prefer lower and sunnier areas (G.M.A. 1971). This forest has deteriorated considerably as a result of human activity over the centuries and now takes two forms: maquis vegetation where thickets of low trees and shrubs are fairly dense and reach a height of about 1 m, or scrub if it has deteriorated even further, thus providing even less cover.

The Locrian landscape has been shaped by the past and present interaction of a multitude of structural (lithological, tectonic), climatic, and biogeographical factors. Climate change over the centuries has affected its configuration and accumulations, and human impact is also a key element that has to be taken into account when analysing the landscape of this area as it is today. The effect of human activity on the ecosystem can mainly be seen in the destruction of woodland and the reduction of vegetation caused by forest fires, extensive cultivation and pasturing and the traditional use of the natural resources of the Mediterranean environment.

The morphology of the region is steep and rugged, dominated by the high relief of the Callidromus (1,419 m above sea level or asl) and Cnemis

2 Polunin and Walters 1985.

(945 m asl) mountain ranges.[3] They are not particularly high but look like an enormous hanging wall because they are so close to the coast and their cliffs lie parallel to the shore. An extremely dense hydrographic network descends from the mountains to the shore below. It consists of small seasonal or intermittent streams which flow through deep, narrowly confined valleys that lie more or less perpendicular to the main ridges. Their southerly orientation means that these fluvial corridors were used as major routes of communication between Locris and other regions further to the south. The stream channels are very steep, so in heavy rains their turbulent waters can cause erosion and transport a great deal of sediment.

The very steep slopes, moderately fertile soils and dry climate (despite proximity to the sea), explain the limited areas available for cultivation and relative poverty of its Mediterranean agriculture. In Antiquity, arable land was concentrated within the widest valleys but is today found on the coastal plain, which has become progressively wider over the last two thousand years.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold:

a) To analyse the various natural features (geological formations, morphology and topography, climate, water resources, soils, vegetation, etc.) that have shaped the present landscape of this region of Greece. Studying them is relevant because of the decisive role they played in History by determining the types of human occupation and the ways in which the societies of the past used the land, which were strongly conditioned by the environment.
b) To understand what this landscape was like in the past and discover the most important changes in the evolution of its physical environment.

To achieve this, we have based our work on geomorphological observations made in the field, the consultation of geological and seismotectonic maps, aerial photography, the analysis of drainage networks and the use of various analytical techniques (granulometric, mineralogical, etc.), to examine accumulations of debris.

3 Pascual 2009a: 1208–1209.

2. The Architecture of the Locrian Landscape: The Relief and Its Structural Elements

The mountain ranges and the plains of Epicnemidian Locris provide the underlying structure of the landscape on which the other elements of its physical environment have developed, and set the scene for its people's history. Topography affected the population's activities because the altitudes influenced climatic conditions and these, in turn, the type of crops that could be grown. The steep slopes and rugged mountainsides restricted the use of the land and made it difficult to travel through the network of local roads that connected the region with other parts of the interior.

The "Locrian mountains" rugged topography has been produced by a combination of structural and erosive factors that have broken down much of its distinctive bedrock. The region's geomorphology is closely linked with both the evolution of the Hellenic and nearby Aegean Plates and also that of the Anatolian Plate, which has recently been moving closer.

Geotectonic Outline

The mountains of the area studied are on the Greek continental microplate, an area that registers numerous intense earth tremors largely due to the convergence and collision of the great African and Eurasian plates (Plate 1.1). The southern boundary of the first one coincides with the Hellenic Trench, a series of very deep (3000–5,000 m) submarine depressions SW of the Peloponnese and SE of the islands of Crete and Rhodes. Here, dozens of kilometres of African oceanic crust have passed below the Hellenic microplate and have been subducted towards the earth's Mantle, provoking many earthquakes. Geophysical studies have shown that, from the Middle Tertiary onwards, this trench has gradually moved some 300–350 km south of its original position.[4]

The subduction process has created a vast island arc, the Hellenic Arc, composed of two groups of islands that are very different in character:

- To the south, the Outer non-Volcanic Arc which includes the islands of Cythera, Carpathus, Crete and Rhodes.
- Approximately 150 km to the north there is another arc parallel to the first, but its composition is different. It is a "Volcanic Arc" formed by rising magmas released at a great depth from the plate subducted

4 Jolivet 2001.

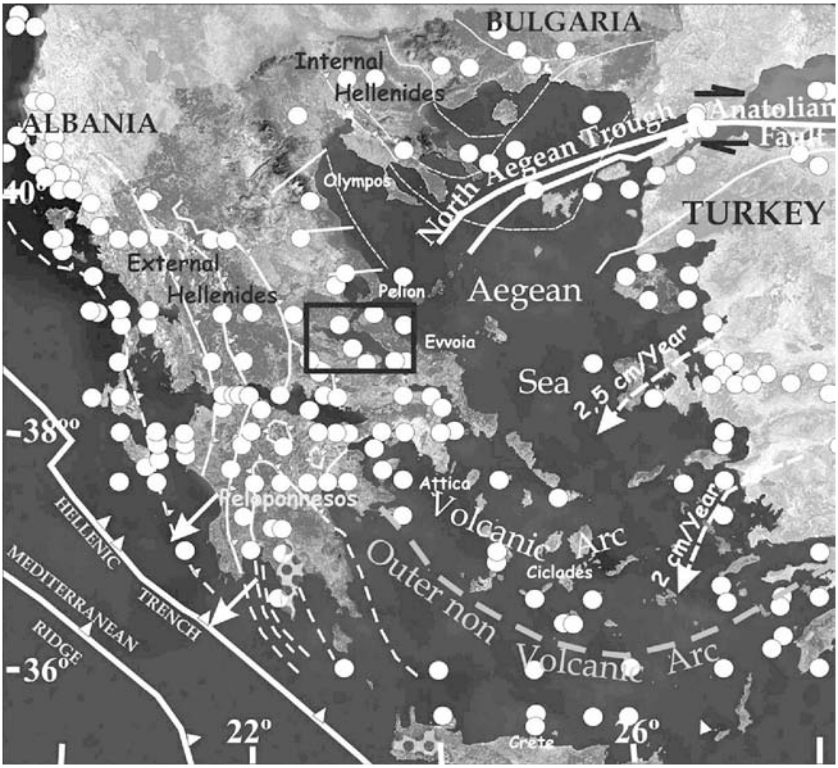

Plate 1.1. Location of the study area (inset). Outline map of major geophysical zones of the Aegean showing the epicentres of historical earthquakes (<1900). White arrows: present displacements with estimated rates in cm/year. From: Le Pichon *et alii* 1995 and Kilias *et alii* 2002.

under the Hellenic plate. It includes the Methane peninsula, and the islands of Paros, Melos, Thera and Nisyrus. Although there is no longer any volcanic activity, the more recent history of its geological evolution provides ample evidence of its enormous eruptions, the most famous being the one on Thera, which many researchers believe occurred around 1628 BC (Horden and Purcell 2000).

Further north is the Aegean Sea, separating the coasts of the Balkan and Anatolian Peninsulas. Its depths were probably part of an ancient continent that fractured and subsided into many basins as a result of alpine tectonics. This would seem to be attested by the crystalline or limestone character of the bedrock of the innumerable islands that project above its waters. The

origin of the Aegean basins must be associated with a north-south extensive movement that took place between 18 and 6 million years ago.[5] A major tectonic event occurred in its southern sector relatively recently, about 2.5 million years ago,[6] producing a horizontal or strike-slip fault known as the "North Anatolian Fault"—N.A.F.—which extends westwards through the "North Aegean Trough"—N.A.T—.[7] It is one of the major dextral strike-slip faults on the planet and is the site of a remarkable number of major earthquakes. Its tectonics are considerably more complex than those of the famous San Andreas Fault in California.

The horizontal movements of this fault have been studied recently using a Global Positioning System (G.P.S.) and Satellite Laser Ranging. These have made it possible to establish its clear annual progress, to the west of the Anatolian microplate, which is currently estimated at about 1.5 cm/year, although some authors consider the rate to be even higher, at 2–3 cm/year.[8] However, the tectonic processes responsible for the westward trending of the Anatolian-Aegean Plate are still a subject of debate.[9] Many authors think that the westward escape of Turkey is the result of regional convergence that in turn forces the Arabian microplate against the Eurasian plate as the former advances at a rate of about 2.5 cm/year:[10] the collision between the two is displacing the Anatolian microplate westwards in a counter-clockwise direction (Plate 1.1). Other researchers claim, however, that other, more complex factors are also involved.

At present the Hellenic microplate is also moving.[11] When the coordinates of 32 geodesic stations in central Greece used for three historical triangulation surveys 1889–1905 (Austrian Military Geographic Survey), 1927–1930 and 1950–1970 were compared, small changes in their original positions were found. This confirms the current rotational character of deformation in the area. One of them (Station nº 91) is on the summit of Mt. Cnemis and has clearly moved some centimetres in less than 100 years.[12] Similar results were obtained in northwest Greece and the Ionian Islands by calculating annual displacement rates from repeated geodesic satellite measurements.[13]

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5 Ori 1989.
6 Armijo *et alii* 1999; Jolivet 2001.
7 Armijo *et alii* 1999; Kilias 2002; McNeill *et alii* 2004.
8 Jolivet 2001.
9 Martinod *et alii* 2000.
10 Jackson and McKenzie 1988.
11 Stiros 1993.
12 Stiros 1993.
13 Kahle *et alii* 1995.

Recent movements of the plates (sometimes colliding and therefore compressed by lateral forces and sometimes separating to produce distensive forces) must be examined in order to determine how the Hellenic ranges were created. They form part of the Alpine-Mediterranean belt and were uplifted by the convergence of the great African and Eurasian Plates during the Mesozoic and, in particular the Cenozoic. In the course of these plate movements, smaller blocks belonging to these two continents collided: the collision of the Apulian microplate (today part of Italy) and the Pelagonian microplate (Macedonia) resulted in the formation of the greater part of the Hellenic orogen.[14] Two major tectonic stages are responsible for the current configuration of the mountain ranges of Greece, including the Locrian Mountains:

a) The main period of tectonic uplift coincided with the collision of the eastern Mediterranean microplates referred to above. The major mountains of Greece were created at this time, along a NNW-SSE tectonic line typical of the Dinaric Range. They start in the territories to the east of the Adriatic coast, and from there extend southwards through mainland Greece and the northern Aegean. Thus the great peninsular ranges—Epirus, Pindus Mountains, the mountains of the Peloponnese (Mounts Parnon and Taygetus), etc.—consist of rock deformed in the course of various tectonic stages. They succeeded each other from the Cretaceous until the end of the Tertiary, resulting in complex tectonic structures (thrust faults and drift mantles). Locris would have been in the so-called "Pelagonian Nappe" mantle, defined in the west by the "the External Hellenides" one end of which is the Parnassus massif (2,457 m), on the other side of the Cephisus river basin.
b) After the uplift of that relief, there was a period of Late-Orogenic extensional tectonics. It began at the end of the Tertiary with the collapse and subsidence of numerous blocks, playing an important role in the final configuration of Greek topography.[15] This extension could be attributed to changes in the velocity of convergence of the African and Eurasian Plates.[16]

Two major graben-like asymmetrical depressions were formed in this process: the Corinth-Patrae Gulf and the Euboean-Malian Gulf, the latter being

14 Kilias *et alii* 2002.
15 Kilias *et alii* 2002.
16 Dercourt *et alii* 1986; Royden 1993.

the area covered by this study. Both trend east to west and are defined by seismic normal faults:

The Gulf of Corinth is an elongated graben that separates the Peloponnese from the rest of central Greece. Many surveys have been carried out in this area and its geological and geophysical characteristics are very well known. Its geological history is probably very similar to the Aegean Sea one and its subsidence probably dates to the same period, the Late Miocene.[17] Since then, extensive forces have been active in the Corinth-Patrae Gulf to such an extent that some authors associate it with a true rift.[18] This is defined by the enormous faults along which many violent earthquakes take place, some accompanied by tsunamis. Six earthquakes accompanied by huge tidal waves have been recorded on this coast in the last 4,700 years.[19] The extension and separation of the coasts on the edges of this rift is still active, and has been calculated as occurring at a rate of about 1.5 cm/year.[20] Some geophysicists have suggested that the origin of this extension is connected with the movements registered in a "pull-apart" type basin, associated with the southward propagation of the N.A.F.[21]

However, the Euboean Gulf, the Malian Gulf and the West Locrian region constitute one of the relatively unexplored areas of Greece. The only previous works of any importance carried out there are the geological maps produced by the Institute of Geological and Mineralogical Exploration of Greece, in various years,[22] and some geomorphological studies.[23]

Morphostructural Setting: The Tectonic Framework and Its Seismic Activity

At the West end of the Euboean Gulf, the Malian Gulf and their extension westwards, the geotectonic context of the Spercheius river basin is very complex. It is a block that has subsided to form an asymmetrical depression.[24]

The northern limits of the Malian Gulf consist of the mountain ranges to the north and northeast of Lamia. Despite their height (>1700 m), these are

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17 Ori 1989.

18 Doutsos *et alii* 1992a; Doutsos *et alii* 1992b.

19 Kontopoulos and Avramidis 2003.

20 Jolivet 2001.

21 Armijo *et alii* 1996.

22 I.G.S.R. 1957, 1959, 1963, 1967; I.G.M.E. 1989, 1991.

23 Maroukian and Lagios 1987; Kraft *et alii* 1987; Stiros *et alii* 1992; Stiros 1993; Pirazzoli *et alii* 1999; Reinders 2001.

24 Maroukian and Lagios 1987.

gradually subsiding while the southern boundary, which includes Mounts Oeta and the Callidromus, is rising. The evidence for this is seen in:

- The geomorphological characteristics of their slopes, which display marked topographical steps and a network of streams running through deep gorges.
- The Neogene deposits along this boundary have been uplifted more than 500 m.[25]

The Locrian territory is situated on this edge of the gulf and comprises two morphostructural areas: the Callidromus and Cnemis mountain ranges and the depression occupied by the Malian Gulf and its coastal plain. This tectonic depression has subsided considerably in recent times, as the data supplied by two geophysical gravity profiles demonstrate. To the east (from the southern slopes of the Callidromus and around the city of Lamia) late Tertiary and Quaternary fluvial sediments, accumulated by the Spercheius and its tributaries, proved to be more than 2500 m thick. The profile further west (7 km west of the first) was extended further into the river basin and the sediments there were only 500 m deep.[26]

The Malian Gulf and the mountains along it to the south are separated by two parallel morphotectonic lineaments that include numerous normal faults. Some of them are still seismically active as demonstrated by the location of epicentres registered in the twentieth century (Plate 1.2). The total difference in tectonic level generated by these faults is nearly 4,000 m. Of this, 1400 m is the throw of the block uplifted (associated with the Callidromus) and 2500 m the throw of the fault concealed and fossilised by the 2500 m of sediment accumulated by the Spercheius, detected by geophysical methods to the south of Lamia. These fractures are found to the west of the great Locrian Fault,[27] or the Atalanti Normal Fault, where several devastating earthquakes have been documented. The last occurred in 1894.

The morphotectonic line of the Locrian interior is defined by the Callidromus (1,419 m asl) and the lower elevations to the north and near the coast (Plate 1.3A). This intensely fractured band consists of various normal faults lying in a WNW-ESE and W-E direction that date to the Neogene period, which can be seen from the fact that they affect the strata of this period (I.G.S.R. 1967), and their activity appears to have decreased or disappeared in

25 Maroukian and Lagios 1987.
26 Maroukian and Lagios 1987.
27 Stiros 1993.

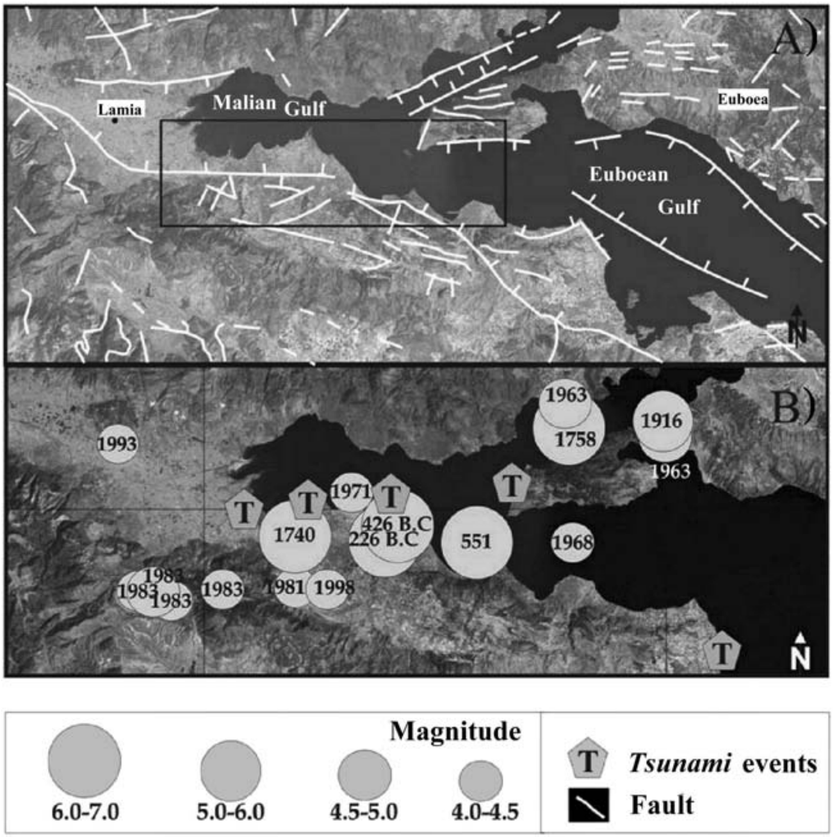

Plate 1.2. Seismotectonic map of Euboean and Malian Gulfs: (A) Tectonic diagram of the study area. (B) Spatial distribution of the epicentres of historical earthquakes (<1990).

recent times. In some places, such as near the famous Fontana Pass (south-west of Rengini), the high angles of the fracture planes plunge northwards and appear to dissect those of others linked to more ancient palaeofaults that display numerous microforms (Plate 1.3B). Most of them show striations associated with gently dipping listric palaeo-normal faults. This model of fracturing is very similar to that seen on the edge of the Gulf of Corinth.[28]

[28] Ori 1989.

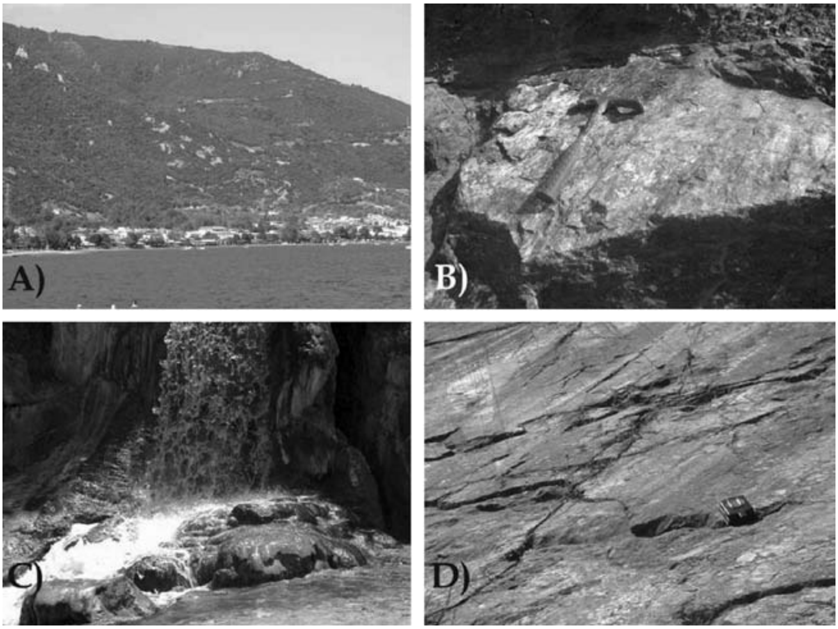

Plate 1.3. (A): Panoramic view of the coastal reliefs near Kamena Vourla. (B): Microstructural features (striated surface) related to a "listric palaeofault" with low-angle tectonic plane. (C): Thermopylae hot springs. (D): "Fault mirror" and striated slip surface in a fault scarp belonging to "Locris Coast Fault System" (near Kamena Vourla).

The morphotectonic line closest to the sea which, we shall call the "Locrian Coastal Fault System", consists of multiple fractures running W-E. Its planes dip towards the north, and its scarps form the cliffs along the coast (Cnemis 945 m asl) and the coastal plain. Further east, the system also affects the southern shore of the island of Euboea and is responsible for the direction of the Knimida Strait that connects the waters of the Gulfs of Euboea and Malis. Numerous hot springs originate in its fault planes. Worthy of note are those in the vicinity of Kamena Vourla, the Thermopylae Pass (Plate 1.3C) and others further west. This set of fractures is of indeterminate age but seems to be more recent than the first. Its tectonic landforms have moved on numerous occasions, both in the Holocene (I.G.M.E. 1989) and in the present day. Evidence of this recent activity is found in the numerous well-preserved fault scarps and associated features such as triangular and trapezoidal facets and microtectonic landforms (Plate 1.3D).

Two subordinate fault systems should be added to those already mentioned (I.G.M.E. 1991): the first lies in an ENE-WSW direction and its downthrown forms the Oreus Strait, through which the waters of the Aegean reach the Malian Gulf. The second lies NW-SE and can be seen very clearly on the northern coast of the island of Euboea.

This entire tectonic structure means that this region, formed by the Euboean and Malian Gulfs, the island of Euboea and the northern coast of Locris, is one of the most seismically active regions of Greece, as the frequency and intensity of the earthquakes in this area demonstrate (I.G.M.E. 1989). Some researchers have examined whether this violent seismic activity is related to geological structures elsewhere that are associated with two tectonic megastructures:

a) The North Anatolian Fault (N.A.F.) and its continuation, the North Aegean Trough (N.A.T.)[29] which point threateningly from the north of the Aegean Sea in a NE-SW direction towards the Locrian coast. Its closest point it is only a few hundred kilometres away.
b) The long (80 km) NW-SE submarine tectonic scarp close to northern Euboea with a throw of more than 1000 m.

Numerous violent earthquakes, sometimes accompanied by tsunamis, have occurred in this region since Antiquity. Those whose devastating effects have been recorded include the ones that occurred in 426 BC and AD 551, 1421, 1694, 1758, 1894.[30]

It has been possible to determine the intensity of these and earlier earthquakes through the geomorphological study of certain coastal areas. For example, the presence of ancient "notches", indicating the level of the sea, have been noted on the northern coast of Euboea. They have been cut in the limestone cliffs by the mechanical action of the waves and biological erosion and look like small inverted steps. In a tectonically stable coast, their presence testifies to the existence of certain periods (lasting a few thousand years), during which sea level was relatively stable and the surface water did not suffer variations in height. However, on the Euboean coast, these erosive indicators sometimes dropped or rose suddenly as a result of very swift—probably instantaneous—vertical displacements associated with co-seismic crustal movements.[31] The most noteworthy examples

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29 Kilias *et alii* 2002; McNeill *et alii* 2004.
30 Papadopoulos and Chalkis 1984; Stiros *et alii* 1992; Buck and Stewart 2000; I.G.N.O.A. 2004.
31 Stiros and Rondogianni 1985; Stiros *et alii* 1992; Pirazzoli *et alii* 1999.

appear 0.2 and 0.7 m above present sea level. They continue right along the coast and are fairly recent (1050–900 BC and 510–380 BC). They were created by palaeoseismic events of a magnitude probably greater than Ms= 7.[32] The absence of long (>15 km) faults in the area capable of generating powerful earthquakes[33] has led some authors to attribute this sharp seismic uplift to the two major tectonic features mentioned above: the deep submarine scarp to the north of Euboea or some horizontal displacement of the great N.A.F./N.A.T. fracture.

Evidence of vertically-displaced fossil sea levels is also present on the Locrian coast, specifically in the Atalanti Gulf. They have been associated with the earthquakes of 426 BC and AD 1894,[34] whose epicentres were identified in its great normal fault, although some authors have disagreed with this origin.[35] Similar manifestations have been detected in the stretch of coast between Livanates and Arkitsa. Their marine bioerosive markers were tilted by two earthquakes associated with other periods of time:[36]

– The most ancient has been dated between 1380 and 965 BC and was possibly accompanied by a tsunami that swept away the nearby archaeological site of Cynus, to a height of about 16 m.
– The most recent took place between 360 BC and 210 BC and must have been of considerable intensity since it caused a widespread uplift of more than 1.4 m.

Finally the earthquake of AD 1894 also had a very notable effect on the region of Atalanti and caused the little peninsula of Gaidouronissi to separate from the mainland.[37]

3. The Mountains: Their Slopes and Drainage Network

The Locrian Mountains have steep slopes (Figure 1.2) and are drained by a dense network of streams. Their relief constitutes a broad watershed that separates the Malian Gulf in the north from the tectonic depression of the Cephisus to the south. The difference in altitude between the base levels is

32 Stiros *et alii* 1992.
33 Ambraseys and Jackson 1990.
34 Stiros and Rondogianni 1985.
35 Buck and Stewart 2000.
36 Pirazzoli *et alii* 1999.
37 Cundy *et alii* 2000.

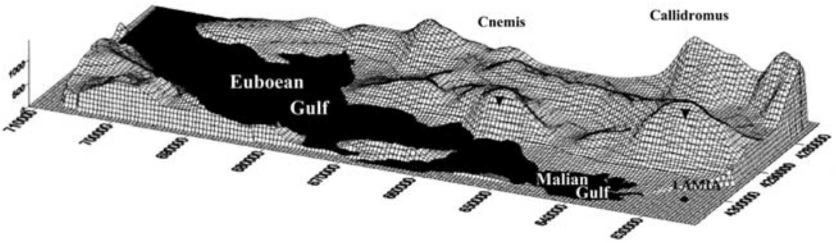

Figure 1.2. Block-diagram showing the relief of the northern coast of the Malian Gulf.

principally responsible for the different characteristics of its hydrographic network and the different topographic features seen on either side:

- The watercourses that drain southwards have the highest base-level (130 m asl in the area around Elateia), so their capacity for cutting deep channels is moderate. For this reason, the rivers flow through open valleys with gently sloping sides.
- In contrast, the steep slopes of the northern side drop sharply down to the coast. These are dissected by many steep and narrow valleys with fast-flowing streams descending to sea level (0 m) in the Malian Gulf.

The Rocks and Their Metalliferous Resources

The main Locrian mountains are made up of various outcropping formations that, for the most part, date to the Mesozoic and the Cenozoic (Figure 1.3). The first include volcanic rocks and sediment that were accumulated at the bottom of a fairly deep sea during the pre-orogenic period. Later, they were intensely deformed and uplifted by the tectonic stages that created the region's mountains. In general, their altitude and their hard bedrock meant that Mesozoic outcrops were unsuitable for cultivation. They include:

1. A fifth of the territory (20 %) consists of resistant limestones and dolomites (Figure 1.3) lay down in shallow marine environments in the course of various geological periods (Upper Triassic—Late Cretaceous). From a geomorphological point of view they constitute the major massifs, such as the Callidromus and its adjacent spurs which extend as far as Mount Oeta: their relief was explained by Herodotus (7.176.3) who described them as "an inaccessible mountain chain, steep and high". At least one planation surface can be seen in their crests at 1200–1400 m that has eroded the highest peaks. This

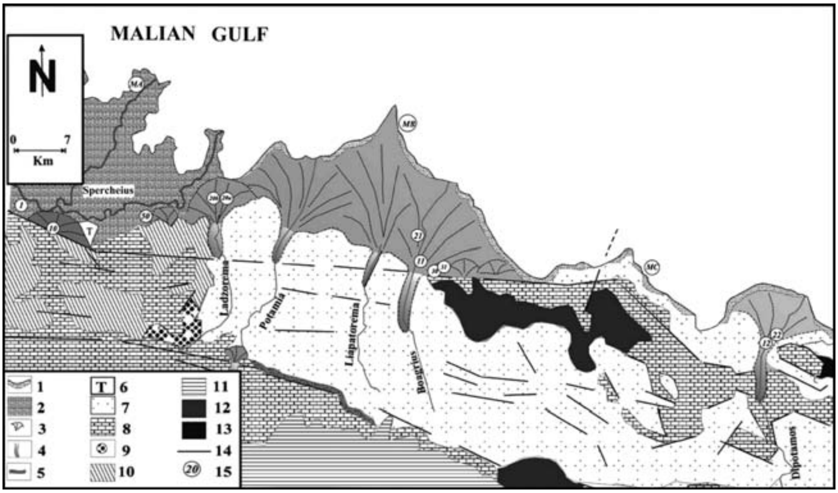

Figure 1.3. Simplified geological map of Epicnemidian Locris region. Legend. Quaternary undivided (mainly Holocene and Present-day deposits): 1. Beaches; 2. Deltaic sediments; 3. Alluvial fan. 4. Alluvial sediments in valley bottoms. 5. Colluvial deposits. 6. Travertines. Tertiary (mainly Neogene): 7. Clastic sediment (pebbles, gravels, sandstones, marls and clays). Mesozoic (basement rocks): 8. Limestones and dolomites (Pelagonian Zone: Upper Triassic, Middle and Upper Jurassic and Upper Cretaceous). 9. Conglomerates (Upper Cretaceous). 10. Flysch Formations. 11. Schist with ophiolites (Upper Jurassic-Lower Cretaceous). 12. Basic and ultrabasic igneous rocks (Peridotites). Palaeozoic: 13. Shales, conglomerates, etc. (Permo-Carboniferous). Tectonic structures: 14. Faults and their probable extension (dentation towards the downthrown block). 15. Position of deposits studied. Based on I.G.S.R. 1957, 1959, 1963, 1967 and I.G.M.E. 1989.

has been responsible for their truncated cone morphology and their typically limestone character has produced a karstified topography, clearly visible in many places (Plate 1.4A). Most of the ashlars belonging to the walled enclosures that in Antiquity defended the high places and southbound traffic through these mountains were hewn from this type of stone. Outcrops of limestone also produced a vast hanging wall on the shore that rose to a height of 800–900 m on the coast near Kamena Vourla (Figure 1.2).

2. Considerable thicknesses associated with detrital “flysch” formations that accumulated in ancient submarine inclines appear to the north of the Callidromus (Figure 1.3). These materials account for a small area (5 %) and are easily eroded, so they do not usually form very high mountain ranges unless they have been uplifted tectonically.

3. In terms of the materials associated with remote oceanic volcanic activity, mention should be made of rocks that are very resistant to erosion such as the peridotites, basic and ultrabasic igneous rocks. They occupy approximately the same proportion of the region as the previous group (5%) and mainly appear in the vicinity of the coastal mountains around Mount Cnemis. Ophiolitic complexes amongst the masses of schists that appear in the mountains east of Mendenitsa account for a similar proportion (4%) and also originated in the volcanic activity of an oceanic crust (Figure 1.3).

The Tertiary materials were deposited after the main tectonic phases. They make up almost half the Locrian territory (42%) and are found to the east of the meridian that runs through the town of Mendenitsa and extend to the Platanias (ancient Boagrius) and Dipotamos basins. Their streams have cut through about 80–100 m the Neogene strata that appear on the slopes so good cross-sections of their composition can be seen in the valleys. They consist of fanglomerates or unconsolidated terrigenous clastic sediments (Plate 1.4B) of continental origin, associated with ancient alluvial fans. They started moving during climatic periods with intense rainfall in which vegetation was scarce because of to the dry climate. The absence of fossils means that their Neogene age is uncertain, although they could possibly date to the Pliocene, or even the Early Pleistocene, according to 1/50000 (I.G.S.R. 1959) and 1/500000 geological maps (I.G.M.E. 1989).

They are very thick and have fossilized into a palaeo-relief, which suggests that, in addition to climatic factors, their creation is partly due to major tectonic processes. They made the existing slopes steeper by raising the edges of the mountains and causing the adjacent areas to subside. Erosion fed detritic materials from the mountain sides into these ancient alluvial fans whose morphology has today greatly deteriorated.

Only the upstream areas close to the internal morphotectonic band are preserved. There the detritic materials are very heterometric, since the strata include many large pebbles and boulders. Their final or distal segments, which have disappeared through erosion, advanced towards the ancient sea that must have existed near the island of Euboea, because Neogene marine sediment has been mapped there (I.G.M.E. 1957). In geomorphological terms, the relief associated with this detritic material has the appearance of tablelands (Plate 1.4C) with flat summits that rise to little more than 400 m. The barely consolidated character of the fanglomerates and the stable surfaces of their horizontal uplands have produced soils that can be used for agriculture. On the hillsides close to the sea and at the foot of the

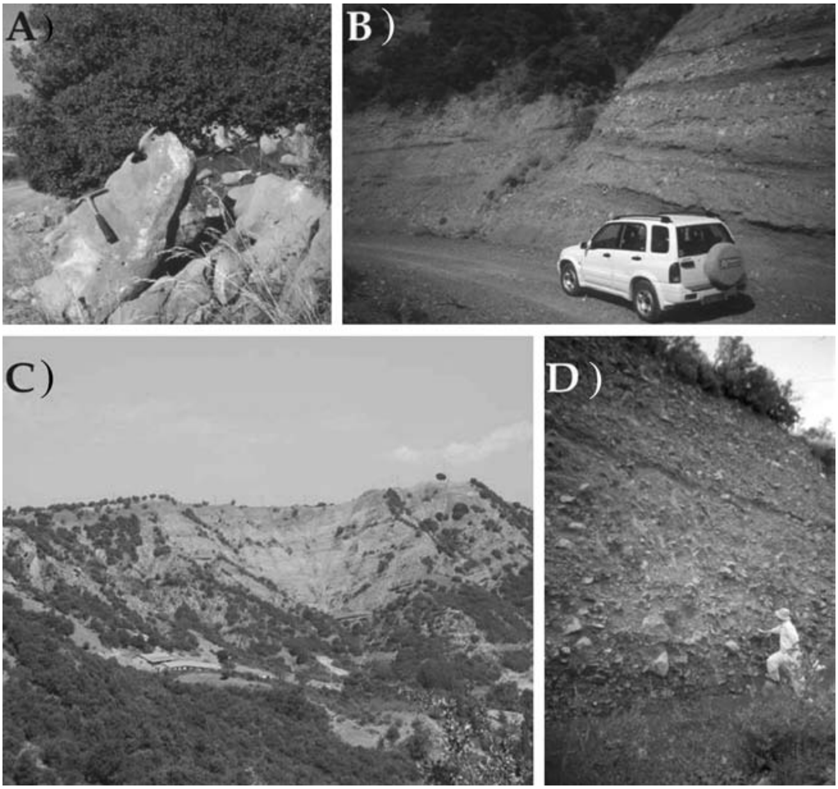

Plate 1.4. (A): Microkarstic features in limestone outcrops in the Kleisoura Pass. (B): Neogene fanglomerate sections on the sides of the Agiou Ioannou gorge, to the south of Komnina. (C): Panoramic view of detritic Neogene Tablelands. (D): Pleistocene section of the Pleistocene alluvial fan (W. of the Callidromus).

tablelands moderate gradients have made it possible to cultivate olive trees and similar crops. However, the susceptibility of these materials to erosion and agricultural practices have caused considerable erosion of these slopes.

The most recent materials of the region date to the Quaternary and are found in almost a quarter (24%) of the region. The ones belonging to the Pleistocene are very scarce: they are limited to some ancient alluvial fans hanging from the mountain sides at various heights, one of the most interesting being that close to the town of Kallidromo (Plate 1.7D), and to colluvionar deposits on the slopes of the principal ranges, which will be analysed in the next section. More recent or Holocene sediments cover a considerable area and are found in the lowlands near the coast. They

comprise a broad plain fringed by a complex system of coalescing alluvial fans on the surface of which the most fertile soils have formed.

These geological material, despite of Mesozoic volcanism, did not offer important metalliferous resources useful for men (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Metalliferous concentrations (parts per million—ppm) at rocks and detrital materials in Epicnemidian Locris region.

Geological Sample	Sn (ppm)	Zn (ppm)	Cu (ppm)	Al (ppm)	Pb (ppm)	Ni (ppm)	Fe (ppm)
Triassic volcanic materials.—Naryca	89	105	84	540	977	21	33516
Melanocratic rocks in listric palaeo-fault	88	36	28	277	872	356	45720
Individual detrital clast from neogene of Komnina	85	102	108	498	879	1029	57099
Pleistocene alluvial fan.—Agios Georgios hermitage	75	24	24	287	536	146	37540
Sand from current bed of Litharitsa river	71	29	8	109	516	365	52785
Sand from current bed of Boagrius river	69	18	30	321	890	196	35608
Sand from current bed of Dipotamos river	122	61	20	635	640	120	31579
Lighthouse beach	97	36	16	167	677	28	38001

The Mountain Slopes

As it has been said, the steep-sided Locrian mountains have been produced by the interaction of tectonic and erosive factors. Their gradients are nearly always more than 14°-16° (Figure 1.4) so they are vulnerable to any change in climate, and the reduction or disappearance of their vegetation (from natural or anthropic causes), and this makes all their segments very unstable.

Their geomorphological evolution is very complex and we have found no study that has analysed it. Our field work enabled us to detect many ancient colluvial deposits originating from freezing-thawing processes during the Upper Pleistocene. From a height of 500–600 m above sea level the mountain slopes become more regular and their thickness varies between 1 and 15 m (Plate 1.5A). In some places around Mendenitsa two generations of colluvial material have been identified, separated in places by a well-preserved red palaeosoil that developed during a benign climatic stage with considerable vegetation and active phyto-stabilization of the slopes.

Colluvium consists of abundant fragments with very sharp edges reminiscent of the cryoclastic screes of other Mediterranean domains generated

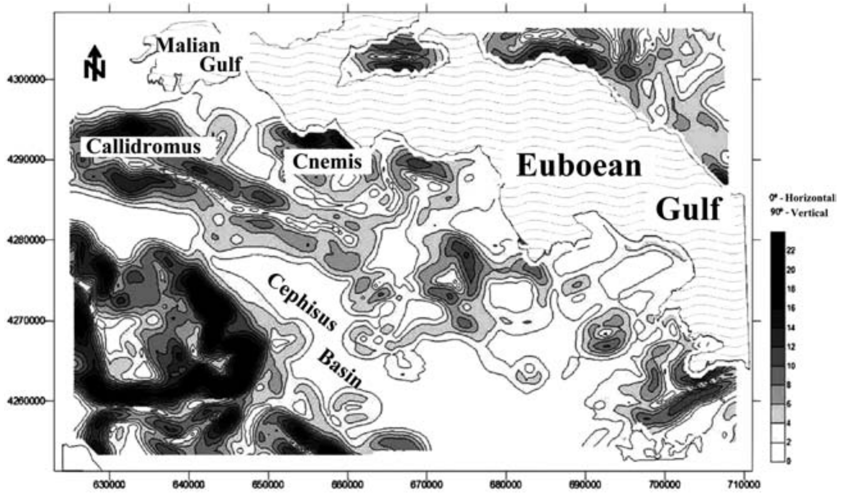

Figure 1.4. Slope map (values in degrees) of the Epicnemidian Locris region.

during the coldest stages of the Pleistocene or even oxygen-isotope stages. However, the effect of tectonic processes on the highly fractured bedrock seen in this area raises certain doubts about the efficiency of the freezing-thawing process: the material was probably liberated by infrequent and low-intensity cycles and even by other process not involving cold. Nevertheless, it has been produced by environmental conditions that were not conducive to the development of vegetation. These may have been contemporary with the climate changes detected in other areas of Greece during the last ice age:

– During this period much of Macedonia and Northern Greece were covered by wooded tundra.[38]
– In the nearby Copaïs basin, fed by the Cephisus river and on the other side of the Locrian mountains, pollen analyses[39] have identified mainly arid but also cold conditions at various times in the Upper Pleistocene. In these conditions, which were unsuitable for the development of woodland, the only vegetation that could develop was low, such as graminae, artemisia and chenopods, which were joined by pine and oak when the climate became milder.

[38] Polunin and Walters 1985.
[39] Tzedakis 1999.

– Certain periglacial phenomena, such as frost wedges, have been found at sea level in Koroni, in the southern Peloponnese.[40] Microforms of this kind are very rare anywhere on the Mediterranean coast. Their presence on the Greek coast, if their origin is confirmed, would prove that periods of very intense cold (with periodically or permanently frozen earth) occurred at very southerly latitudes that were supposedly unaffected by these rigorous palaeoclimatic conditions.

The mountainsides are being heavily eroded today because of deforestation produced by human activities on the steep slopes and the intensity of rainfall. This means the rainwater washes enormous quantities of sediment downslope to the valley bottoms. It comes from (a) dislodging non-coherent Neogene crumbly materials; (b) breaking up Pleistocene colluvionar materials, or (c) the elimination from the slopes of pedogenic horizons developed during the Holocene. For this reasons, the dominant soils on the slopes are very poorly developed, and are mainly stony soils and entisoils characterised by containing little organic material and have little capacity for holding water.

The slopes that encircle the archaeological site of Naryca constitute a paradigm of the past and present erosion affecting the slopes of this region. One of the functions of part of the city's polygonal masonry wall was to act a buttress to prevent the soil on which the settlement was built being washed away. The walls of its ancient Byzantine church (sixth century AD onwards) have been undermined by erosion and fallen down the mountainside (Plate 1.5B). Suffusion niches (piping) are also common in the Neogene detrital soils it was built on. They are associated with seasonal flows of subterranean water associated with small perched aquifers. The water from them creates natural amphitheatres that increase in size as their edges recede and result in damp conditions that encourage the growth of hydrophilic plants. The only thing man can do to stop this happening is to stabilise the sides by buttressing them with large blocks of stone, which in the case of Naryca, have come from its ancient walls. However, some authors have assumed that one of the natural basins nearby was a real theatre,[41] an interpretation that should be supported by more rigorous arguments than the simple fact that it resembles one.

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40 Paepe *et alii* 1990.
41 Pritchett 4.157–158.

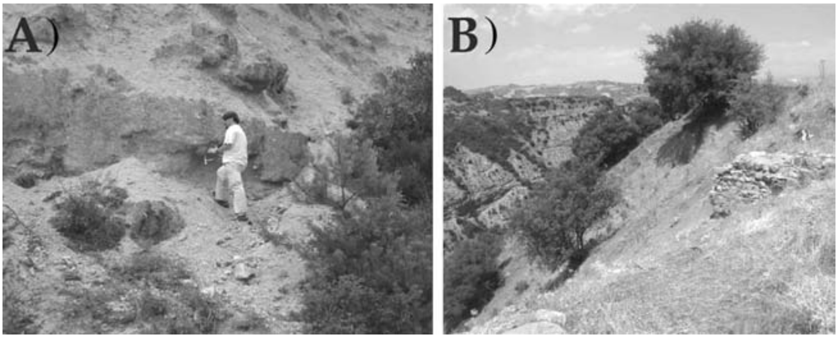

Plate 1.5. (A): Colluvial deposits regularising the slopes on the West side of Mendenitsa. (B): Walls of a Byzantine church affected by the erosion of the slopes in the archaeological site of Naryca.

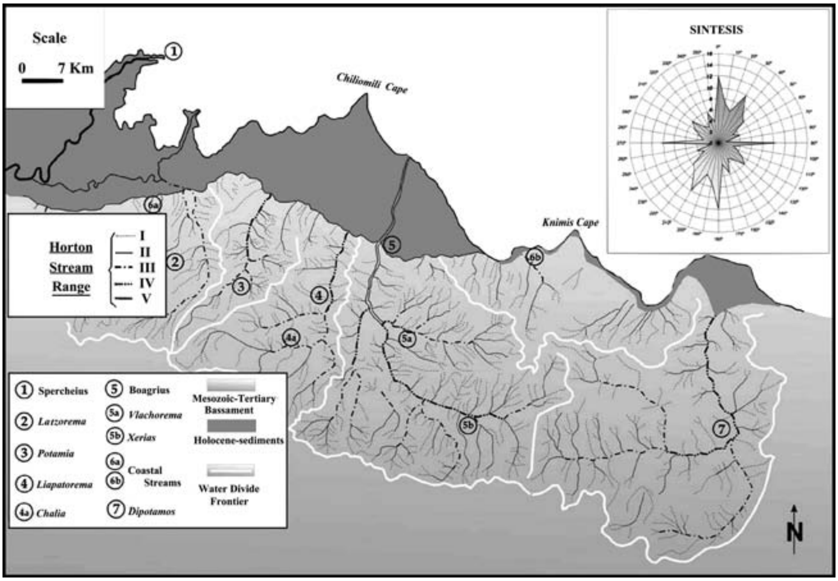

Figure 1.5. Drainage map of the area studied and rose diagram showing the direction of its streams.

Table 1.2: Stream order analysis and specific morphometric parameters of the drainage network of the Locrian mountains.

Fluvial Basin	Latzorema Valley	Potamia Valley	Liapatorema Valley	Boagrius Valley	Dipotamos Valley	Coastal 6A	Coastal 6B	Total
Length Principal Stream (Km)	12	13,3	16,5	23,8	23,5			89,1
Catchment Area (Km^2)	33,2	24,1	48,76	107,1	108,25	40	38,5	399,91
Number Total Streams	79	73	135	324	222	13	82	928
Length Total Stream (Km)	66,8	44,15	99,55	231,4	201,5	11,35	63,8	718,55
Drainage Density (Km/Km^2)	2	1,8	2	2,2	1,86			9,86
Transverse Topographic Symmetry Factor	4	1,7	X= 6; max. 9	X= 8; max. 20	X = 2; max. 5			
Total Streams 1st Order	62	54	111	258	175	11	63	734
Total Length 1st Order	38,95	23,7	60,95	128,15	105,25	7,85	43,25	408,1
Bifurcation Ratio	4,4	3,3	5,5	4,9	4,7	3,6	3,9	
Total Streams 2st Order	14	16	20	52	37	3	16	158
Total Length 2st Order	18,15	14,2	24	56,6	51,35	3,5	14,5	182,3
Bifurcation Ratio	7	4	6,6	5,2	4,1		5,3	
Total Streams 3st Order	2	4	3	10	9		3	31
Total Length 3st Order	9,7	2,25	8,55	24,9	30,3		6,5	82,2
Bifurcation Ratio	2	4	3	3,3	9			
Total Streams 4st Order	1	1	1	3	1			7
Total Length 4st Order	5,5	4	6	17,25	14,6			47,35
Bifurcation Ratio				3				
Total Stream 5st Order				1				1
Total Length 5st Order				4,5				4,5

The River Network: Morphometric Characteristics

In Locrian mountains, denudation has mostly been caused by fluvial erosion produced by the vast number of streams—approximately a thousand (Figure 1.5)—that drain their slopes. Many of them are not perennial rivers: they are either seasonal or, in most cases, only flow under exceptional circumstances. These streams flow through several small basins with a surface area of about 100 sq km or less (Table 1.1). They include, from west to east, the valleys of the Latzorema (Plate 1.6), Potamia, Liapatorema, Boagrius (Platanias), Dipotamos. In addition there are two systems of coastal valleys with short riverbeds: one is on the West margin of the area studied (6a) and the other (6b), on the southern side of Mount Cnemis (Figure 1.5).

The morphometric characteristics of the river network have been analysed in order to determine the relationships between the various water channels and the geological structures. To achieve this, the study of the river basins has looked at the various geological substrates that appear in the upper and middle stretches of the valleys. The sectors at the end of the valley on the coastal plain have been ignored: the absence of tributaries and the lack of tectonic action, together with the recent nature of the materials advised against their inclusion for methodological purposes.

Table 1.3 shows the type of substrates drained by each of the river basins. It will be noted that more than half of their territories (55 %) consist of Neogene detritic materials (Figure 1.3). In second place are limestone bedrocks (25 %) that constitute the upstream extensions, which are always very favourable to underground karstic drainage. The other geological outcrops account for less than 10 % of the surface area, and are minimal (<1 %) in areas with Mesozoic conglomerates and Palaeozoic strata.

In order to study the Locrian basins, a slope map (Figure 1.4) of the area was extracted automatically from the Digital Elevation Model (D.E.M.) and the map of the drainage network (Figure 1.5). Their hierarchical organization, drainage density, orientation and length of the streams in kilometres, etc. has been analysed and other geomorphic parameters have been determined. In order to correct some small errors, this Digital Elevation Model was then compared with a map produced from 1:50000 topographic maps and aerial photographs examined.

The specific morphometric parameters of the drainage network were evaluated using the Horton-Strahler methods. They established a hierarchical order of the streams from the simplest (Order 1) to the most complex (Order >5). Another aspect examined was the Bifurcation Index. This is more useful than other morphometric parameters for determining

Table 1.3. Lithological composition (%) of the drainage network of the Locrian region.

Basin	Clastic Sediments *Neogene*	Limestones Dolomites *Mesozoic*	Schist Ophiolites *Mesozoic*	Basic Igneous rocks *Mesozoic*	Flysch Formation *Mesozoic*	Conglomerates *Mesozoic*	Shales conglomerates *Paleozoic*
Latzorema	22%	39%	—	—	29%	10%	—
Potamia	76%	24%	—	—	—	—	—
Liapatorema	68%	20%	12%	—	—	—	—
Boagrius	60%	6%	15%	19%	—	—	—
Dipotamos	70%	15%	—	12%	—	—	3%
Coastal Valleys (6b)	18%	52%	—	30%	—	—	—
Coastal Valleys (6a)	—	56%	—	—	44%	—	—
TOTAL	55%	25%	6%	6%	7%	0,5%	0,5%

hydrographic networks' degree of hierarchical organization. In particular, those relating to 1st–3rd orders of the streams have been much used to determine areas with differing tectonic activity, by comparing the spatial variation of their values.[42]

The Asymmetry Index of Drainage Networks and the Transverse Topographic Symmetry Factor have also been applied (Rincón and Vegas 2000). The first is found by dividing the area of a slope by the total area of the basin: the closer it is to 50 % the less influence tectonic activity will have had in determining the position of the streams. The Transverse Topographic Symmetry Factor pursues the same objective. It consists of establishing the distance between the main stream and the limits of its drainage basin: a symmetrical basin will have a value of 0, suggesting that there are no tectonic factors in its territory; an asymmetrical basin will have higher values. These show the degree of asymmetry that exists between the stream's position and the edges of the basin, revealing the possible role of geological factors in the position of the main stream and its erosive action. The Liapatorema and the Boagrius basins, separated by a narrow water divide, are markedly asymmetrical examples.

In short, the general shape of Epicnemidian Locris' drainage network is dendritic-rectangular (Figure 1.5). This is demonstrated by the numerous confluences of streams with angles of nearly 90°, proving that much of their route is controlled by a complex and intricate fault system. Historical evidence of this control comes from certain references made in Antiquity to particular rivers (the Spercheius, Boagrius) that flowed into the Malian Gulf: the channels they followed were sometimes diverted as a result of major earthquakes.[43] The main directions in which the streams flow are:

- The dominant direction (Figure 1.5) is south-north and accounts for 11.8 % of the total length of the streams in the drainage network. It coincides with the line with the steepest gradient between the mountain domain and the sea.
- Another frequent direction (10 % of the total length) is clearly tectonic in origin since it is associated with the E-W system of faults (N90°E) discussed above in section 2.2.
- There are numerous stretches that display a NNE-SSW pattern (N20°-30°E): 9.8 % and 6.8 %, respectively (Figure 1.5). They adapt to the

42 Musumeci *et alii* 2003.
43 Cf. Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6 = Str. 1.3.20.

fracturing that defines the West edge of the island of Euboea and which extends towards the interior of Locris. The Potamia, Liapatorema and Boagrius rivers appear to follow this tectonic direction in many places. It also seems to determine the presence of a small block that has subsided and adopts this orientation and over which the parallel rivers of the Liapatorema and Boagrius flow. Since the lithology of both slopes can be considered uniform, only a tectonic element of this kind would explain the markedly asymmetrical character of their basins' geometry, with very high Transverse Topographic Symmetry Factor values (average values of 6 and 8), with absolute maximums of 9.6 and 20: Table 1.2.

– Finally the SE-NW direction (130°N-140°E) accounts for 6%. Perhaps this is also tectonic in origin, and could be associated with the large landform that borders the northern coast of the island of Euboea.

With regard to the drainage density of the hydrographic network we would note the high value of this parameter in these basins (Table 1.2): for each square kilometre of surface area there are 2 lineal metres of streams. In fact, the drainage density varies from 2.2 km/km^2 in the Boagrius valley to 1.8 km/km^2 in that of the Potamia. This fact and the considerable gradient of the Locrian slopes explain the limited suitability of this geomorphological domain for agriculture. Density values are lower (<1.5) in those areas where there are limestone rocks, which are very permeable because of the presence of fissures, joints and karstic micromorphologies.

The largest valleys of the area studied are those dissected by the rivers Dipotamos and Boagrius (Platanias). Both basins have a similar area, the first 108.25 sq km and the second 107.10 sq km However, the Boagrius has much more developed hydrographic network. This is demonstrated by the order reached by its streams (5th Order) and it has 102 more streams than the Dipotamos (222 streams) and also by the fact that its many tributaries (Table 1.2) cover a greater distance (30 km). The other basins have areas of less than 50 sq km.

The streams of the Boagrius basin draw a complex network of tributaries with a total length of some 230 km. Its drainage density, at 2.2 km/km^2, is the highest value of all the basins (Table 1.2). The trunk stream is formed by the confluence of the Xerias and the Vlachorema and its waters, just as described in Antiquity (Str. 9.4.4), consist of winter streams. One of its upstream extensions consists of the Fontanorema gorge and the Agiou Ioannou, which is very close to the Fontana Pass. Neogene sediments appear in most of its catchment area (60%) (Table 1.3) and, as has been said, eastward drainage

Plate 1.6. Vertical erosion by the dry bed of the river Latzorema in the bedrock and the recent colluvial deposits that have fallen from its slopes. Persistent tectonic uplift forced the streams to entrench in their riverbed. Photo taken from the top of the Chapel of Profitis Ilias, to the north of Mendenitsa.

extension took place: the basin's West slope has a very small surface area and its segments are based on Neogene Table-lands; the eastern slope is much larger and consists of the same materials until it reaches the Mesozoic relief of Mount Cnemis. As well as running N-S, the pattern of streams in this network follows predominantly tectonic lines, the most frequent being NNE-SSW and E-W (Figure 1.5). It is the only valley to have some stretches with an alluvial bottom of any breadth. At its widest this is 500–700 m across, and the valley floor is defined by long, gentle slopes. This land can be farmed, helping to determine the sites chosen for the towns of Komnina and Rengini, on the banks of its tributary the Xerias.

The Dipotamos lies on the east of the area studied. Its streams have a total length of more than 200 km (201.5 km), giving a drainage density of 1.86 km/km^2 (Table 1.2). The basin is formed of Tertiary fanglomerates (70 %) (Table 1.3) and displays a certain lack of symmetry in some places. In some stretches, as it flows through the resistant dolomite strata that abound on its West face, it has carved out deep gorges. On the other bank

there is an outcrop dating to the Permo-Carboniferous belonging to the Paleozoic basement rocks (I.G.S.R. 1967). Its streams flow mainly N-S or E-W (Figure 1.6).

The valleys of the Latzorema and the Potamia are fairly similar in terms of the size of their basins (33.2 sq km and 24.1 sq km) and drainage density (2 and 1.8 km/km^2 respectively): Table 1.2. In both cases their upstream extensions lie in the limestone peaks of the Callidromus and downstream their slopes consist of Neogene strata (22% and 76%), except for the West slope of the Latzorema where there is an outcrop of flysch (29%) and other Mesozoic materials (10%) (Table 1.3). The predominant direction of the streams in this basin is the tectonic direction N30°E while streams flowing parallel with the meridian have similar values, which are close to 8% The most frequent direction (11%) of the streams of the Potamia basin is also N30° (Figure 1.5), followed by E-W (8%), SE-NW (8%) and N-S (7%) in the case of their tributaries.

The valley of the Liapatorema has an area of approximately 48.75 sq km and the total length of its streams is about 100 km, which gives it a drainage density of 2 km/km^2 (Table 1.2). Tectonic activity and heavy erosion by its tributary, the Chalias, mean that its basin is quite asymmetrical. This basin, like the others, has cut through Neogene materials (68%), except in the upstream extension where there are limestones, dolomites (20%) and green schists with ophiolites (12%) (Table 1.3). The directions taken by the drainage network is strongly controlled by fractures in an E-W direction (Figure 1.6).

Finally the river networks on the inland side of the coastal relief have been divided into two sectors: the West, at the foot of the Callidromus (6b) and the eastern, at the foot of the Cnemis (6a): Figure 1.5. They both have similar areas (38.5 sq km and 40 sq km) and mainly consist of minor 1st and 2nd Order streams (Table 1.2 and Figure 1.6). They are characterised by steep riverbeds and patterns that have been determined by the lines of maximum gradient (N–S) and the fracture fields that compartmentalise the Mesozoic bedrocks drained by their intermittent streams.

4. The Coastal Plain and the Coast of Malian Gulf

At the foot of the upthrow block is the graben of the Malian Gulf. Its southern edge forms a coastal plain consisting of different types of materials, primarily detritic sediments washed down by the river network that have accumulated in the lowlands at the foot of the mountains. There are also

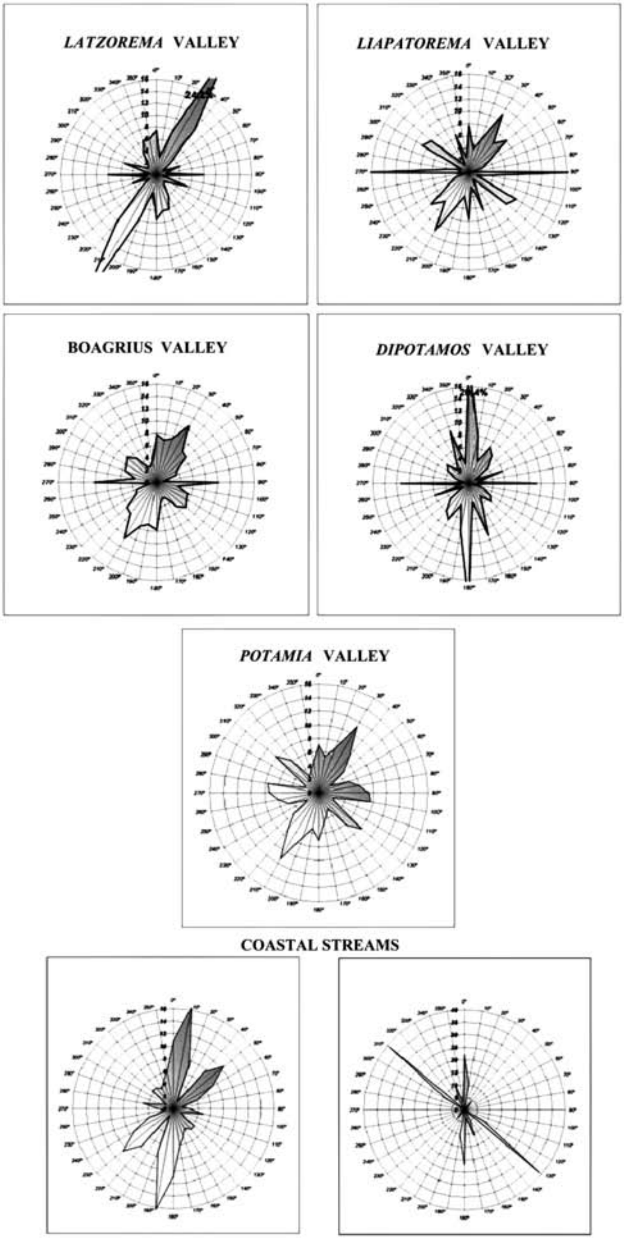

Figure 1.6. Rose diagrams showing the orientation of streams in the basins of the Latzorema, Liapatorema, Boagrius, Dipotamos, Potamia and minor streams along the coast.

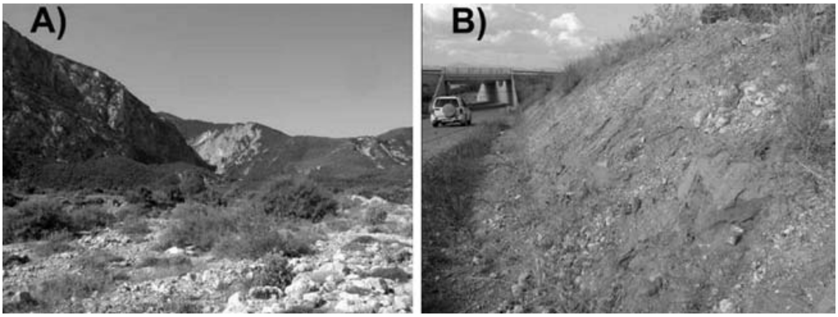

Plate 1.7. (A): Clastic materials related to the apex of the river Litharitza's alluvial fan, the west of the Thermopylae Pass. (B): Subhorizontal detrital beds (Dep. 20a and 20b) associated with the middle part of the Latzorema's alluvial fan, to the west of Agia Triada.

quite different deposits such as travertines (carbonates) in the hot springs of Thermopylae. Finally there are the materials specifically associated with coastal regions, such as beach or deltaic sediments (Figure 1.3).

The coastal plain has been formed very recently. This is testified by all the ancient historical sources that mention this part of the Aegean. They describe it as a rocky coast of a very different appearance and so narrow that west-east transit along the shore was exceedingly difficult. Its narrowness explains the defensive strategy adopted at particular places and times in history, such as the famous battle of Thermopylae in 480 BC and others that took place in the region in 279 BC and 191 BC.[44]

Alluvial Fans: Their Role in Forming the Coastal Plain

The multitude of streams that flow down the Locrian mountains have produced extensive alluvial fans along their northern side, which are sometimes more than 5 km long and 4 km wide (Figure 1.3). They are made up of enormous quantities of detritic materials that accumulated during the Holocene as a result of tectonic uplift and subsidence. Initially the sediments lay chaotically at the valley mouths (Plate 1.7A). Later, with the passage of time and the arrival of more debris, they gradually accumulated (here almost always in subhorizontal beds: Plate 1.7B), to create the coastal plain that today dominates the landscape of the southern shore of the Malian

[44] Kraft *et alii* 1987.

Gulf. This constant process has, been extending, particularly over the last 6,000 years, the coastal plain by pushing and displacing the shore of the gulf gradually northwards. The rivers Boagrius, Potamia and Liapatorema have been mainly responsible for this advance. The size of their respective alluvial fans has been conditioned by various factors: the area of their respective drainage basins and the original depth of the shore where the sediments were deposited. This is why the Dipotamos fan is very small, despite the large surface area of its basin (Figure 1.3). On the other hand, the lateral contours of the alluvial fans are coalescent and their distal zones have produced real "alluvial fan deltas" as a result of the redistributive action of the sea.

The head or apex of the alluvial fan is located at the place where torrential waters leave the mountains and spread out when they reach the plain. In geomorphological settings of this kind, there is very considerable and markedly heterometric detritic sedimentation. These materials have frequently been moved by debris-flow generated in the course of heavy rains that produce fast-flowing, dense streams capable of carrying sediment materials of all sizes. There are two main factors that affect the accumulation of materials in the apices of alluvial fans:

- The series of knick points in stream profiles as they descend the mountainside, linked with the proximity of sea base level.
- The substitution of narrow and confined riverbeds in the gorges by more numerous but very unstable beds shaped by the waters when they reach the plain. The fact that they are wider and shallower means that the friction experienced by the water is greatly increased. This slows down the flow of the water and causes the detritic load to accumulate as very badly sorted boulders, pebbles, gravels, and a fine proportion of sands and silt are abandoned (Figure 1.7). The instability of these streams can clearly be seen in the numerous channels and corrective structures built in the twentieth century on most of the watercourses of this coastal plain, designed to minimise the effects of flash-floods.

However, in areas furthest from the headwaters, or distal zones, sediment is more than 30 m thick (Plate 1.8A). This was confirmed in drilling operations (Plate 1.8B) carried out in July and August 2004 in relation to work on the proposed new stretch of the Athens-Lamia highway. As is typical in these final sectors of alluvial fans, fine materials—sand, silt and clay—predominate (Plate 1.8A and C), although there are also beds of courser materials such as pebbles and gravel.

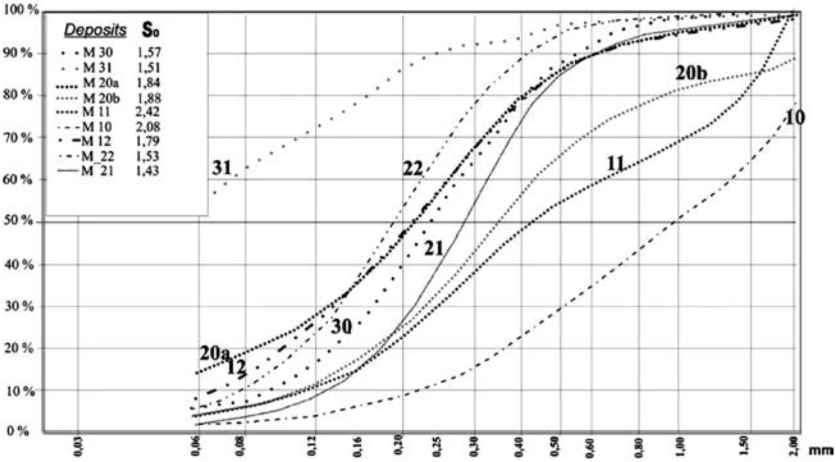

Figure 1.7. Representation of the grain-size distribution curves of various deposits from alluvial fans. *Present-day deposits*: 10. Liapatorema alluvial-fan; 11. Potamia alluvial-fan; 12. Dipotamos alluvial-fan. *Undifferentiated Holocene deposits*: 20a and 20b: Latzorema alluvial fan; 21. Boagrius alluvial-fan; 30 and 31. Boagrius alluvial fan (marginal deposits at the foot of the Chapel of Agios Georgios). 22. Dipotamos alluvial fan.

Chronologically, two generations of recent alluvial sediments occupying different geomorphological locations can be seen (Plate 1.8). They are contemporary with distinct phases that occurred in the area where landscape instability was due to heavy soil erosion and intense stream aggradation.

– The earlier generation is of doubtful age and its precise position within the Holocene is currently being studied. Its morphology is that of a terrace (Plate 1.9A) at the apex and it comprises detrital materials (8–15 m thick), frequently as subhorizontally stratified gravel surrounded by sand with a low sorting index, So = 1.43–1.88 (Figure 1.7, curves 20a, 20b, 21, 22, 30 and 31 11). After it was deposited there was a period when the river beds cut through it, possibly as a result of tectonic action.
– The younger generation is buried below the older sedimentation (Plate 1.9). It is more recent and consists mainly of coarse deposits (Plate 1.9B) that have been moved by debris flow associated with events accompanied by heavy rainfall, such as those at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in some of these basins. The torrents are very destructive because of the enormous load of sediment they are capable of transporting, and in addition to gravel and pebbles they dislodge a great many boulders amongst which are small accumulations

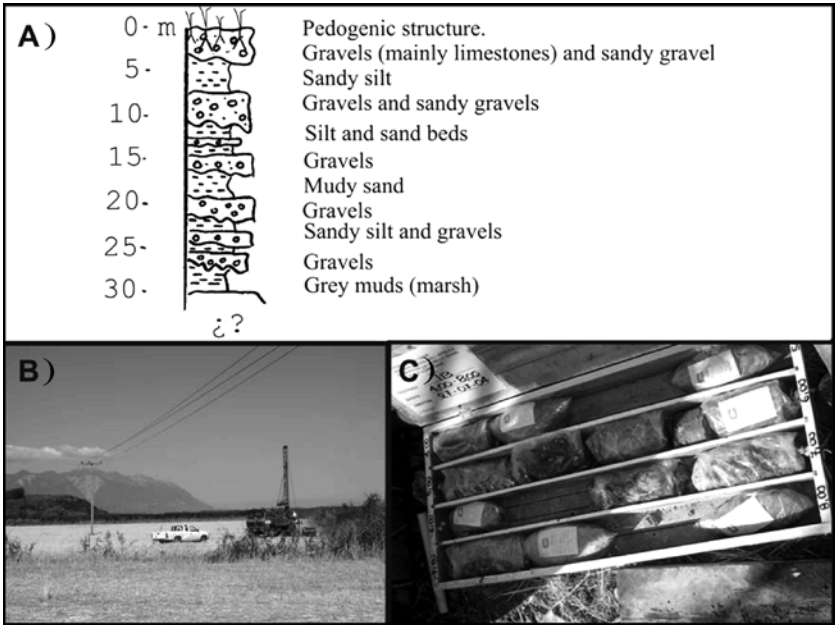

Plate 1.8. (A): Stratigraphic profile from a borehole made near km. 186 of the Athens-Lamia highway, south of Nea Skarfeia. (B): View of the site of the borehole made in the ancient marsh of the Alponus site. (C): Detrital material collected from a borehole located near the Alponus settlement.

of very poorly sorted sand: Sorting index, So = 1.79–2.42 (Figure 1.7, curve 10, 11 and 12).

It is possible that some of these unstable phases on the Locrian slopes were contemporary with certain erosive stages detected in the basins of Macedonia and other neighbouring regions.[45] One of them, with moderates rates of soil erosion, occurred more than three thousand years ago (3600–3000 Cal. B.P) in the Late Bronze Age. The next was more intense and included two historical phases with major alluvial aggradation: the first took place between the Hellenistic Period and the Early Byzantine Era (third century BC–seventh century AD), the last, with even more marked effects occurred during the Ottoman period, from the beginning of the 15th to the 20th century AD.[46]

45 Lespez 2003.
46 Lespez 2003.

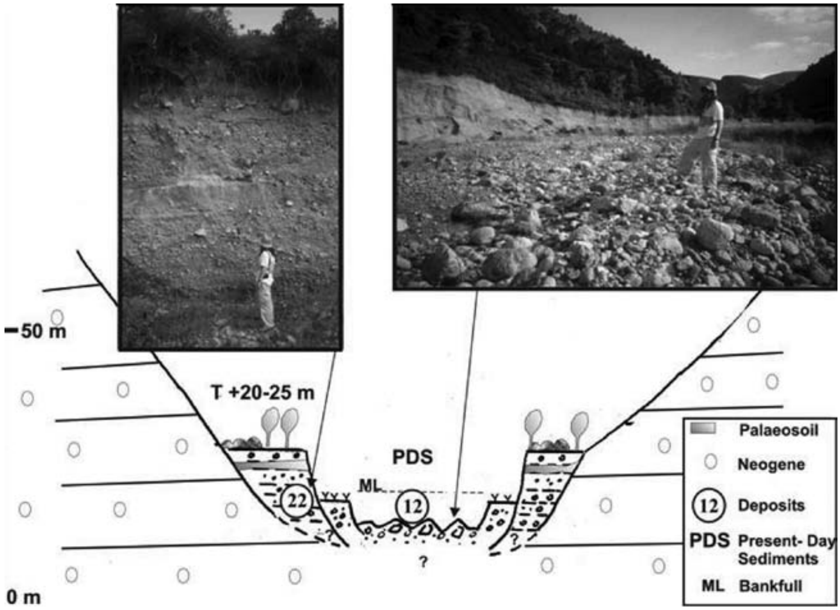

Plate 1.9. Transversal profile of geomorphological units in the apex zone of the alluvial fan of the river Dipotamos: (A) Holocene terrace; (B) Historical deposits.

The Accumulations on the Coast: Deltas, Alluvial Fan Deltas and Beaches

Any analysis of the coastal accumulations of this sector should also take into account three important factors:

a) The Mediterranean's complex history of marine transgression and regression during the Upper Pleistocene and the Holocene, with two key dates:
   - A lowstand dated to 18000 BP. The sea level of all the seas on the planet at that time was approximately 120 m. lower that their present level, because of the enormous ice fields that extended over vast continental areas. This would mean that the Malian Gulf and some parts of the Euboean Gulf emerged from the sea, and the island of Euboea would have been joined to the territories of mainland Greece in some places.
   - A highstand at around 5,000–6000 BP. The sea level, after a prolonged recovery from -120 m caused by the thaw, reached a morphometric height more or less the same as its present level. It was

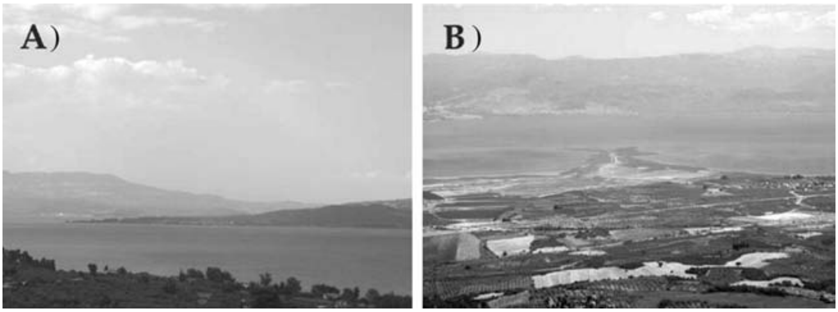

Plate 1.10. (A): View of the Knimida Strait on the West edge of the Euboean Gulf. (B): The delta on the southern mouth of the Spercheius.

from this point onwards, with the sea at this level, that the distinct accumulations that make up the Locrian plane were generated.

b) The Holocene coastal evolution was the result of evident tectonic control which has resulted in some sectors, such as the Malian Gulf or the Euboean Gulf, subsiding, and others rising, such as the mountains on their southern coast. There have also been very rapid readjustments that have raised some shorelines a few centimetres (the island of Euboea and the Gulf of Atalanti) due to the action of co-seismic events associated with violent earthquakes.

c) The shores of the gulf are subject to relatively low wave energy. In fact, tide-gauge data provided by the Greek Navy show that the range of tides is small. This fact and the semi-enclosed character of the Gulfs of Euboea (Plate 1.10A) and Malis imply low wave energy and little effects on the coastline. Clear evidence of this is provided, firstly, by the existence of deltas, such as that of the Spercheius, with its "bird's foot" morphology (Plate 1.10B); these delta forms are typical of the inland seas with little wave power and very weak coastal currents. Secondly, all the accumulations are of eminently continental origin, their autochthonous character being confirmed by mineralogy (Table 1.4), and come from the nearby mountain rim. Finally, this coast is sporadically subjected to devastating high-energy events associated with tsunamis. These have recurred over time and are known from the historic sources and from a morphological analysis of the littoral zone of this Aegean coast.

Table 1.4. Mineralogical characteristics of sand (A) and clay (B) fractions belonging to the sediments found on the southern coast of the Malian Gulf. *Alluvial-fan systems*: Present-day deposits: M10. Liapatorema alluvial-fan; M11. Potamia alluvial-fan; M12. Dipotamos alluvial-fan. Undifferentiated Holocene deposits: M20a and M20b: Latzorema alluvial fan; M21. Boagrius alluvial-fan; M30 and M31. Boagrius alluvial fan (marginal deposits at the foot of the Chapel of Agios Georgios). M22. Dipotamos alluvial fan. *Others deposits*: Dep. M1. Present-day channel river sediments of the Spercheius delta. Dep. MB Chiliomili Cape beach; Dep. MC Cnemis Cape beach.

D-RX ANALYSIS (%)										
			FELDESPATS							
SAMPLE	Quartz	Phyllosilicate	Potassium	Albite/Anorthite	Calcite	Dolomite	Others	Kaolinite	Smectite	Illite
M_10	11	20		4	65			27	25	48
M_11	19	37		19	20	4	1 pyroxen	75	4	21
M_12	25	28	13		23	11	Trace Pyroxen	53	11	36
M_1	3	5		12	80			9	23	68
MB	21	21	3	11	29	15		23	23	54
MC	16	27			38	19		27	20	53
MA	29	26	traces	15	13	17	Trace Pyroxen	31	24	45
M_20 A	15	44	traces	traces	37	4		23	77	traces
M-20 B	4	9	4	2	35	44	2 Anfibol.	31	47	26
M_21	27	30		13	30			68		32
M_30	30	27	16	4	18	5	Trace Pyroxen	48	12	40
M_31	37	26	10	10	13		4 Pyroxen	22	23	55
M_22	11	11	34	8	30	6	Trace Pyroxen	55	20	25

The Malian Gulf is characterized by its uniform bathymetry and shallow waters: its maximum depth has been estimated to be 26 m (I.G.M.E. 1991). To the east, the Knimida Strait connects this gulf with the Euboean Gulf, whose floors are more than 440 m deep (I.G.M.E. 1991). The Malian Gulf is associated with a graben whose West extension continues into the basin of the river Spercheius. This block still has a notable tendency to subside, but its sides are sinking at different rates. This is shown by the thicknesses of the most recent sediments on its edges: Holocene materials are thickest (>40 m) on the Locrian coast, close to the present location of the southern mouth of the Spercheius; however, on the northern edge, they are only 6–8 m thick (I.G.M.E. 1991).

The gulf's progressive subsidence has attracted enormous amounts of sediment from its mountain rim that have accumulated in its depths and modified its coastal configuration. They come mainly from the Spercheius river basin. However, in this process we also have to take into account the debris washed down by the Callidromus and Cnemis streams, creating numerous alluvial-fan deltas. Both the River Spercheius and these streams have been very effective in carrying sediment into the marine basin beside them. The cumulative effect has been very similar to that produced by most of the small mountain streams that drain the Alpine areas of southeast Europe. In fact their high channel gradients and the erosive capacity of their headwaters make them much more efficient in delivering sediments to the sea than the larger river systems.[47]

The Delta of Spercheius

The river Spercheius is 82 km long and its basin covers an area of more than 1,664 sq km It has an elongated delta which in the 1990s had an area of 155 sq km.[48] This river has a mean annual discharge of 62 m^3/s and it reaches its maximum monthly discharge in January (110 m^3/s) and February (102 m^3/s).[49] It carries a large quantity of sediment, most of which consists of very fine particles of silt: <0.06 mm and clay: <0.002 mm that are carried in suspension. Its annual suspended sediment yield has been calculated around 805 T/km^2 (Poulos *et alii* 1996), and its mean annual suspended sediment load is 1.45 million Tons.[50]

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47 Milliman and Syvitski 1992.
48 Poulos *et alii* 1996.
49 Therianos 1974.
50 Poulos and Chronis 1997.

The present river mouths are responsible for the progradation of two deltas: the northern and the southern, or the Bouka, the latter situated to the north of Agia Triada. They both have a digitate configuration linked to extended bars of sediment adjacent to the river mouths. These are advancing progressively towards the interior of the gulf due to the large amount of river debris that propelled along them towards the sea. The morphology of this delta is thus very similar to that of other Greek deltas[51] in areas where the swell is very weak and the river carries considerable debris. The geohistorical data provided by previous researchers demonstrate that the West side of this gulf is filling rapidly and that the Spercheius delta has extended considerably in the last 2000 years.

From the morphological point of view, the Spercheius delta has two clearly differentiated domains: the subaerial delta and the subaqueous delta. The first is made up of two units:

– The delta plain, where some areas have been greatly modified by human activity in order to exploit them for agriculture (because of their fertile silt and clay) and numerous wetlands.
– The elongated edge of the delta, the perimeter of which measured 26 kilometres in 1990.

The subaqueous domain of the delta includes the delta front and the delta slopes. The delta front consists of the same fine materials as the subaerial delta, but here they are under shallow water. Their frontier towards the sea is defined by a delta slope. It has a gently progradant profile down which the finest sediment is carried by the river current. The instability of these delta slopes is well known. With a gradient of just 2° the fine sediment soaked in water is frequently affected by mass slipping or "slumping". However, topographic and bathymetric maps from the 1950s (G.H.S., 1954), show the gradient of the delta of the northern mouth to be very small (1.43°), and the gradient of the southern river mouth is even smaller (<1°).

The Alluvial-Fan Deltas of the Locrian Coast

On the southern shore of the gulf there are sediments associated with "*alluvial fan deltas*" (Figure 1.9). A "*fan delta*" has been defined as an alluvial fan prograding directly into a standing body of water from adjacent higher ground.[52] Fan deltas are typical of the Mediterranean seaboard and they are

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51 Georgas and Perissoratis 1992.
52 Holmes 1961.

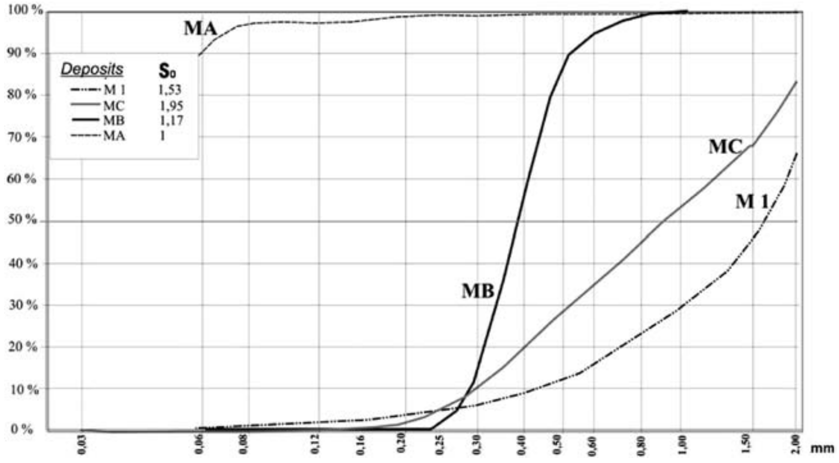

Figure 1.8. Representation of the grain-size distribution curves of the deposits of the littoral zone: Dep. M1. Present-day river channel sediments of the Spercheius delta. Dep. MB Chiliomili Cape beach; Dep. MC Cnemis Cape beach.

relatively frequent in those areas where the effects of considerable tectonic activity on the edges of mountains near the coast combine with low-energy seas.[53]

The fan deltas of the coast adapt to the distal bodies of the Holocene alluvial fans (analysed in section 4) and can reach thickness of 30–50 m, as has been observed in the mouth of the Boagrius (Platanias and Xerias). This implies a very high rate of sedimentation, 3–5 m every 1000 years, rapidly creating these geomorphological units (I.G.M.E. 1991). Corroborating this, the increased areas of some fan-deltas can be seen in certain very shallow parts of the gulf by simply comparing the shoreline on the topographical maps of 1954 with its position on maps produced in 1990. This is due to the large sediment-carrying capacity, already mentioned, of the rivers that flow into the gulf. The bathymetry suggests that today these fan deltas have a subaqueous front with a fairly steep gradient descending from minimum depths (0.5–1 m) to depths of -25 m over a short distance.

In the absence of geophysical profiles it is impossible to make a rigorous identification of the type of fan delta produced by the sedimentary bodies adjacent to the southern edge of the Malian Gulf. However, they

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53 Postma 1984; Colella 1988.

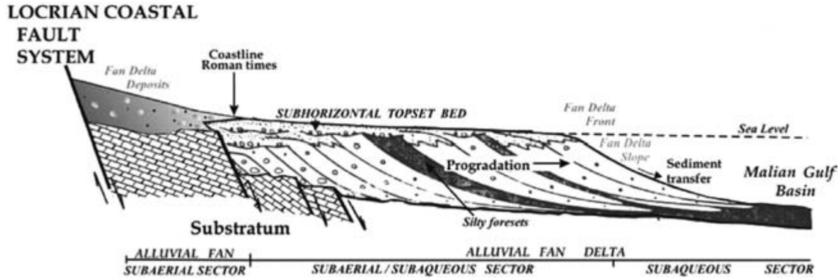

Figure 1.9. Site of the alluvial fan-delta on the southern edge of the Malian Gulf and the hypothetical structure of its sediment.

could be *Gilbert-type fan deltas* (Figure 1.9). These consist of a subhorizontal topset bed (subaerial alluvial fan deposits) capping steeply foreset beds (up to 35–40°).[54] Other events that encourage the development of these deltas, mentioned by some authors, support this hypothesis. The development of Gilbert-type fan-deltas on the coast is encouraged by steep subaqueous coastlines protected from strong longshore and tidal currents. Other favourable conditions are:

- A rapid uplift of the drainage area, providing a large amount of coarse sediment;
- A moderate amount of basin-floor subsidence that encourages deltaic progradation;
- A narrow subaerial coastline where the delta front is well fed by the arrival of sediment.

The Narrow Strips of Beach

There are numerous beaches (Plate 1.11A), a few metres wide along the subaerial perimeters of the delta-fans. They comprise sandy materials (Plate 1.11B) belonging to the distal sediments that make up these geomorphological units and that have been left behind by the movement of the waves. Since wave energy is minimal in the Gulf, there has been little modification of the alluvial sediment, which is limited to moderate sorting of the sand (Figure 1.7, curves 13 and 23) and the incorporation of minute quantities of bioclasts originating in the sea.

54 Colella 1988.

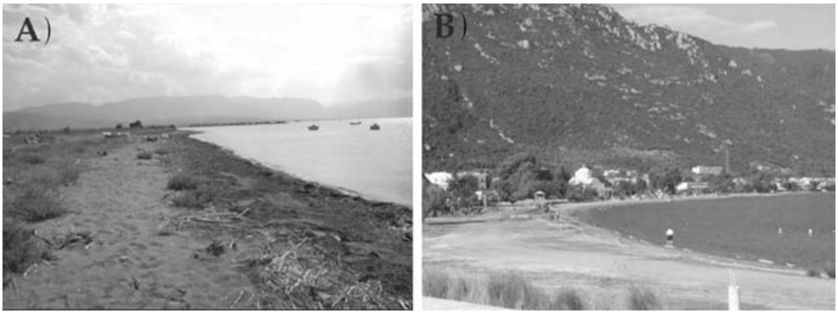

Plate 1.11. Chiliomili Cape beach (A) and panoramic view of Kamena Vourla beach (B).

The Travertines of the Ancient Pass of Thermopylae

Travertines are calcium carbonates deposited by precipitation from hot subterranean groundwater, rich in calcium and bicarbonate which emerges as hot springs.[55] The springs that give Thermopylae its name—θέρμος (hot), πύλαι (gates)—are located on the morphotectonic line known as the "Locrian Coast Fault System" and its seismic activity has interrupted the flow of the waters after earthquakes of certain intensity. There are numerous ancient references to these springs. Thus, we know from Philostratus (*Soph.* 551) that they were used as medicinal waters to cure sick people, and Strabo (9.4.2, 13) tells us they were venerated as the sacred waters of Heracles. Other historians, Herodotus (7.176.1; 216) and Livy (35.15.12), also refer to other aspects related to the area.

The hot springs have produced various deposits of Holocene and present-day travertines which together fill previous incised depressions in the coastal plain to a depth of more than 30 m.[56] However, despite their singular character, these sediments are the least representative of those deposited on this coastal plain (Figure 1.3) which perhaps explains why they were not included in a recent world survey of the principal deposits of tufa and travertine.[57]

From the geomorphological point of view, the travertines are also deposited in the shape of a fan with the apex situated in the springs (Plate 1.3C). Geothermal groundwater emerges and contains a high proportion of dissolved minerals and gases. These are precipitated very rapidly (Plate 1.12A),

55 Pentecost 2003.
56 Kraft *et alii* 1987.
57 Ford and Pedley 1996.

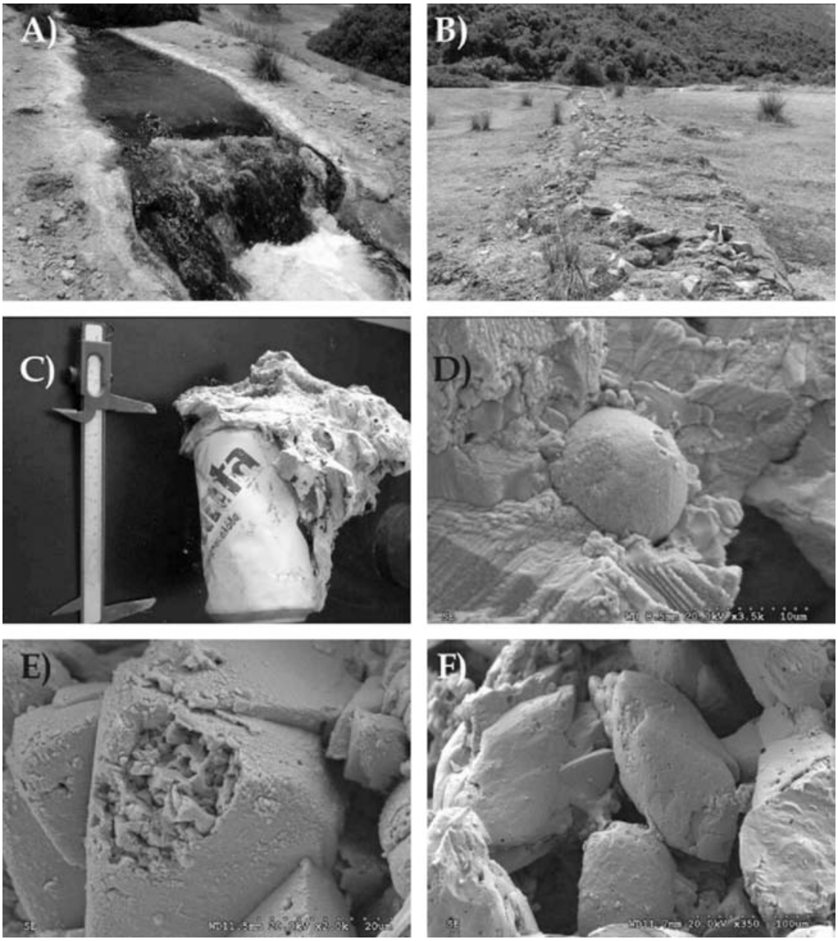

Plate 1.12: Travertine accumulations at the foot of the Thermopylae hot spring. (A): Travertine deposits filling an artificial channel. (B): Algal structures beside a small waterfall in the process of creating a travertine deposit. (C): Soft drink can partially covered by travertine. (D): Electronic microscope photo (García del Cura). (E): Electronic microscope photo (García del Cura). (F): Electronic microscope photo (García del Cura).

due to CO_2 outgassing when it comes into contact with the atmosphere. For this reason the carbonates dissolved in the water are precipitated physico-chemically on any inorganic (Plate 1.12B) or organic material (Plate 1.12C). In the latter case, the plant material is incorporated into the carbonate deposit and makes certain travertines very porous.

As evidence of active precipitation, we would mention the artificial drainage channels dug in the travertine at various times in the course of the twentieth century: today they are completely filled up and obliterated by the precipitation of carbonates. Further proof is provided by the contrast between the morphology described by the historical sources and what is being seen now: the famous and once narrow pass of Thermopylae, a strategic and defensive point in Antiquity, is today at the end of a wide plain consisting of very recent travertine and detritic sediments that have pushed the seashore several kilometres to the north.

Under an electronic microscope, travertines have large crystals of calcite, typical of hot springs, on bacteria and various algal carpets (Plates 1.12D, 1.12E and 1.12F).

Evolution of the Locrian Coast

In the light of the historical sources, particularly the descriptions given by Herodotus (7.176) and Strabo (9.4.17) of (a) the Locrian coast, (b) the positions of the ancient cities and (c) geomorphological analysis, numerous authors have noted the major changes that have taken place in the Aegean coastline. The study by Kraft *et alii* (1987) is notable for its interdisciplinary character. They have suggested an interesting evolution of the shores of the Malian Gulf and have established the probable configuration of the coast in different periods of history. Our observations corroborate many of the hypotheses proposed in that study so, apart from some small adjustments, we will accept their main evolutionary stages (Figure 1.10).

The most important change has occurred on the West shore of the Malian Gulf. There, the shoreline has prograded more than 15 km eastward over the last 4,500 years as a result of the silting produced by the alluvia carried by the river Spercheius.[58]

On the southern shore it is very possible that in the third millennium BC many places along the coastline coincided with the mountain sides of the Callidromus and Cnemis, defined by the presence of major faults (Figure 1.10A). At that time the main streams of the Locrian river network emptied directly into the sea or were building embryonic alluvial-fans. Not much debris was washed down by the streams because human activity had little impact on the vegetation. Some sites in the area dating to this period would have been built on the coast and, according to certain authors (Kraft 1987), these included Anthele.

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[58] Zamani and Maroukian 1979; Kraft 1987.

In the light of descriptions recorded in the fifth century BC, this weak morphogenesis would have continued for a considerable time. Thus the ancient sources[59] indicate that the Locrian settlements of Alponus and Nicaea (Figure 1.10B), now a considerable distance from the sea, were then on the coast. Moreover, the land around them was densely forested, although human activity had already started to degrade some slopes since neighbouring areas are described as "partly wooded".[60]

A very similar scenario emerges from the many accounts of the various battles to defend the Thermopylae pass. The most famous of these took place in 480 BC. All the descriptions refer to a very narrow pass which was less than 20 m wide in some places (west and east gates). This was because the sea came right to the edge of the *Trachinian Cliffs*, like a false sea-cliff, in view of the limited wave power capable of eroding these steep rock faces. This pass was described in very similar terms some centuries later in relation to the battles fought in 279 BC and 191 BC, the latter between the forces of Antiochus III and the Romans. In Pausanias' account of the first battle (10.21.4), he refers to the difficulty of ships reaching the shore because of the mud that extended offshore, which this historian assumed to be associated with the hot springs pouring into the sea from Thermopylae.

In Roman times, the coast of the southern shore of the Malian Gulf had a rather different profile since it had by then widened in some places to form the coastal plain: while there was little progradation at the Pass of Thermopylae and its width fluctuated in some places between 20 and 100 m,[61] elsewhere it was much wider. Evidence of this is the existence of second-century Roman tombs found in Agia Triada, not far from the southern mouth of the Spercheius (Figure 1.10C). Abundant Byzantine remains have also been found here. Their identification has made it possible to date, relatively, the coastal progradation. They include those found at a depth of about 8 m in an open trench pit at the Middle Gate of Thermopylae.[62]

Subsequently, large amounts of sediment were gradually washed down by torrential intermittent streams. It accumulated in the alluvial fans and at Thermopylae and, as Kraft *et alii* demonstrated by boreholes, the floor of

59 Dem. 19.83; Aeschin. 2.132–134; Str. 1.3.20; 9.4.4; Schol. *in Aeschin.* 2.132; Did. *In Dem. Com.*11.4; Polyb. 10.42.4; 18.1.5; Livy 28.5.18; 32.32.9.

60 Pascual, Domínguez, Sánchez Moreno and Mora, personal correspondence.

61 Kraft *et alii* 1987.

62 McKay 1963.

that historic pass was covered by nearly 20 m of sediment belonging to the *alluvial fan delta* and travertine deposits.[63]

Thus the arrival of new sediments was increasing the width of the coastal plain at the same time as the progradation of the *fan-deltas* was being pushed several kilometres northwards. It is possible that intensive human impact on the Locrian slopes that eliminated vegetation was responsible for the huge volume of sediment carried by the rivers into the sea during much of the Ottoman period.

The coast has not changed much since the end of the nineteenth century, as can be seen from the British Admiralty Chart nº 1556.[64] A comparison of the details of the coastline on 1/50000 maps produced in 1963 and 1990 (Figure 1.10D) reveals only small changes in the perimeter of the fan deltas on the southern shore of the Gulf. However, the changes are much more significant on its West shore, coinciding with the Spercheius delta.

Historical earthquakes and tsunamis that affected the Locrian coast and the island of Euboea are also fairly well known,[65] and it is possible that certain intense earthquakes (occurring in the fifth century BC and the mid-third century BC) were not mentioned in the written sources, but left a record of considerable destruction and damage to archaeological sites in areas close to Locris.[66]

The high level of seismic activity in the area is more than sufficient to explain why tsunamis occurred on this coast. But it is also possible that violent earthquakes could have caused submarine slides in the ancient and unstable slopes of the delta fronts on which lay great masses of unconsolidated sediments and may even have affected the subaerial delta. Phenomena of this kind have been studied recently in the West Mediterranean, such as that which occurred on 16/10/1979 in the Var delta in France, and were cited more than twenty years ago by some authors (Dufaure 1982; etc.) as a possible explanation for the catastrophe that destroyed the Greek city of Helice on the shores of the Selinous delta in the Gulf of Corinth in 373 BC.

In the Malian Gulf, the most violent tsunami recorded occurred in 426 BC or in the third century BC when at least three gigantic waves swept away various towns situated on what was then the coast. Demetrius of Callatis (*FGrH*

63 Kraft *et alii* 1987.

64 Reinders 2001.

65 Papazachos *et alii* 1982; Papadopoulos and Chalkis 1984; Papazachos *et alii* 1986. For Daphnus see Papakonstantinou and Zachos in Chapter 3.

66 Dakoronia and Stiros 1989.

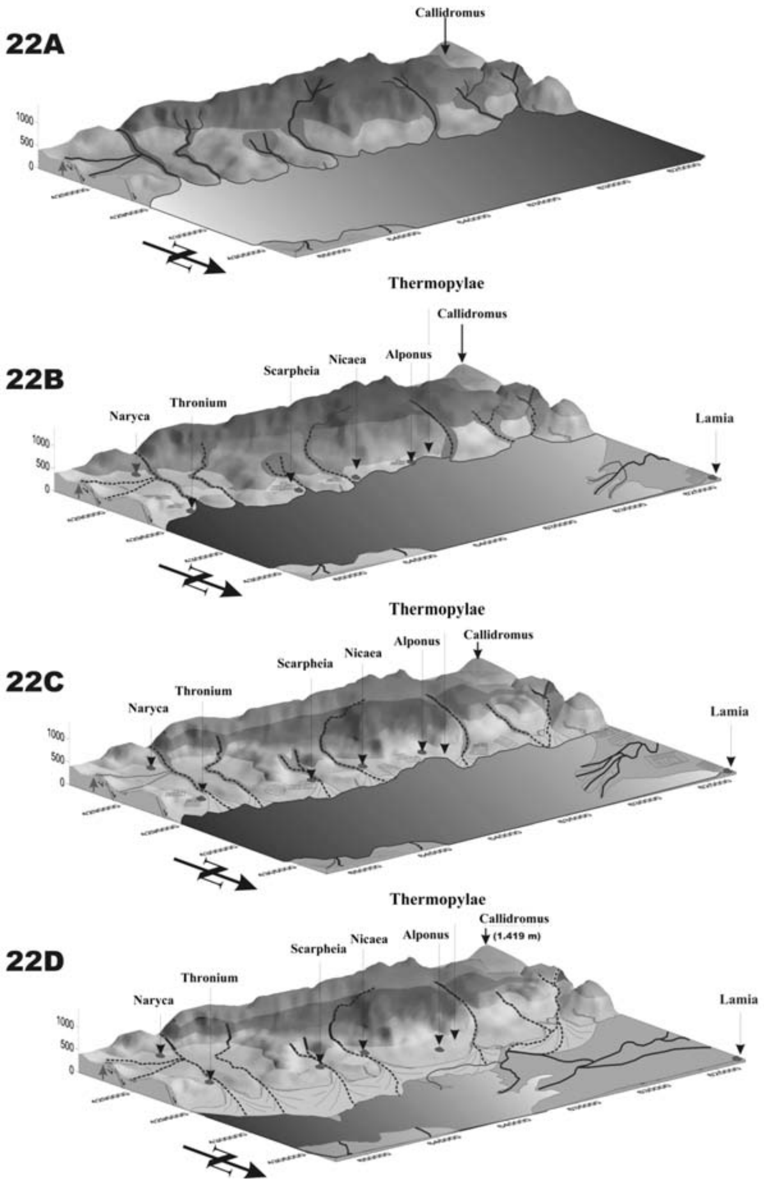

Figure 1.10. Schematic block-diagrams illustrating the palaeogeographic configuration of the Locrian coastline during the Late Holocene. Source: Kraft *et alii* 1987; Pascual, Domínguez, Sánchez-Moreno and Mora, personal correspondence.

Plate 1.13. Hypothetical sketch showing the tsunami of 426 BC or in third century BC near Alponus.

85 F6 = Str. 1.3.20) may have been describing this tsunami,[67] which he said reached places some twenty stades (about 3.6 km) inland and came from the west for it progressively devastated various Locrian harbours in its path as it moved east (Plate 1.13). Perhaps one of these great tidal waves, occurring in the shallowest part of the Gulf and coinciding with the sedimentation area of the ancient delta of the Spercheius, could have originated in a great earthquake that violently disturbed the deltaic materials, at that time lying at a steeper gradient on a deeper ocean floor. Procopius (*Goth.* 4. 25.16) mentions another tsunami that occurred in the Malian Gulf, possibly in AD 551.

[67] It has been assumed that the earthquake mentioned by Strabo is the same one described by Thucydides (3.89.1–3), which occurred in 426 (cf. Antonopoulos, 1992: 83–93) and hit Orobiae in Euboea, the island of Atalanta (cf. Th. 2.32), modern Atalantonissi, opposite the Gulf of Opus, and Peparethus; and perhaps also that reported by Diodorus (12.59.2) which destroyed cities on the coast and hit the island of Atalanta. However, Strabo and Thucydides appear to be describing different earthquakes, in view of the differences in intensity and areas affected. Moreover, while Strabo says that the earthquake affected Heracleia Trachinia, Thucydides (3.92.1) and Diodorus (12.59.2) say that Heracleia was founded after the earthquake. Possibly the earthquake in Strabo (reported by Demetrius of Callatis fl. c. 200) occurred at the end of the third century (c. 225–215) as the archaeological evidence in Lamia and Oreus also suggests (cf. Dakoronia and Stiros 1989: 422–439; Papaioannou, Papadopoulos and Pavlides 2004: 1477–1480).

5. Final Considerations

The geological features, relief, climate, soils, vegetation, drainage pattern, etc. are all elements of the physical environment that have shaped the landscape of the Locrian region. They also determined the subsistence economy and the sites its early inhabitants chose for their settlements in. The region is similar to many other parts of the Mediterranean world in its climate and many other respects: high mountains extending right to the edge of the sea, the predominance of limestone in much of the relief, a pronounced tectonic instability, deep and narrow valleys and highly vulnerable soils due to human impact on the natural environment over thousands of years.

However, the characteristics of the physical environment during the final millennia of the Holocene, and during Antiquity in particular, were not well suited to intense human occupation. In fact, the first farming communities had to adapt to steep and rugged mountainous topography, not at all suited for arable land. The modern coastal plain did not exist and in some places there was only a narrow coastal strip. Neither, apart from the Boagrius basin, were there alluvial plains of any size and fertility where crops could be grown. A dense river network drained the territory and the progressive tectonic lifting that affected this mountainous margin prevented the riverbeds moving sideways, which would have widened the valleys: all their erosive capacity was concentrated in their beds, causing intensive entrenchment. Clear evidence of how these topographical factors combined to deter settlement in the days of the first farmers can be seen in the schematic map of Early Neolithic sites in Greece:[68] in the Locrian region, there is only one settlement, Halae, in contrast to the many found on the island of Euboea. And despite the preorogenic volcanic activity that occurred during the Mesozoic the region did not have any sizable mineral resources (tin, copper, etc.) that could be exploited in proto-historic times. Finally, earthquakes were relatively frequent, and sometimes very intense, and there would also have been the effects of devastating tsunamis on the coast, which are only recorded from the fifth century BC onwards.[69]

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68 Perlès 2001.

69 On the frequency of earthquakes in Euboea and in the Euripus Channel cf. Arist. *Mete*. 365b20–35; Papadopoulos and Chalkis 1984: 309–317; Stiros *et alii* 1993: 435–445; Buck and Stewart 2000: 33–44; Cundy *et alii* 2000: 3–26; Buck 2006.

However, there were other factors that did help human groups prosper, including:

- Sizable and varied forestry resources that had developed on the slopes throughout the whole of the Early Holocene after the end of the long cold period of the Upper Pleistocene.
- A benign climate for man and crops that is, apart from occasional interruptions, broadly comparable with that of Neolithic times, according to numerous researchers. However, its typical detractions should not be overlooked: irregular rainfall, extreme dry season and severe erosion by rainfall in those areas where vegetation had been destroyed by human activity.
- Abundant fresh-water springs at the foot of the limestone hills with more or less permanent courses, assured by subterranean regulation of the karstic aquifers.
- An extended coastline protected from heavy swells by the mountains that surrounded and enclosed the Malian and Euboean Gulfs, although it did not have sufficiently broad and deep natural harbours and anchorages.

So the main conclusions of our study show that:

1. The morphology of the Locrian region displays a contrast between its mountains, uplands and plains determined by tectonic processes—subsidence and uplift—suffered by the Malian Gulf and its southern mountain border respectively. The mountains are of various Mesozoic bedrocks, mainly limestones, and their morphology is steep and rugged. The uplands account for 40 % of the region and have been shaped by fluvial erosion in the Neogene fanglomerates. The plains account for almost a quarter of the territory and have been formed in the last millennia, due to the accumulation of fluvio-torrential materials.

2. The area is highly susceptible to earthquakes associated with the current movements of the Anatolian-Aegean and Hellenic microplates. These movements have produced a series of large tectonic megastructures, such as the N.A.T., the northern landform of Euboea and the Locrian and Atalanti Faults.

3. The structural location of the Locrian region is on the geological frontier between two tertiary different blocks: the downthrown block or asymmetrical graben of the Malian Gulf and the active horst which contains the upthrown block that produced the Callidromus mountain range.

4. The limits of both morphological units are associated with an extensive morphotectonic band, running from west to east, which includes many faults that, taken together, have a tectonic difference of level or "throw" of more than 4,000 m between the upthrown and downthrown blocks.

5. This morphotectonic band includes two systems of fractures with normal faults of different ages and functions. The most recent (a) is close to the present coast, so we have called it the "Locrian Fault System". It is still seismically active, as demonstrated by the location of the epicentres and the presence of morphological evidence, as well as well-preserved microtectonics. This activity is still occurring: the mountains continue to rise while the Malian Gulf continues to progressively subside, although at different rates: the subsidence of its depths is much more pronounced on the southern margin than in the north, as demonstrated by the greater thickness of the sediments (>40 m and 8 m, respectively) which, attracted by this subsidence, have accumulated during the Holocene. The older system of faults (b) is located in areas further from the coast. Its tectonic movement seems to have virtually ceased today and its fault lines dissect those of other palaeolistric faults that are even older.

6. The recent and rapid uplift of the Locrian mountains during the Quaternary is responsible for other events that have appeared in the drainage network:

- Notable entrenching that has been produced by the currents of water in their bedrocks, producing deep and enclosed valleys.
- The formation of numerous knick points along stream channels, almost always in places where their water flows over areas of fault reactivation.
- The upstream extension that has been produced in some cases by capture phenomena in ancient tributaries of the Cephisus basin or belonging to old karstic hydrographic networks.
- Finally, something which is very important for farmers, the high rates of drainage in the hydrographic basins, although this is affected by various factors.

7. The drainage pattern is dendritic-rectangular. Much of the rectilinear pattern of the streams, with tributaries meeting them at right angles, is the result of these faults. However, the whole of the pre-Holocene territory is divided and affected by other systems of faults that run in various directions, as demonstrated by the arrangement of the drainage network, which with

the exception of a slight preference for some directions, follows a multidirectional pattern.

8. The region's slopes have a complex morphogenetic history. The efficiency of erosive processes, natural or induced by man, has been responsible for removing enormous masses of sediment from the mountainsides. For this reason, the most ancient evidence is linked to materials fragmented by ice and tectonics during the Upper Pleistocene. It is possible that some of the palaeosoils seen between the colluviums may belong to the Isotopic State of Oxygen nº 3 and their edaphogenesis would coincide with a period of a slightly milder climate.

9. Numerous historical sources reveal that, until Antiquity, the physical environment of this area had only changed in places where human activity was concentrated. Thus, all the information we have on what the coast was like in the fifth century BC point to the fact that extended stretches of its rocky shore coincided with the foothills of the Callidromus and Cnemis. This suggests that at that time the streams debouched directly into the sea and carried little sediment, but such sediment as there was began the process of constructing the wide coastal plain (>5 km) that is now visible in many places.

10. However, with the passage of time, human activity progressively made the slopes more unstable by eliminating vegetation through grazing, forest fires, the traditional use of woodland resources and the introduction of crops such as the olive, which was already being cultivated in Greece in the third millennium (4700 BP), during the Bronze Age.[70] The combination of various factors caused an enormous amount of sediment to start moving down the Locrian valleys. These factors included (a) the sharp changes in level between the mountains and the sea, (b) the extremely steep slope determined by the proximity of the two domains, (c) torrential rainfall, (d) increasingly sparse vegetation and (e) the predominance of easily eroded lithologies. Thus the debris was washed down the slopes of the drainage network to the valley bottoms and from there was carried violently onward by the sporadic turbulent streams produced by torrential rains.

[70] Kontopoulos *et alii* 2003.

11. In the bottoms of the valleys it is possible to distinguish the existence of two stages with considerable alluvial aggradation and soil erosion. The older one dates to an indeterminate time in the Holocene. The more recent one is still in operation and is characterised by the water's greater capacity for transporting sediment. Perhaps its violent morphogenesis was the result of considerable destabilisation of the slopes caused by man during the early Ottoman period, which, because it coincided with the Little Ice Age, could have made these processes more efficient.

12. The accumulation of the materials carried to the mouths of the valleys caused the formation of the alluvial fan and delta fan sequences. Their progression northwards widened the coastal plain and greatly modified the coastline. The great quantity of colluvium dislodged from the slopes of the valleys and the easily erodable lithology of the Tertiary clastic sediments have played a major role in the rapid progression and configuration of the Locrian coast over the last two millennia. The stages of this coastal progradation seem to have stabilised in the nineteenth century, but even today a comparison of topographical maps published in the mid- and late twentieth century enable certain changes to be seen in the pattern of certain places. The most outstanding relate to the Spercheius delta which has prograded some 100 m into the Malian Gulf between 1950 and 1990, advancing at a rate of 3.3 m a year. Less profound changes have occurred in some of the alluvial fan-deltas on shallow parts of the shore.

In short, the evolution from a rocky and narrow coast in Antiquity to one dominated by a broad coastal plain is the result of considerable lack of equilibrium between the erosive and sedimentary processes affecting the coastal area. The arrival of massive amounts of sediment from the mountains and nearby uplands, largely caused by man's impact on the environment, could not be counteracted by the erosive action of a tideless sea with a very small swell because of the confined nature of the Malian Gulf.

PART TWO

TOPOGRAPHY

CHAPTER TWO

THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY OF EPICNEMIDIAN LOCRIS[*]

José Pascual[**]

> Opountian Lokris and, for that matter, Epiknemidian Lokris too, appears rarely in the ancient writers
>
> —John M. Fossey 1990: 1

> Epicnemidian Locris is one of the least explored areas of Greece, and the identification of even major sites is still often controversial
>
> —J. Buckler 1989: 93

1. Frontiers and Extension of Epicnemidian Locris

As we have seen,[1] the region which extended westwards from Mt. Cnemis was known as the country of the Epicnemidians[2] whose name came precisely from Mt. Cnemis (945 m asl).[3] This mount with Mt. Callidromus determines the relief and landscape of region.[4] These mountain ranges,

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[1] See Introduction and González *et alii* Chapter 1.

[2] Str. 8.1.3; 9.1.1.

[3] Str. 9.4.1: οἱ δ᾽᾽Επικνημίδιοι ἀπὸ ὄρους τινὸς Κνημῖδος. On Mt. Cnemis (38° 44′ 53′′ N; 22° 48′ 21′′ E): Str. 9.4.2; Ptol. *Geog*. 3.14.9; Mela 2.45; Ps.-Scyl. *Per*. 61; Plin. *NH*. 4.27; Diod. 16.33.3; 38.3.

[4] The peak of Mt. Callidromus rises to 1,419 metres (38° 44′ 15′′ N; 22° 32′40′′ E). Cf. Geisau 1919: 1633–1634 and González *et alii* in this volume.

Callidromus and Cnemis, which lie along a line that runs approximately NW-SE, also define the boundaries with neighbouring regions (Figure 2.1).

The Epicnemidian Locrians shared a border with the Oetaeans, Malians, Metropolitan Dorians, Aenianians,[5] Phocians[6] and Opuntian Locrians.[7] The north-western border,[8] separating it from Malis, would have started at the end of the Middle Gate of the Thermopylae beyond the Colonos hill,[9] the last stand held by Leonidas and the Lacedaemonians, Thespians and Thebans, perhaps at the height of Loutra Thermopylon, where there is a small stream called Bouka, halfway between Alponus in Locris and the sanctuary of Demeter in Anthele in Malis.[10] From here the border with Malis

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[5] Cf. Str. 9.3.1: the Epicnemidian Locrians were neighbours to the Oetaeans and Malians (προσεχεῖς Οἰταίοις καὶ Μαλιεῦσιν) and the Oetaeans also stretched throughout a part of Locris, undoubtedly, Epicnemidian Locris. Hdt. 7.216: Alponus is "the first Locrian city one comes to, travelling from Malis" (Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων). Str. 9.4.10: the Epicnemidians were neighbours to the Aenianians who inhabited Oeta and in between them, that is, between the Epicnemidians and the Aenianians, were the Dorians (τοῖς δ᾽ Ἐπικνημιδίοις Αἰνιᾶνες συνεχεῖς οἱ τὴν Οἴτην, καὶ μέσοι Δωρεῖς). See also Str. 9.4.1.

[6] Strabo (9.2.42) says that Locris was situated near Phocis and affirms in the same paragraph that the Opuntian Locrians were bordered by the Phocians and the Boeotians and the Epicnemidian Locrians were neighbours of the Oetaeans and Malians. However, it is without doubt, as we shall see, that Phocis and Epicnemidian Locris not only shared the border in the east, in the Daphnus area, but also in the south, for example, in the Elateia area. Cf. Str. 9.3.2, 15: Elateia dominated the straights that led from Thessaly to Boeotia and Phocis, that is, the Callidromus Passes. See Paus. 10.13.4: the Phocians were separated from the Thessalians by the Hypocnemidian (¿Eastern?) Locrians.

[7] In the East, Daphnus at Isiomata near the modern town of Agios Konstantinos was in Opuntian Locris (or Phocis) and so, when it was destroyed, their territory passed to the Opuntian Locrians (Str. 1.3.20; 9.3.1, 17, 4.4).

[8] While remaining cautious and acknowledging that a high degree of uncertainty remains, we can establish the approximate ancient borders of Epicnemidian Locris.

[9] Thermopylae formed a gorge composed of three narrowings or gates (the West, Middle and East Passes). Heracleia Trachinia in Malis controlled the West Gate of Thermopylae (Decourt, Nielsen, Helly *et alii* 2004: 710–712 number 430), while the East Gate, some seven or eight hundred metres from Alponus, would have been in Epicnemidia. In our opinion the Middle Gate would also have belonged to Alponus. Strabo (9.4.17) states that in Pylae, ten stades by sea to the west of the mouth of the river Spercheius, Locris ends (καὶ ἡ μὲν Λοκρὶς τέλος ἔχει). Pylae refers, without doubt, to the Middle Gate next to which are the thermal springs as noted by Herodotus (7.176.2–3, 198, 201). Thucydides (3.92.1–6) in the measurements he supplied from Heracleia Trachinia to Thermopylae, i.e. forty stades, about seven kilometres, agreed on the location of the Middle Gate. Strabo (9.4.12) also says that Mt. Oeta leaves a narrow pass in the Thermopylae on the coast for those who enter Locrian territory from Thessaly, giving strength to the idea that the Thermopylae served as a border.

[10] On the Sanctuary of Demeter in Anthele see Hdt. 7.198; Str. 9.3.7, 4.17, 5.13; Livy 33.35.8 and Nielsen 2004: 664.

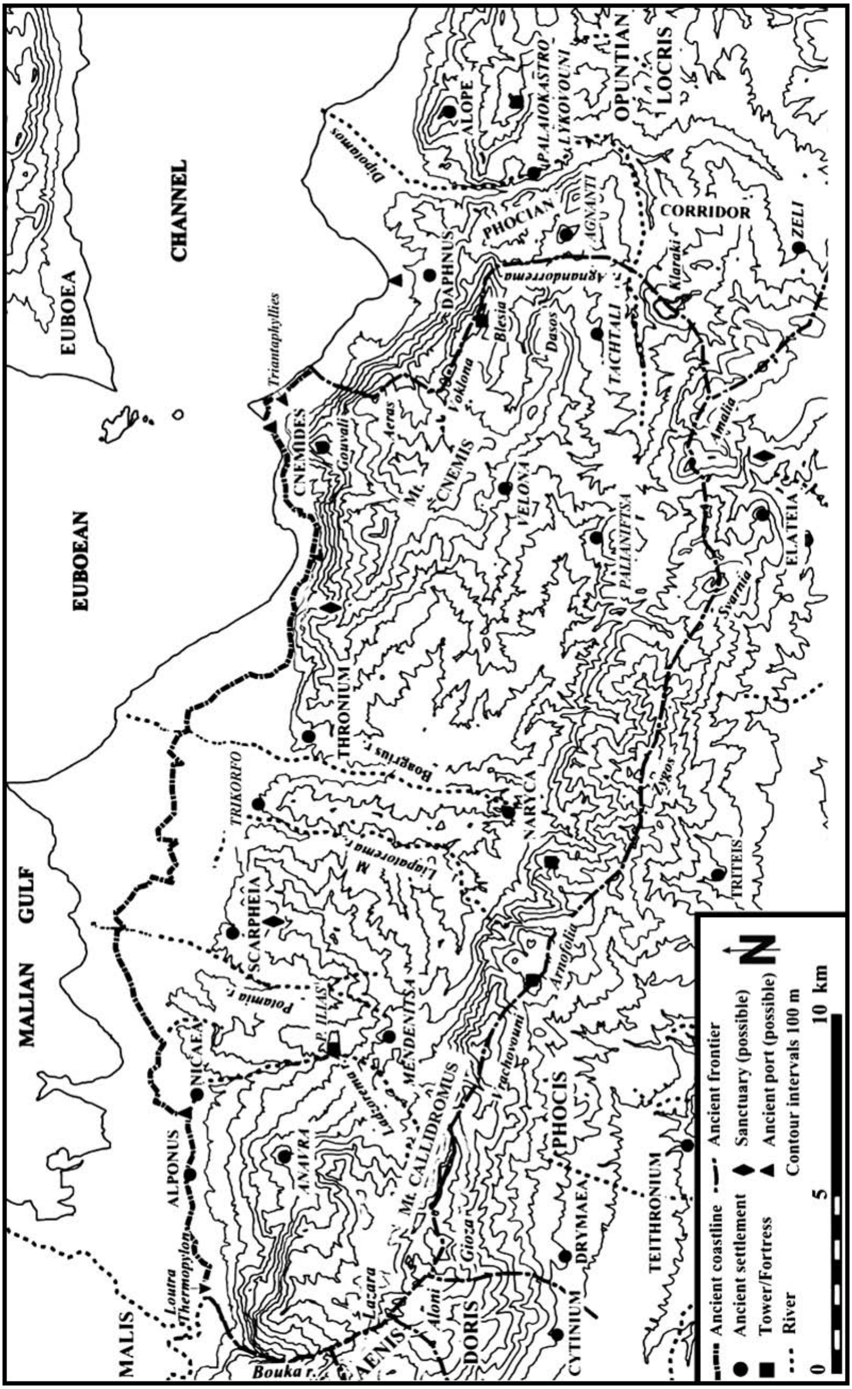

Figure 2.1. Approximate frontiers of Epicnemidian Locris.

must have continued southwards, following the precipitous relief of western Epicnemidia in the Callidromus mountain range. Hence it would either have followed the steep watercourse of the Bouka from the coast and along to Mt. Lazara (1,347 m) and from there, passing the Aloni (1,402 m), to the Gioza peak (1,419 m). Between the river Bouka and the Lazara, if we assume that the city of Homilae extended its territory this far, Epicnemidia would have shared a border with Aenis.[11] Between the Lazara and the Aloni, Epicnemidia shared a border with Doris, in the territory of the Dorian *polis* of Cytinium. From the Mt. Aloni the boundary would have turned eastwards (Figure 2.1).

From this mountain the border with Phocis started in the vicinity of the Phocian *poleis* of Drymaea and Teithronium. From this point the whole of the southern border of Epicnemidia ran along the highest, southerly peaks of the Callidromus, separating Epicnemidia from the Cephisus valley: from Gioza to Mts. Dremata (1,372 m), Vrachovouni (1,133 m), Arnofolia (899 m), Rachoules (868 m), Zygos (860 m) and Amalia (780 m). As we can see, the frontier gradually dropped in height from NW to SE, and crossed gentler terrain towards the southeast. Frontier forts and towers kept watch over the various passes in the Callidromus between Epicnemidia and Phocis, and they certainly existed on Stefani, overlooking the Kleisoura Pass; on Skopia, over the Fontana Pass, and on Kastraki, which was in a line of sight from both observation posts. Another very important Pass in the Callidromus, the Vasilika Pass, connected Epicnemidia with the major Phocian city of Elateia (Figure 2.1).

From Mt. Amalia the frontier would have turned north to the sea near Mt. Gouvali (615 m) in the Cnemis chain. It is this eastern border that is the most difficult to define. Perhaps the border between Epicnemidia and the so-called "Phocian corridor" of Daphnus (which later became part of Opuntian Locris) crossed the area where the Cnemis and the Callidromus chains come closer together or, and this is our opinion, it was further to the east and included Tachtali, because it was in sight of Mts. Dasos and Gouvali, both mountains in Epicnemidia. Consequently, we can assume that the boundary went through Mt. Klaraki (573 m), then followed the river Agnantorema, and, further to the north, reached Mt. Blesia (926), in the eastern spurs of Mt. Cnemis; after that the border turned NW towards Mts. Boklona (844 m) and Aeras (811 m) and dropped down to the sea, perhaps leaving the small coastal plain of Triantafyllies, to the east of Gouvali, in Epicnemidia. This frontier would be defended by Tachtali, perhaps by an ancient tower erected on the

[11] Cf. Rousset 1989: 200 fig. 1.

peak of the Blesia and by the fortified settlement of Cnemides (or Cnemis) on Mt. Gouvali (Figure 2.1).[12]

Having determined its general boundaries, we could say that Epicnemidian Locris consisted of the thin stretch of land between the sea and the Cnemis chain to the north and the northern slopes of the Callidromus to the south. This strip lies in a general NW-SE direction, is *today* about thirty-three kilometres east to west and about sixteen north to south, and extends between 38° 52′ and 38° 39′ N and 22° 29′ and 22° 52′ E. The region as a whole *now* has an area of 374.235 sq km and a perimeter of 114.341 km but, as we shall see, it was smaller and more rugged throughout most of Antiquity.[13]

The north of Epicnemidian Locris faces the Gulf of Euboea, a narrow tongue of sea between mainland Greece and the island of Euboea, which was of fundamental importance to shipping, trade and supplying a large number of Greek states.[14] So it might be assumed that the presence of a long, relatively fertile and well communicated coastline was one of the main features of the Epicnemidian landscape in Antiquity. But the character of the Epicnemidian coast has changed in the course of its history and in Classical times was completely different. In fact, if they could see it today, the inhabitants of ancient Epicnemidian Locris would not recognise the landscape of their homeland at all. Apart from the beautifully cultivated fields of silver and green olive trees and the wooded, rugged mountains, the main feature of the modern landscape is the magnificent coastal plain, continuous and fairly uniform, that stretches four or five kilometres to the north. However, this continuous plain did not exist in Antiquity (Figure 2.2). At various points along the coast, at Alponus and Nicaea, for example, we can assume that, at least in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, the sea came to the edge of the mountains, that is, the sea level was about twelve-twenty metres higher than it is now, while in other areas there were small alluvial deltas, such as those at the mouths of the Potamia, Xerias-Platanias/Boagrius and Dipotamos rivers, where cultivable land was interspersed with lakes, marshy land and swamps. So we should imagine the ancient coast as a disparate assortment of discontinuous marshes and sandy capes, tiny cultivable plains barely connected with each other, where the sea lapped the hillsides or

12 Cnemides also had the same name of the mountain (Cnemis). In order to avoid any confusion we shall use the name of Cnemides to refer to the fortress and Cnemis to refer to the mountain.

13 Pascual 2009a: 1210.

14 See Arjona in this volume.

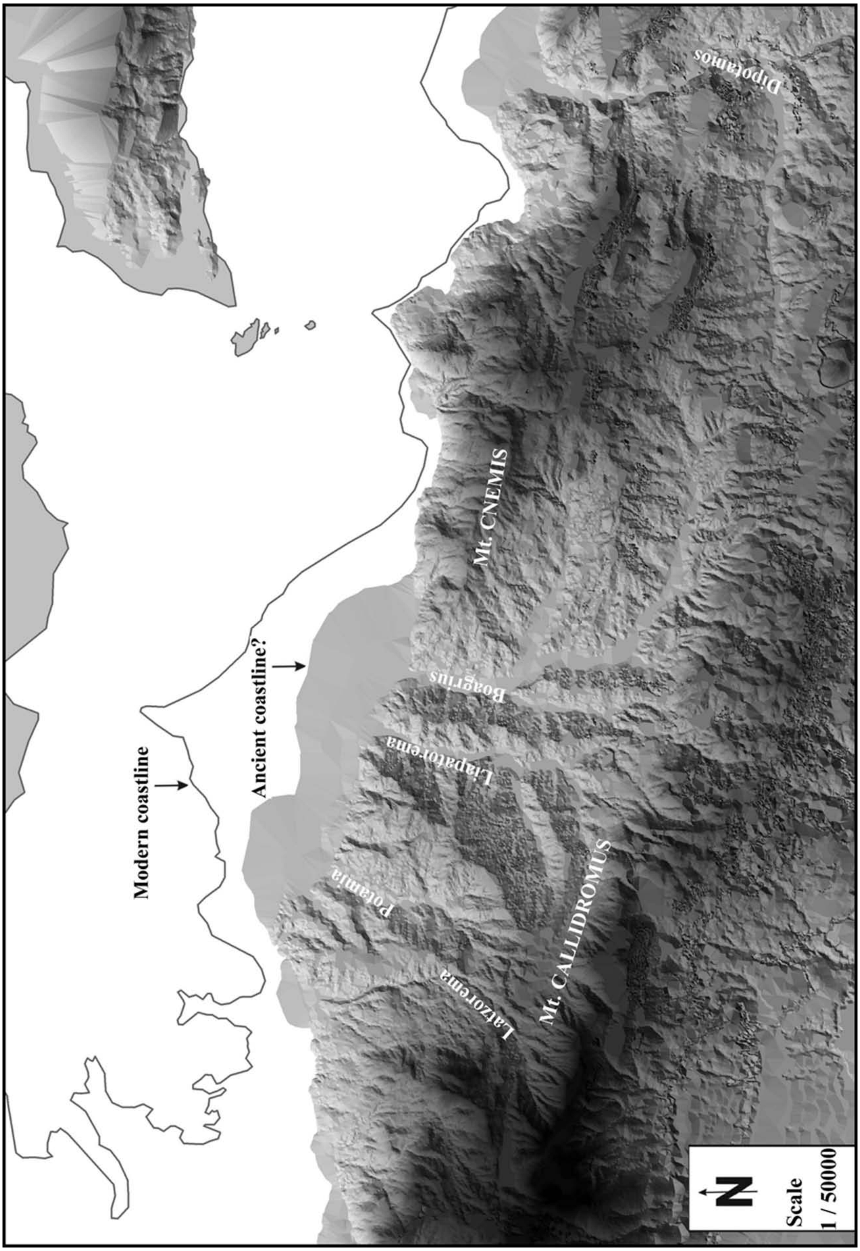

Figure 2.2. Epicnemidian Locris: Hypothetic reconstruction of ancient coastline.

crashed against sheer cliffs.[15] Certainly it is impossible to reconstruct the ancient outline of the coastal plain exactly, and this is one of the main problems we face when investigating the topography and history of Epicnemidian Locris. However, since the coastal plain was formed so recently, perhaps the best way to visualise what it was like in Antiquity would be to ignore most of the plain and treat the coastline before the second century BC as being between twelve to twenty metres higher than today's sea level. The sedimentation of the coastal plain, due essentially to human activity, would have begun in the fourth century and during the Hellenistic period, so by the end of the Roman period and the beginning of the Byzantine, Epicnemidian Locris would have had a coastal plain of some width and settlement gradually moved towards it (See Figures 1.9C and 1.9D).

If we exclude today's coastal plain (Figure 2.2), ancient Epicnemidian Locris would have had an area of 321.277 sq km and a perimeter of 92.520 km, i.e. 53.09 sq km, or approximately 14% less than its present area. It would thus have measured about thirty-three km NW-SE and some thirteen km N-S. The *ratio* of the area (321 sq km) to the perimeter (92 km), about one to three (1:3.49 to be precise), indicates that Epicnemidia was quite compact.[16]

It was, in any case, a small region. If we compare it with other regions, it was two-thirds of the size of Opuntian Locris (with an area of approximately 492 sq km), a fifth of the size of Phocis (1,549 sq km)[17] and a ninth of the size of ancient Boeotia, which occupied an area of approximately 2,818 sq km.[18] If we compare it with certain *poleis*, the whole of Epicnemidian Locris was a third of the size of Thebes (908 sq km) or Corinth (about 948 sq km), great *poleis* and leading Greek powers. It was similar in size to a *polis* such as Sicyon in the Peloponnese, which had an area of 396.038 sq km, about average for the Greek world, as we shall see, Epicnemidian Locris housed a large number of *poleis*. The largest *polis* of Epicnemidian Locris, Thronium, with perhaps c. 142.664 sq km, is comparable with Cleonae (104.235 sq km) or Phlius (146.994 sq km) in the Peloponnese or the medium-sized Boeotian *poleis* such as Haliartus (88.066 sq km), Coroneia (116.777 sq km), Copae (116.141 sq km) or Lebadeia (125.866 sq km).[19]

15 Cf. González *et alii* in this volume.
16 Pascual 2009a: 1210.
17 Ruschenbush 1991: 303 (1,548.7 sq km).
18 Pascual 1996: 116–118.
19 Pascual 1996: 125–128.

The coastal plain may have been important in some cases, but it was virtually never decisive in determining the pattern of settlement in ancient Epicnemidian Locris. Before the appearance of today's coastal plain, the Callidromus and Cnemis mountain chains constituted an even more precipitous and rugged region, and divided the landscape of Epicnemidian Locris into a series of small valleys which extended virtually to the sea and are essential for understanding the ancient settlement patterns of the region. Thus the topography of the central massif of the Callidromus, especially the S-N spurs, defined a series of longitudinal valleys that dominated the landscape in the west and centre of the region, while the Cnemis chain formed a series of transverse W-E valleys that characterise the East of Epicnemidian Locris as far as the Dipotamos valley.

The longitudinal valleys were by far the most important. Apart from some that were very small, the most notable were, from west to east, the valleys of the rivers Latzorema, Potamia, Liapatorema (ancient Aphamius) and Platanias/Xerias (ancient Boagrius). The East of Epicnemidia would have been dominated by the Cnemis chain where, as we have said, the general direction of the relief changed from N-S to E-W. Consequently, in the east of the region, Cnemis defines three different lines of irregular width that run approximately E-W: the coastal strip and the transverse valleys of the Plisorema and Polydendri rivers respectively.

The longitudinal or transverse valleys of Epicnemidian Locris enable us to differentiate a series of areas within the region into which we can divide our topographical description.

2. The Sites

A. *The West Part of Epicnemidian Locris* (*Figure 2.3*)

The West of Epicnemidia was formed by the area between Mt. Oeta and the left bank of the river Latzorema. Within it, the whole of the area to the west and south, which included Mt. Oeta and the highest parts of the Callidromus, was particularly rugged with peaks and precipices which in Antiquity often fell sheer to the sea. On the other side, the river Latzorema flows through a fairly steep course with an inverted L-shaped plain approximately 3.5 km W-E and 7.5 km N-S on its left bank, between the sea and the foothills of the Callidromus. The plain narrows near Platanakos, marking the frontier between the *poleis* in the area. In fact, there are probably three *poleis* in this area: Alponus, Nicaea and Paliokastro Anavras. The first Epicnemidian city, in the northwest, was Alponus, in the Psylopyrgos district.

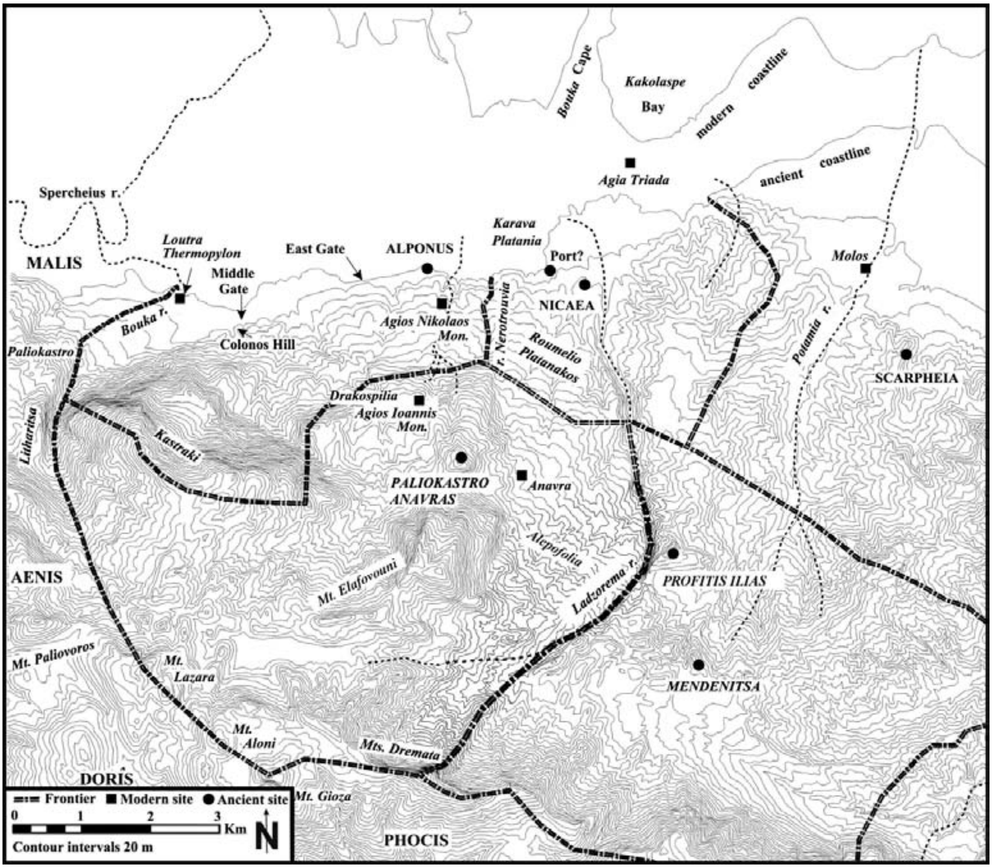

Figure 2.3. The West part of Epicnemidian Locris.

Nicaea was a coastal city on the Gulf of Euboea and was probably not far from Alponus, about two kilometres to the east, perhaps in an area known today as Roumelio or Platanakos. To the south was the small plateau of Anavra, which served the ancient settlement of Paliokastro Anavras, on a peak that reached an altitude of 721 metres at its highest point.

To sum up, in the western part of Epicnemidian Locris, between the Middle Gate of Thermopylae and the left bank of the river Latzorema, are three settlements: Psylopyrgos/Alponus, Roumelio-Platanakos/Nicaea and Paliokastro Anavras.[20] A farmhouse to the south of the modern town of Agia Triada has been also discovered.

[20] The ancient name for *Paliokastro Anavras* is, in our opinion, not known.

1. *Psylopyrgos* = *Alponus* (*Alpenus*)

Ancient Sources
Hdt. 7.176.2, 5, 216, 229; Str. 1.3.20 (= Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6); Steph. Byz. s.v. ᾿Αλπηνοί; s.v.῎Αλπωνος (= Hellanic. *FGrH* 4 F12); Aeschin. 2.132, 138.

Inscriptions
Syll^3 419 (c. 271/0) = *CID* IV, 27 and *GDI* 2517; *CID* II, 126 (c. 280–270)

Pottery
MH, LHI/LHII?, LH III A–B, A, C, H, R, B[21]

References
Gell 1827: 238; Vischer 1857: 637; Lolling 1878 [1989]: 787; Hirschfeld 1894a: 1599; Grundy 1901: 290–291; Oldfather 1916: 47; Oldfather 1918: 84–85; Stählin 1924: 202; Marinatos 1951: 55; Hood 1961/62: 31; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1970: 136–138; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 264; Pritchett 4.159–162; 5.186; 8.148–150; Müller 1987: 292–293; Buckler 1989: 93; Nielsen 2004: p. 667, number 379; Der neue Pauly, s.v. Alpenos; Dimaki (chapter 9 in this volume).

Situation and Description
On the road to Thermopylae, on the right going from east to west, where there was a large area of marshland that extended to the right bank of the river Spercheius, Gell (1827: 238) observed a large mound of stones and earth that he identified as the tumulus of the Spartans that fell at Thermopylae. Vischer (1857: 637) assumed that this hill, called Psylopyrgos, was Alponus, and so did Grundy (1901: 290–291), who mentions the remains of a walled acropolis here, just to the north of the road and half a mile (c. 750 metres) from the East Gate of Thermopylae. According to this author there should be a bay or port between the East Gate and Psylopyrgos. Stählin (1924: 202) also identifies it as Alponus and situates it some eight hundred metres from the East Gate of Thermopylae. Hope Simpson, Dickinson and Lazenby (1970: 136–138; 1979: 264), Béquignon (1934: pl. III), Marinatos (1951: 55) and Buckler (1989: 93) also situated Alponus in modern Psylopyrgos.

In 1937[22] Oldfather produced the first plan of the wall that enclosed the top of the hill. His plan shows the north, east and west sides of the wall, following a fairly irregular line (Figure 2.4A). There were at least two gates which opened in the wall, one on the northeast, where Oldfather located the ancient port, and the other to the southeast. The plan also shows the

21 Byzantine: from the sixth century AD.
22 *Apud* Pritchett 5.186, fig. 8.

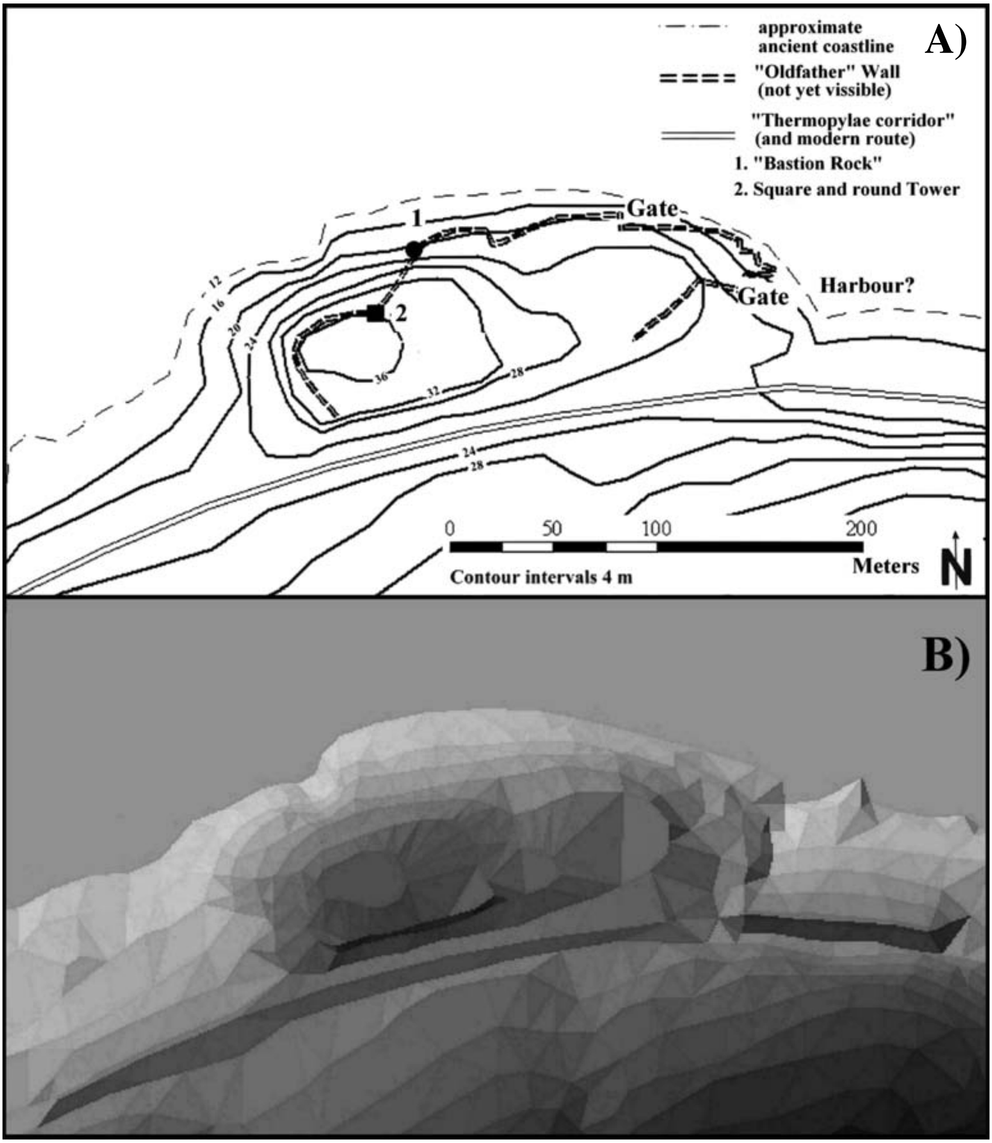

Figure 2.4. Psylopyrgos / Alponus (Alpenus). (A): after Oldfather 1937. (B): Triangulated Irregular Network (TIN) Model, contour intervals 4 m.

Plate 2.1. Alponus. General view from Northeast.

so-called "Bastion Rock", an outcrop of natural rock, which would have been incorporated into the wall and was situated at the northwest end, and a tower on the western side, which could have been built in two separate phases, the first square, ancient, and a later, medieval one which was round. The line of the wall could only be guessed at on the west and southeast sides and disappeared completely on the south, where the construction of the road must have destroyed not only this part of the wall but also the southern part of the settlement itself. Finally, the plan shows a quarry to the northwest, at the base of the hill.

The Psylopyrgos site occupies a hillock to the right and northern side of what now is the old national highway from Athens to Thessalonica,[23] at the height of kilometre 196 (Plate 2.1). It can be easily reached from a small rest area, just at the foot of the hill on the eastern side. The hill rises towards the north of the present coastal plain and is quite steep on the northern,

[23] A modern motorway has been built that passes to the north of Psylopyrgos on the coastal plain.

southern and western sides with gentler slopes on the east. It thus has an outstanding and strong defensive position, especially on the west, which looks out towards Thermopylae, and is most accessible the east. As the asphalt road effectively cut through the southern end of the hill, today Psylopyrgos ends in the south with a steep embankment that drops sharply to the road, at top of which a row of cypresses largely hides it from the highway. However, the settlement may have been more accessible from this side in Antiquity. The hill, today covered with olive trees, is located at a height of between fifteen and twenty-nine metres above sea level, it extends between 38° 48′ 18″ and 38° 48′ 14″ N and between 22° 34′ 18″ and 22° 34′ 07″ E, and its area is approximately a hundred and ninety by fifty metres and 1.5 hectares (Plate 2.1).[24] It is some eight hundred metres from the East Gate of Thermopylae, a little more than two kilometres from the Colonos hill, the Greeks' last stand in Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.233), and from the site of the modern Thermopylae monument. At the same time, Psylopyrgos is 1.5 kilometres from Roumelio-Platanakos/Nicaea, which is to the east of it and a little less than three kilometres from Paliokastro Anavras, to the southeast.

There is now virtually no trace of the walls Oldfather saw. The "Bastion Rock" (38° 48′ 17″ N, 22° 34′ 11″ E) is still there, at the northern end of the hill, some twenty-one metres at its highest point (Plate 2.2).[25] In the southwest, a small, apparently circular rise (38° 48′16″ N, 22° 34′ 10″ E), twenty-eight metres high, with an assortment of polygonal blocks of various different sizes around the base, may have been the site of a tower and matches well with Oldfather's sketch (which shows the tower at a height of some ninety feet) (see Plate 5.3A of chapter 5). The western part of the hill, around the supposed tower, is higher so this area could have been the acropolis. Nothing can be seen of the gates. As well as the polygonal blocks at the foot of what may have been a tower, others are scattered over the hill with no sign of a single rectangular or trapezoidal ashlar. All these blocks have been broken up by ploughing and piled up at the edges of the field, and it would be very presumptuous to assert a particular style, but perhaps the wall could have been made from large polygonal blocks with a filling of rubble, which would explain their variation in size (Plates 5.3 A–B of chapter 5). Certainly there is nothing to suggest that this settlement was not fortified. If its identification

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24 Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 264: 110 metres East-West by 55 metres North-South.

25 Marinatos (1951: 55) identifies the Bastion Rock with the Melampygus Rock, but Herodotus' account (7.216) suggests it may have been further south on the mountain (cf. Pritchett 5.186).

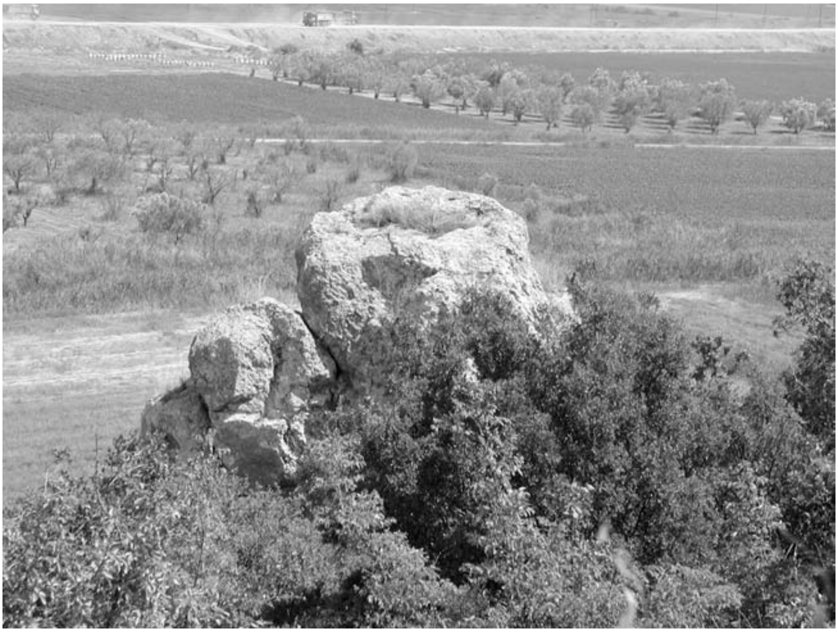

Plate 2.2. Alponus. The so-called "Bastion Rock".

with Alponus is correct, as it would seem, this *polis* had a tower when it was hit by a tsunami either in 426 or in the third century BC.[26] Being walled would also be in keeping with its strategic importance for controlling the eastern end of the pass at Thermopylae and the main entrance to Locris from the west. In addition to Grundy's account and Oldfather's plan, the modern name Psylopyrgos (High Tower) could refer to the medieval tower and to the remains of the walls seen by these scholars; in any case, wherever this name (Pyrgos) appears in Greece it always refers to a fortification. The possible quarry, like the whole of the hillside, except for the southern part, is now completely overgrown but a deep ravine which can be observed on this face of the hillside make this interpretation very plausible.

The hill is cultivated and this has brought to the surface a large quantity of pottery. Hope Simpson, Dickinson and Lazenby (1970: 138–139 and 1979: 264) found MH grey and yellow mynian, possibly also LH I or LH II pottery, fragments of LH III, Archaic and Classical pottery and many (Classic? Hel-

[26] Str. 1.3.20 (= Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6).

lenistic?) fragments of roof tiles. Our surface survey, of recently ploughed land, with the collaboration of the Fourteenth Ephorate, showed, in addition to the ubiquitous Bronze Age pottery, the presence of pottery dating to the beginning of the Archaic, possibly even the Late Geometric, Classical black glaze, Hellenistic, Roman and even later pottery, at least the beginnings of the Byzantine period. Unfortunately no necropolis can be associated with this settlement.[27] Perhaps it has been buried several metres below the present surface by sedimentation and the advancing coastline.

Identification and History of the City

According to Herodotus (7. 216.2) Alponus was the first city in Locris, close to the frontier with Malis, and was also after Thermopylae, i.e., further east. The Thermopylae had three different narrowings or Gates, West, Middle and East, and stretched over a longitude of some six kilometres but, according to Herodotus, the Thermopylae Passes, which were known by neighbouring inhabitants as "Pylae" (Hdt. 7.201),[28] basically consisted only of the Middle Gate so, in "this pass, strictly speaking" (Hdt. 7.176.3: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά)[29] thermal hot springs were discovered,[30] without doubt at the height of the present-day Loutra Termopylon and of the Middle Gate, which were considered to be medicinal in Antiquity.[31] So, from Trachis, Anthele and the river Phoenix were situated "in front of the pass", ἔμπροσθέ, that is to say just before the Middle Gate, and Alponus "behind", ὄπισθε (Hdt. 7.176.2). Given its proximity to Thermopylae, in 480, the Greek contingent sent the sick to Alponus, and on the last day of the fighting the Spartiates Eurytus and Aristodemus were in Alponus recovering from an eye infection (Hdt. 7.229), which may have been caused by proximity to swamps. Eurytus

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27 Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

28 They were known as Thermopylae, Pylae or Στενά "straits" (cf. Str. 9.4.13).

29 Herodotus (7.201) also states that Xerxes was encamped in the Trachis area and the Greeks in the Thermopylae, meaning that "the Persians had total control of the north and the Greeks controlled the southernmost part of the continent", ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὃ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχῖνος, οἳ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἠπείρου, and thus believed that the Pass ran from north to south with the Oeta mountain range to the west and the sea and the marshlands to the east, when in reality it ran from west to east. On the other hand, the Middle Gate was easily flooded and in fact, during their conflict with the Thessalians, before the Second Persian Invasion of Greece, the Phocians looded the Pass by releasing the thermal waters (Hdt. 7.176.3). It is possible that the path was not to the north of Colonos Hill, the last Greek's stand, but to the south, between Colonos Hill and the Oeta mountain range.

30 App. *Syr.* 17; Paus. 1.4.2. Cf. Str. 9.4.13: were dedicated to Heracles.

31 In the second century AD Herodes Atticus ordered the construction of medicinal pools in these waters (Philostr. *Soph.* 551).

was able to reach Thermopylae rapidly on foot and fought in the final battle while Aristodemus remained in Alponus. The route which joined the north of mainland Greece with central Greece and the Peloponnese, which we usually call the "Thermopylae Corridor", also passed closed to Alponus. In the actual pass the route measured half a *plethron* wide, some fifteen metres, but was narrowest at two points: on the river Phoenix,[32] close to the sanctuary of Demeter in Anthele, and where it passed Alponus; in both cases it was only wide enough for one carriage to pass at a time (Hdt. 7.176. 2) so would have been approximately four metres wide. The Melampygus Rock, too, was close to Alponus and the Anopaea path that avoided the Thermopylae pass by going inland also came out in Alponus.

Strabo (1.3.20 = Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6) describes a great submarine earthquake that occurred in the area and caused three great tidal waves, one which swept towards Tarphe and Thronium; another towards Thermopylae, and a third that inundated the plain as far as Daphnus in Phocis and Opuntian Locris. He also tells us that the Thesmophoriae festival was being celebrated in Alponus when this tidal wave hit and that twenty-five maidens ran to the tower in the port to see it, and fell into the sea and perished when the tower was engulfed. Because it was so near Thermopylae, we can assume that Strabo was referring, in the case of Alponus, to the second tidal wave, the one that hit Thermopylae.

Strabo (9.4.17) also says that Locris began at the river Spercheius and, like Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἀλπηνοί), asserts that Alponus was considered (perhaps together with Opus) the *metropolis* of the Locrians. Finally Aeschines (2.132), in a discourse dated 340, says that Alponus, Thronium and Nicaea guarded the Thermopylae pass and that Phalaecus, the *strategos* of the Phocian Confederacy, agreed to hand these cities over to the Athenians in 346. This did not happen, at least in the case of Alponus and Nicaea (Aeschin. 2.138). Although Aeschines does not follow a strict geographical order, from his description it can, in our opinion, be deduced that he is talking about cities situated along the "Thermopylae Corridor" and relatively close to the actual pass.

The situation of Psylopyrgos compares fairly well with what we know of ancient Alponus. It was, according to the current extent of our knowledge, the first Locrian settlement in the west, coming from Malis and was close to Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.176), less than a kilometre away and directly behind the Middle and East Gates. The sanctuary of Demeter at Pylaea and the city

[32] cf. Hdt. 7.198.2.

of Anthele, which belonged to Malis,[33] are probably only five kilometres to the west. It was also near the Spercheius (Str. 9.4.17), although the course of the river has changed since Antiquity, and it is now 3.5 kilometres from Alponus. This site is less than three kilometres from the final Greek's stand at the battle of Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.225.2–3), less than an hour's march away, so the Spartan Eurytus in Alponus was able to reach it quickly (Hdt. 7.229). To the south of the settlement, between the hill it was built on and the spurs of Mt. Callidromus, there was enough space for the "Thermopylae Corridor" to pass, but it was so narrow (cf. Hdt. 7.176.2) that when the modern highway was built, it was necessary to cut into the hill. The Anopaea Path could be one of the inland routes to Psylopyrgos from Paliokastro Anavras in the southeast. The site would also have been within the range of the tidal wave that hit Thermopylae (Str. 1.3.20). It is right at the eastern end of the Thermopylae Corridor and may have been fortified, thus helping to guard the Pass (Aeschin. 2.132, 138). Finally the great antiquity of the traces of occupation, dating to the MH, and its apparently continuous occupation, probably until the sixth century AD, could be due to the fact that it was the *metropolis* of the Locrians (Str. 9.4.17).

The ancient coastline in the Thermopylae area would have been about twelve metres higher than it is now and between three and four kilometres inland from the present coast. In fact, we know that the sanctuary of Demeter at Pylaea was on the coast and had a large port.[34] Strabo (1.3.20) mentions the tower of the port of Alponus and Aeschines (2.132–134) and Demosthenes (19.83, 322) say that in 346 the Athenian *strategos* Proxenus with fifty triremes tried anchor (unsuccessfully) in the harbours of Alpenus, Nicaea and Thronium. It is very possible that, as in Thermopylae and Anthele, in the fifth century the sea came to the very base of the Psylopyrgos hill on its eastern, northern and western sides and that there was a fairly small port here, which extended from eastern side of the "Bastion Rock" and Oldfather situated the Harbour Gate on the northeastern side.[35] Because the sea came right up to the northern side of Psylopyrgos, the route to Thermopylae passed to the south of the settlement (see below Figure 2.4 A–B).

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33 Str. 9.4.17. On the position of the sanctuary cf. Béquignon 1937a: 181–191; Thalmann 1980: 757–760, esp. 757; Dakoronia 2009: 283.

34 Hdt. 7.176.3, 223.3; Paus.10.21.4; Str. 9.3.7, 4.17; Ps.-Scymn. 591; Grundy 1901: 287.

35 As late as the mid-twentieth century the people of Mendenitsa hunted duck in boats on the marshes, so there would have been some kind of jetty here and the local people mention finding pieces of iron (anchors?) and worked stones that could have been used for mooring boats, which would also point to the place being used as a port as P. Kounouklas, archaeologist of the Fourteenth Ephorate has indicated.

Oldfather (1936: 222–223) believed that Nicaea, about 1.5 kilometres to the East, was founded by the people of Alponus when they abandoned the city after the earthquake recorded by Strabo, which he dates to 426. Pritchett (4.159–162)[36] identified the hill of Psylopyrgos with Alponus (he calls it Alpenus I) and also thought that Alponus was abandoned after the tidal wave of 426 and its population divided to found two other *poleis*: one, Nicaea, on the coast, and the other inland, the modern Paliokastro Anavras, which would have inherited the name Alponus (Pritchett calls it Alpenus II). In support of his argument he cites the absence of Classical material in Alponus and the fact that Nicaea is not mentioned until the mid-fourth century, in the context of the Third Sacred War, so could have been founded in the Classical era. According to Pritchett, Aeschines would have been referring to this Alponus situated in Anavra and not the one described by Herodotus. In any event, he thinks that it would have been impossible for there to be two fortified *poleis* such as Alponus and Nicaea so close together.

We do not have to assume that the settlement was abandoned after the earthquake of 426 or the one in the third century. Firstly, the date of the earthquake is controversial and may be dated, as we have seen, between the fifth and third centuries. Secondly, the earthquakes, as in the case of Opuntian Locris, do not appear to have affected the density and number of settlements in Epicnemidia. Furthermore, none of the cities hit by the earthquake that Strabo refers to, such as Scarpheia and Thronium, were abandoned, so Alponus would be the only one to be abandoned, which seems unlikely, and Nicaea's position seems to have been as exposed as that of Alponus, so it would have made little sense to found a city there. It is evident that a survey of surface material involves difficulties and uncertainties[37] but, in the absence of an excavation and more detailed study, certain hypotheses can be ventured. The surface pottery could indicate that Alponus was inhabited from at least the MH and at the LH and that Alponus may have been occupied in the Archaic period and could have been abandoned and then reoccupied in this period, or in fact survived to the end of the Bronze Age and was simply overlooked by Homer, like many other places. The surface pottery also suggests that Alponus was inhabited during the fourth century and during the Hellenistic period, which is endorsed by the Delphic inscriptions (see *supra*), and Roman periods, at least up to the sixth cen-

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[36] Reiterated in Pritchett 8.148–150.

[37] Cf. on this aspect, Fossey 1990: 111 and Dakoronia 1993a: 117.

tury AD. Also the Fourteenth Ephorate excavated, at the foot of Paliokastro Anavras, a Geometric necropolis and the settlement to which these interments may belong could be situated precisely in Paliokastro Anavras or close to it, despite the absence of the Geometric period among the surface material. Certainly Nicaea and not Alponus is mentioned between the fourth and second centuries (Polyb. 12.4.24, 18.1.5–7; Livy 32.32.9) in the area, but this does not necessarily mean that Alponus was abandoned. It simply suggests that Nicaea was the more important city and the main port rather than the smaller Alponus, which was not big enough to accommodate and provide support for Classic and Hellenistic fleets and armies. It is also true that Strabo does not mention Alponus in his description of Epicnemidian Locris but this does not mean it did not exist in the Roman period. After naming Nicaea, Strabo (9.4.5) says that, as far as the other cities are concerned, none of them are worth mentioning (because they must have been very small) with the exception of those mentioned by Homer and, as Alponus was tiny and Homer did not mention it, even if it was a *polis* and was populated, it did not merit Strabo's attention. Alponus was on record in the fifth century (Herodotus), the fourth (Aeschines and Demosthenes) and the third (*Syll*³ 419, c. 271 = *CID* IV, 27 and *SGDI* 2517 and *CID* II, 126, c. 280–270) and, in our opinion, there is not sufficient reason to believe that we are dealing with two different settlements. On the other hand, Alponus and Paliokastro Anavras were not incompatible given that both could perform different functions. Thus, while Alponus guarded the "Thermopylae Corridor", Paliokastro Anavras was custodian of the Anopaea Path and the south-west of Epicnemidian Locris, in the same way as Cnemides and Tachtali defended the north-east and south-east of the region respectively. The distance between the three western *poleis* of Epicnemidian Locris, between two or three kilometres, although short, was not unusual in the area of Mts. Callidromus and Oeta.[38] Thus it would be reasonable to assume that Alponus was not depopulated in the Classical era, which would in any case run contrary to the demographic growth experienced by the region in this period.[39] Nicaea did not therefore originate as a resettlement from Alponus, and Paliokastro Anavras was a separate settlement from Alponus and did not replace it. Paliokastro Anavras was never called Alponus and had a

[38] Four kilometres in the case of Oetaean *poleis* (cf. Pascual 2009b: 817).

[39] Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1198. Cf. *infra*. This period of demographic growth in the Classical times is common to other parts of central Greece, such as Boeotia, Phocis and Opuntian Locris (Fossey 1990: 112–113, 135, 161; Fossey 1986: 96; Fossey 1988: 437–440).

different name in Antiquity. The later abandonment of Alponus could have been related, in reality, to the Slavic invasions which razed Epicnemidian Locris in the sixth century AD.[40]

The reason why Alponus fell into obscurity, even if it was not abandoned, and perhaps why Nicaea was founded, could be the silting up of the Spercheius delta. Even by 480 along much of the northern side of the path the sea and the shore had merged into marshland (Hdt. 7.176.3). In 279 the Athenian fleet had to sail through muddy swamps when it came to rescue the Greeks after they had been attacked at Thermopylae by the Galatians, who had surrounded them by taking the Anopaea path (Paus. 1.4.3). The territory of Heracleia Trachinia, at the West Gate of Thermopylae, was largely swampy and uncultivated in the second century BC and covered by great trees.[41] Livy (36.15.10) says that in 191 the Thermopylae Pass was sixty paces wide, about ninety metres, which, if correct, would reflect the expansion of the shore over three centuries from Herodotus' time (at an average rate of about two centimetres per year, which is perfectly feasible). Perhaps the harbour of Alponus began to find its existence threatened by the alluvial deposits of the river Spercheius and its importance as a port was eclipsed by Nicaea.[42]

The settlement did not extend to the other side of the modern road, so we can deduce that it was restricted exclusively to the hill itself, separated somewhat from the final spurs of the Callidromus (trigonometric vertex of sixty-five metres high) by a small hollow through which the "Thermopylae Corridor" passed and is the route taken by the modern road (although this is obviously wider). In fact, there are hardly any traces of pottery between Paliokastro Anavras and Alponus and, if the two were a single settlement that took in both sites, it would have been an excessively large *polis*, more than three kilometres long N-S, something we can rule out.

Herodotus (7.176, 200.2) says that Alpenus was a *kome* (village), but later (Hdt. 7.216) referred to as a *polis*. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἀλπηνοί) says that, according to Herodotus, it was a village near Thermopylae and that it was also considered (perhaps together with Opus) a *metropolis* of the Locrians. But in the variant *Alponos* he says that according to Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4

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[40] Rosser 1985; Popovic 1979; Zachos in chapter 14. They destroyed, for example, the Locrian church of Daphnousia to the west of the modern-day village of Agios Konstantinos (Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2000: 242; Sythiakaki 2002: 119 and n. 47).

[41] Livy 36.22.10.

[42] Gell (1827: 238) noted a large area of marshland that extended to the right bank of the river Spercheius.

F12) it is a Locrian *polis*.[43] The name of a certain Phricus of Alponus appears in the Delphic epigraphy around the years 280 to 270. This man who became Locrian *hieromnemon* while Straton was archon (c. 271/0),[44] is apparently the same Phricus of Alponus mentioned in another inscription[45] and perhaps also Phricus, son of Timolaus, a Locrian, who was the beneficiary of a decree in the time of the archonship of Heracleidas (before 280).[46] Finally, Phricus, son of Phricus, perhaps from the same family, is also mentioned in the time of the archonship of Athambus (270/69 or 269/8).[47] The name Phricus may derive from Phrichium, a mountain behind Thermopylae, which was given this name after the centaur Phricus killed by Heracles (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Φρίκιον). The name ʼΑλπώνιος that appears in these Delphic decrets is evidently a city-ethnic. Perhaps Herodotus' information refers to the small size of the city rather than its possible dependence on another *polis*. So it would, as the epigraphical evidence testifies, Alponus be a small *polis*, similar to many in which most of the population of ancient Greece lived,[48] on the sea and not far from the East Gate of the Thermopylae pass.[49] It had a port, was protected between the fifth and third centuries BC with walls that had one or more towers. The "Thermopylae Corridor" passed to the south of the settlement, and one of its narrowest stretches was precisely here.

There is also some controversy surrounding the name of this *polis*. The city is referred to as Alpenus by the ancient authors (Herodotus, Stephanus of Byzantium) or Alponus (Aeschines, Strabo, Stephanus of Byzantium *via* Hellanicus and in the epigraphical sources). The name Alpenus appears to

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43 It is certain that Alponus may have depended on Opus in some way when the former was a member of the Locrian Confederacy, like the other Locrian cities, but it is unlikely that they were all, including Alponus, *komai* of the *chora* of Opus.

44 *CID* IV, number 27 = *GDI* 2517 = *Syll*[3] 419, a decree by Eudoxus of Argos, probably from the Autumn of 271, in the Polygonal Wall in Delphi. Block from the southeast corner, 42×54 cm. Letters of 0.9 with 1.0 between lines.

45 *CID* II, number 126, Inv. 7019. Found in 1948 opposite the Athenian Treasury, on the other side of the street. A marble stele, 0.10 high, 0,115 long, 7 mm letters, with 5 mm between lines, c. 280–270.

46 *FD* III 1, number 83 and Bourguet 1925: 32–33 (c. 287/6).

47 *FD* III 1, number 475. Inv. 1697. *CID* II, number 129.

48 Cf. the similar situation of Halae in Opuntian Locris: its acropolis measures approximately c. 160 by 70 metres, rises only four metres above sea level and only the west and south sides have sufficient elevation to be visible from the surrounding countryside (Coleman 1992: 270; cf. also Goldman 1940: 382).

49 Béquignon (1937b: 48 and n. 4) excavated the remains of a wall near the East Gate of Thermopylae that extended for some eighteen hundred metres down the slopes of Mt. Callidromus right to the Pass; the wall possibly dates to the battle between the Romans and Antiochus III in 191 (cf. Livy 36.17.11 and Pritchett 1.71–82) and was probably rebuilt during the time of Justinian (Procop. *Aed.* 4.2).

have been used solely by Herodotus (Stephanus of Byzantium took it from Herodotus) and perhaps it was an error by this author. In any case, as the Delphic inscriptions prove, the city appears to have been commonly called Alponus.

As we saw, the city was used in 480 not only as a place to leave the sick but also, presumably as a logistic and provisioning base on the escape route for the Greek contingent from Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.219, 220, 222). This contingent was however, relatively small and had no cavalry or fleet. With its fortified position, the city formed part of the Thermopylae defence system and was situated where a number of essential routes met,[50] especially that from Thessaly to Heracleia Trachinia, which crossed Thermopylae and went on to Elateia in Phocis (Livy 33.3.6; 36.19.9; App. *Syr.* 20; *Tab. Peut.* 7/1).[51] Alponus was occupied by the Phocians during Third Sacred War (Aeschin. 2.138), perhaps around 352/1, and, although it was eclipsed by the growing importance of Nicaea, the city continued to be populated until the Byzantine era. After the tsunami mentioned by Strabo, Alponus was rebuilt. In the third century it fell under Aetolian domination, as the Delphic inscriptions show, before 146 it may have been allied to the Achaean Confederacy which seems to have at least dominated the area between Heracleia Trachinia and Scarpheia and, from 146 onwards, finally came under Roman rule.

Alponus worshiped Demeter Thesmophoriae (Str. 1.3.20). The hot springs at Thermopylae, present-day Loutra Thermopylon, were known by the inhabitants of the area as the "Basins" and were consecrated to Heracles and near them, beside the Middle Gate, an altar was dedicated to the hero (Hdt. 7.176.3; Str. 9.4.2, 13). Perhaps the Melampygus Rock was also the object of Heraclean cult.

Territory and Frontiers

As we have seen, Strabo (9.4.14, 17, 5.13) says that Locris began at the river Spercheius and that this river was ten stades[52] from the sanctuary of Demeter at Pylae, beside the city of Anthele, in Malis.[53] The frontier between Malis

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50 Dem. 6.35; 9.32; Livy 31.23.12. See Sánchez-Moreno, Chapters 6 and 7.

51 From Heracleia Trachinia to Elateia was a distance, according to Livy (28.7.3), of sixty miles, some ninety kilometres.

52 Strabo (cf.7.7.4 and 7 *fr.*56 [57] Loeb) appears to have applied a stade as approximately 185 metres, but indeed he may have used a number of sources whose calculations were otherwise, which, owing to the existence of several possible itineraries and the changes in relief and topography produced over the centuries, means that the distances or calculations can only be approximate. In fact any attempt to put a stade into meters is probably doomed to failure (see Roller 2010, Appendix 3: Lenghts of Measurement, pp. 271–273).

53 The river Phoenix was a tributary of the Asopus in the south. The latter passed the

and Epicnemidian Locris was therefore some two kilometres to the east of the sanctuary on the mouth of the river Spercheius, with the left bank belonging to Malis and the right bank to Alponus in Locris. The course of the Spercheius has changed enormously since Antiquity and does not provide us with a point of reference, but we can situate the sanctuary of Demeter at Pylae with some certainty between the West Gate of Thermopylae and the so-called torrent of Anthele, in an area today called Palaiokastro, to the south of kilometre 201 of the road and some 1.5 kilometres to the west of modern Loutra Termopylon. Thus the frontier between Malis and Alponus would have started about five hundred metres to the west of Loutra Termopylon, at the foot of Mt. Zastanos (496 m), beside the existing Monument to Leonidas, where the most easterly branch of the Bouka torrent, which comes from the Litharitsa/Drakospilia valley, crosses the twenty-metre contour. This would mean that the so-called "Phocian wall", the Colonos hill and the Middle Gate of Thermopylae (some three kilometres from Alponus) belonged to Locris and specifically to the *chora* of Alponus. From here the frontier went along the river Bouka and perhaps turned southeast to form the boundary with Paliokastro Anavras, if we accept that it was a *polis* and not a fortress belonging to Nicaea or Scarpheia, which is at least three kilometres southeast of Alponus. Perhaps the frontier is situated in the area now known as Platanakos, where the valley narrows, a little less than two kilometres to the southeast of Alponus. To the east, Nicaea, which we have located in the area of Roumelio/Platanakos, is at least two kilometres from Alponus. Between the two there was a small stream, known as Nerotrouvia, today channelled, some five hundred metres from Alponus, which rises in Paliokastro Anavras and passes about two hundred metres to the east of the Monastery of Agios Nikolaos. This stream perhaps marked the frontier between the two *poleis*, Alponus and Nicaea. To the north was the coast of the Malian Gulf or the Sea of the Locrians,[54] which must have been situated, at least as far as productive land is concerned, at a height of around twelve metres. It overlooked the so-called East Gate of Thermopylae, a little less than a kilometre to the west of the city (see Figure 2.3, p. 73).

vicinity of Anthele and flowed into the sea close by. Anthele was situated between the river Phoenix and the Thermopylae and, nearby, in a wide terrain the amphictyonic sanctuary of Demeter was located. Between the river Phoenix and the Thermopylae, that is the Middle Gate, there was a distance of about fifteen stades, roughly 2.5 kilometres (Hdt. 7.198), which basically coincides with the figure given by Strabo (9.4.14), fifteen stades (c. 2.800 metres).

[54] Arjona, Chapter 8.

It thus left a small and relatively flat territory with an area of about 12 sq km. consisting mainly of marshes and scrubland, which was wider to the west and south (see Table 2.1 below). About 92% of this area is between 0 and 400 metres high, while 7% is between 401 and 600 metres and slightly more than 1% is over 601 metres. The western part was very steep, and a cultivable area, fairly compact, was situated to the south and southwest of the city. Much of its territory was marshy.[55] The most fertile part of the Alponus territory must have been to the east. Other than difficult inland tracks, there was only one Pass through the mountains, at Thermopylae, by which invaders from Thessaly could reach the Locrians' territory.[56] The small amount of cultivable land would have been complemented with fishing, stock raising and exploiting the forest. As a whole, the territory of Alponus accounted for approximately 4% of the Epicnemidian Locris.

Table 2.1. The territory of Alponus (Alpenus).

Settlements			
Psylopyrgos/Alponus (*polis*)			
Territory	Area (in sq km)	Perimeter (in km)	Percentage (%)*
	12.370	16.9	3.85
Height (in metres)	Area (in sq km)		Percentage (%)
0–200	10.096		81.65
201–400	1.275		10.31
401–600	0.842		6.81
601–800	0.157		1.23

* Of the whole of Epicnemidian Locris

2. *Roumelio/Platanakos* = *Nicaea*

Ancient Sources[57]

Str. 9.4.4, 13; Dem. 6.22; 11.4; Aeschin. 2.132–134, 138, 148, 152; 3.140; Schol. *in Aeschin.* 2.132; Steph. Byz. s.v. Νίκαια; Did. *In Dem.* 11.26–51; Diod. 16.59.2–4; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F28; Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F56b; Livy 28.5.18; 32.39.9–12, 35.2–8; Polyb. 10.42.4; 12.4.24, 45.1; 18.1.5–7, 15, 7.7, 8.6; App. *Hann.* 55.8; Suda s.v. Νίκαια; Harpocration s.v. Νίκαια; Photius *Bibl.* 234 a.

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[55] Cf. Paus. 1.4.3; 10.21.4.

[56] Str. 9.4.12.

[57] Glotz 1909: 527–532 collected the literary evidence on Nicaea and its strategic importance.

Pottery
C, H, R, B

References
Leake 2.177; Gell 1827: 237–238; Vischer 1857: 636; Bursian 1862: 1.188; 1889: 188; Glotz 1909: 527–532; Olfather 1936a: 222–226; Pritchett 4.162–166; 8.150–151; Buckler 1989: 93–94; Nielsen 2004: pp. 669–670, number 385; Der neue Pauly s.v. Nikaia [4].

Situation and Description
Leake (2.177) identified Nicaea with the town of Pundonitza, inland in Locris, now Mendenitsa, while the Austrian map of 1888 places it at Paliokastro Anavras. Gell (1827: 237) locates it at Apano Molos. Oldfather (1936a: 222–223) believed it was a port city that must have occupied the site of modern Agia Triada,[58] on the present coastal plain. Oldfather believed it was founded by the people of Alponus when they abandoned the city after the earthquake recorded by Strabo, which he dates to 426. Pritchett (5.163–164; 8.150–151) also places it somewhere near Agia Triada to the southwest of the cape Molos promontory, probably in Cape Bouka, which stretched to the north of Agia Triada and which penetrates three kilometres below sea level. The Cape leaves the Agia Triada bay to the East and the bay of Kakolaspe to the West. He also conjectures that it must have been established in 426 and that the ancient Nicaea must be buried under alluvium. Buckler (1989: 94) also locates Nicaea under the modern village of Agia Triada, although as this author recognises, there are no visible signs of Antiquity, either buildings or archaeological remains.

As we can see, Oldfather's assertion has come to come to be generally accepted by researchers. However, this location is based on an incorrect appreciation of the ancient territory and the consequent development of a methodology which seems inadequate in the present day but which was consubstantial in twentieth-century research. Certainly it is very difficult to determine the ancient coastline exactly; it probably consisted of a series of inlets and outlets that we cannot establish precisely and which in any case changed rapidly with the silting up of rivers and torrents that came down Mts. Oeta and Callidromus,[59] but to start with it should be remembered that all or part of the present coastal plain did not exist in Antiquity

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58 Agia Triada (38° 48′ 49″ N, 22° 35′52″ E) is now a small village with a population of about three hundred (335 in the 2001 census) to the north of the modern road and not far from the sea, ten metres above sea level and twenty-three kilometres from Lamia.

59 Cf. González *et alii* in this volume.

and surveying should always commence in the foothills to the south immediately behind the present coastal plain, where most of the known sites (for example Alponus, Scarpheia, Thronium and Cnemides) have been found. Surveying the coastal plain only makes sense in the search for late Roman and Byzantine settlements, when much of it had become firmly established and ready for cultivation. This is when it was settled, in some cases provoking a break in the traditional pattern of settlement.

To the east of Psylopyrgos/Alponus, and south of the present coastal plain, a line of low hills between twenty and two hundred metres high extends to the river Latzorema (called Lantsorrema in its upper reaches). The area is referred to as Roumelio or Platanakos. Opposite, north of the road, extends part of the coastal plain called Karava platania. There is a notable settlement in this hilly area, 1.5 kilometres to the southwest of Agia Triada. It is located between 38° 48′ 09″ and 38° 48′ 16″ N and 22° 35′ 10″ and 22° 35′ 49″ E at a height of between forty and fifty meters. Although the material is primarily Hellenistic, Roman and later, our survey with the Fourteenth Ephorate also found Classical period black glaze. The site occupies a kilometre west-east and some two hundred metres north-south (Plate 2.3A–B). Even if it was walled at one time, at least from the end of the Classical era and during the Hellenistic period, only a few scattered blocks can be seen today. Unfortunately it has not been possible to associate any burials with the Roumelio/Platanakos site.[60]

Identification and History of the City

Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Νίκαια) says that Nicaea was a *polis* of the Epicnemidian Locrians next to Thermopylae.[61] According to Aeschines (2.132–134, 138, 148, 152; 3.140) and Demosthenes (6.22),[62] the city, together with Alponus and Thronium, guarded the "Thermopylae Corridor" and the eastern exit of the pass, played a crucial role in controlling this important route, perhaps even greater than Alponus, Scarpheia and Thronium, and was in the hands of the Phocians in 346. The Scholiast of Aeschines (2.132) claims that it was a *polis* on the coast forty stades from Thermopylae (c. 7.5 km). The *Suda* (s.v. Νίκαια) also says that Nicaea was in Epicnemidian Locris near Thermopylae.

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60 See Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

61 Nicaea is not mentioned by Strabo (1.3.20) as having been affected by the earthquake of 426 or of the third century BC; neither does it appear in the descriptions by Mela (2.45) and Pliny (*NH.* 4.27) of Epicnemidian Locris.

62 In the mid-fourth century the defence of Thermopylae concentrated in Nicaea and the city was also converted into the general Phocian barracks, cf. Glotz 1909: 527.

Plate 2.3. Roumelio/Platanakos. (A): General view of the hill from South. (B): Surface pottery and tiles on the hill.

Strabo (9.4.4, 13) says that Nicaea was a fortress situated on the Sea of the Locrians, i.e. the Malian Gulf, near Thermopylae and in the pass, between Scarpheia and Thermopylae.[63] According to Harpocration (s.v. Νίκαια: πόλις τῆς Λοκρίδος ἐπιθαλαττίδιος), it was a *polis* near the sea. Photius (*Bibl.* 234 a) also says that it was near the sea. Its port was large enough to accommodate the fifty triremes dispatched by the Athenians at the hand of Proxenus in 346 (Aeschin. 2.133). In 209/8, Nicaea was used as a port by the fleets of Attalus I and the Roman consul Sulpicius,[64] who were allied to the Aetolians against Philip V. Nicaea was probably one of the ports which the Aetolians had previously fortified with stockades and stationed guards[65] as it was unthinkable that Attalus and Sulpicius should anchor in a port which was unsafe. In November 198 the consul Flamininus and Philip V met in Nicaea.[66] According to Polybius (18.1.5),[67] Flamininus and his allies' representatives reached the shore via Nicaea and assembled on the beach, where Philip could talk to them from his ship and where it was also possible to disembark.[68] Livy (32.32.9) specifically says that the place chosen for the meeting was the shore of the Malian Gulf near Nicaea.[69] The meeting went on for several days in Nicaea, and then negotiations continued in Thronium, at least a day away by sea and a day's march overland (Polyb. 18.9.3; Livy 32.36.1).

The best information about the location of Nicaea comes from Didymus (*In Dem.* 11.26–37) which summarises the Rhodian Timosthenes, an admiral of Ptolemy II Philadelphus' fleet at the beginning of the third century. According to the Lagid admiral in his work *Περὶ Λιμένων*, coming from the west, Nicaea was twenty stades from Thermopylae (about three kilometres) by sea and fifty (c. eight kilometres) by land. There was a very sandy cape some five stades (nearly eight hundred metres) away and war ships could anchor some four stades, little more than six hundred metres, out from the shore and the port.[70]

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[63] Str. 9.4.4: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σκάρφεια σταδίοις ὑπερκειμένη τῆς θαλάττης δέκα, διέχουσα δὲ τοῦ Θρονίου τριάκοντα, ἐλάττοσι δὲ μικρῷ … ἔπειτα Νίκαιά ἐστι καὶ αἱ Θερμοπύλαι. Str. 9.4.13: πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ἐστὶ φρούρια ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν, Νίκαια μὲν ἐπὶ θάλατταν Λοκρῶν.

[64] Polyb. 10.42.4; Livy 28.5.18.

[65] Polyb. 12.41.5.

[66] Polyb. 18.1.5–7, 7.7–8, 15; Livy 32.39.9–12, 35.2–8; App. *Hann.* 55. Appian in *Mac.* 8 simply states that the conference took place in the Gulf of Malis.

[67] Polyb. 18.1.5: συνεγγίσαντες δὲ κατὰ Νίκαιαν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Τίτον ἐπέστησαν παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐγγίσας τῇ γῇ μετέωρος ἔμενε.

[68] Polyb. 18.8.6–7.

[69] Livy 32.32.9: *in sinu Maliaco prope Nicaeam litus elegere*.

[70] The Lagid admiral Timosthenes could have been using the Egyptian stade, which

To sum up, Nicaea was relatively close to Thermopylae (seven or eight kilometres overland and three kilometres by sea), sufficiently close, in any case, to give the impression of still being in the pass and certainly many of the reports we have on Nicaea emphasise its strategic importance for controlling the Thermopylae Pass and the route through it. As we shall see, the city served as a military base for the Phocians in 346, foreseeably between 352 and 346, and as a garrison to Macedonians and Thebans between 346 and 339 so we can deduce that at least part (perhaps only the acropolis) of Nicaea was fortified. It was certainly a *polis* or settlement on or near the coast. Its port was on a bay with shallow water, probably due to the progressive sedimentation of the river Spercheius, and towards the west there was a small promontory. The port of Nicaea was perhaps the most important between Thermopylae to the east and Thronium to the west and was on the sea route that went from Thermopylae to the port of Thronium and from Peparethus and the Gulf of Malis to Chalcis.[71] Finally, Nicaea was inhabited at least in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and the nearest city to the east was Scarpheia.

The site at Roumelio/Platanakos corresponds well with the location and history of Nicaea. It is about three kilometres from the East Gate of Thermopylae and some eight or nine from the western entrance to the Pass. Scarpheia is the next Epicnemidian city to the east, some 5.5 kilometres, and Paliokastro Anavras is approximately the same distance to the south. The settlement is built at a height of about forty or fifty metres, so it occupied an outstanding defensive position. As we have said, we know that the coast was between twelve and twenty metres above its current level between Anthele and Thermopylae and Alponus. It was possibly the same height at Roumelio/Platanakos, just 1.8 kilometres to the west of Alponus. This would mean that Agia Triada was under the sea in Antiquity[72] but Roumelio/Platanakos was on the coast just where the twenty-metre contour traces a notable inlet, measuring more than three hundred metres W-E, that could have held a port (Figure 2.5 A–B). To the east, some six hundred metres from what appears to be a bay, the twenty-metre contour extends a little way to the north and

measured approximately 157.5 meters, for calculating distances. Cf. Gisinger 1937: 1310–1322; Diels and Shubart 1904; Pearson and Stephens 1983; Arjona in Chapter 8. About Didymus see Harding 2006.

71 Livy 28.5.18.

72 Kraft *et alii* 1987: 193 fig. 14 have traced the ancient coastline as far as Thermopylae. In Epicnemidia his line turns north and describes a rather improbable curve that leaves Agia Triada on dry land. Kraft may also have been convinced that Nicaea must lie below this village.

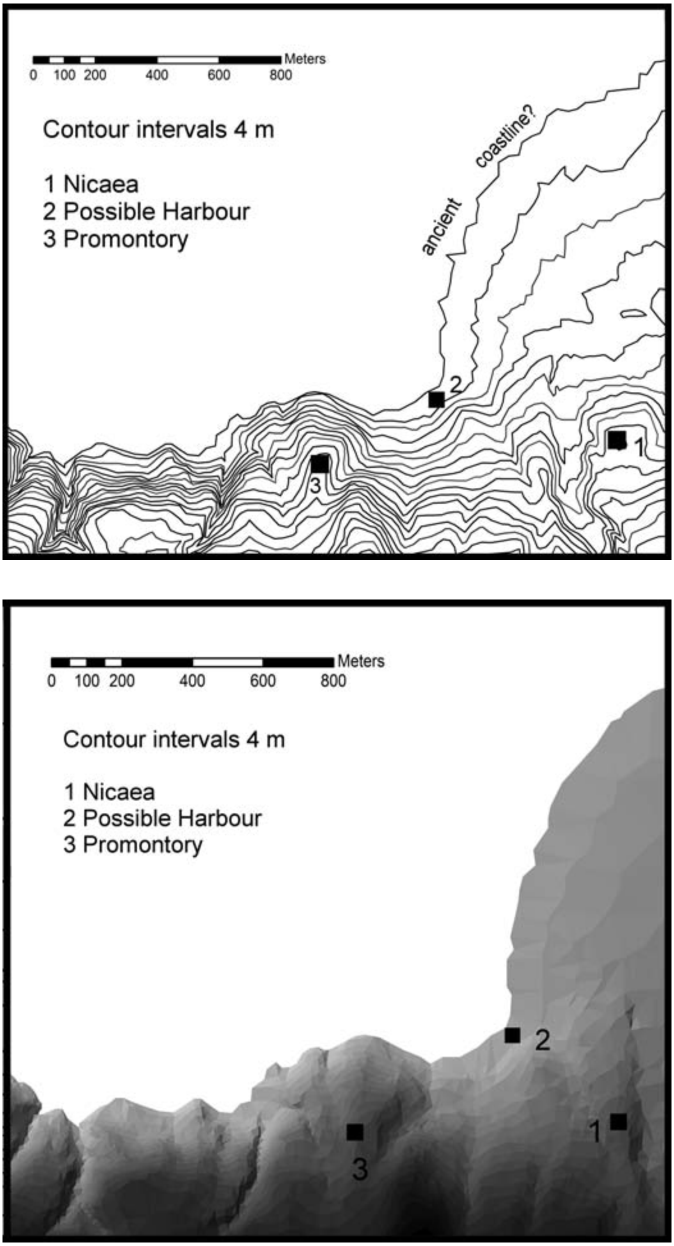

Figure 2.5. Roumelio/Platanakos. The reconstruction of the possible site of ancient Nicaea. Map (A) and TIN Model (B).

could well represent the promontory and the sandy cape that Timosthenes describes. As well as the Roumelio/Platanakos site, the survey has revealed traces of occupation in what could be the promontory and between this and Roumelio, where the ancient port may have been (Figure 2.5 A–B and Figure 2.6).

The scholiast of Demosthenes (11.12) says that Nicaea was founded (ἄποικος) of the Thebans and Oldfather (1936a: 225–226) relates it to Epameinondas. Certainly Epaminondas carried out a campaign in the area in the spring of 367, until Thessaly and could have founded Nicaea[73] in the same way as Messene or Megalopolis in the Peloponnese but, whether or not this legend is precise, it gives strength to the hypothesis of the foundation of Nicaea in the Classical era. Inhabited, perhaps for the first time, in the Classical times as a result of rising population during the period and sedimentation of the Spercheius affecting the port of Alponus, the city was conquered in 351 by the Phocians during the Third Sacred War possibly in the campaign led by Phayllus, the *strategos* in this year of the Phocian Confederacy, in which he took all the Locrian cities except Naryca.[74] At least it belonged to the Phocians in 346, when Phalaecus, the *strategos* of the Confederacy at the time, garrisoned it with a contingent of mercenaries. In the same year the Phocians had promised to cede Alponus, Nicaea and Thronium to the Athenians (Aeschin. 2.132), but did not do so, at least in the cases of Alponus and Nicaea (Aeschin. 2.138). Phalaecus first intended to cut Philip II off at Nicaea but, in view of the presence of the Macedonian army, he did not dare confront Philip and in Nicaea agreed to withdraw from the war with his mercenaries.[75] Memnon Heracleotis (*FGrH* 434 F28) says that Nicaea was the mother city of Nicaea in Bithynia and was destroyed by the Phocians who left no trace (ἀφανισμός) of it. We can assume that it would have been destroyed during the Third Sacred War (356–346) and, if this did not happen when it was taken (351), the city would have been razed to the ground by Phalaecus as he retreated (346). Even so, if Nicaea was in fact destroyed by the Phocians, there is no doubt that the city was reoccupied immediately. In fact, it can be inferred from Demosthenes' account (6.22) that Philip handed the city over to the Thessalians in 346, but he may have kept a Macedonian garrison there, with the backing of a decree by the Delphic amphictions. In his

[73] Diod. 15.71.4–5; Plu. *Pel.* 19.1–11; *Mor.* 194 E, 680 B, 797 A–B; Nepos *Epam.* 7.1–3; Paus. 9.15.1–2; Polyaen. *Strat.* 2.3.13; Buckler 1989: 125–128; Georgiadou 1997: 201–205; Buckler 2003: 325–326.

[74] Diod. 16.59.2–4; Aeschin. 2.138.

[75] Diod. 16.59.2; Glotz 1909: 528.

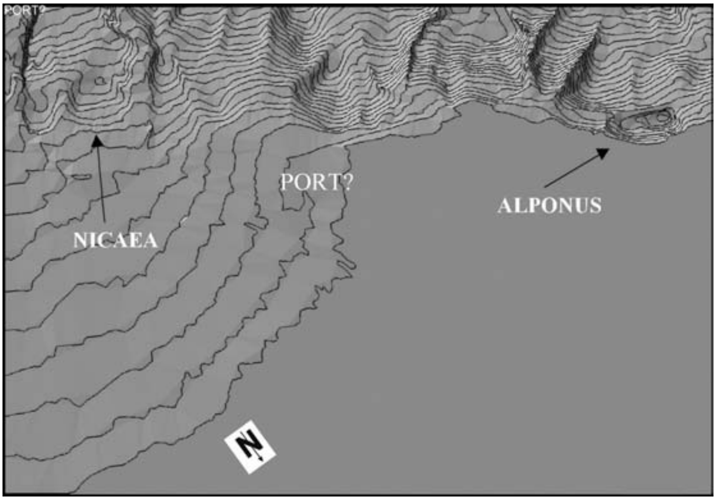

Figure 2.6. Alponus and Nicaea sites. Reconstruction of the ancient coastline before fourth century BC. TIN Model.

commentary on the discourses of Demosthenes, Didymus,[76] citing Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 56b), also says the city was occupied by the Thebans when Philip was on campaign in Scythia in 339 and that the king of Macedonia tried to negotiate its surrender to the Locrians, but the Thebans rejected the proposal. The city was probably returned to the Locrians after the battle of Chaeroneia in 338.

After a period when it was subject to Macedonian rule (338–280), the city fell under the domination of Aetolians when the latter controlled Thermopylae. In fact, at the end of the third century Aetolians, Pergamenes and Romans extended their control as far as Thronium,[77] situated further to the east, while Opus belonged to Philip V.[78] After the Second Macedonian War, Nicaea remained under Aetolian control and after the War against Antiochus III and his allies and the battle of Thermopylae in 191, the whole area fell into Roman hands. However, in 146, when Achaean Confederacy troops had their base in Scarpheia, it seems plausible that the whole of Epicnemidian Locris, including Nicaea, was allied with the Achaeans against the Romans.

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76 Did. *In Dem.* 11.37–51 (= Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 56b); Foucart 1907: 183–184; Glotz 1909: 528, 532; Sánchez 2001: 213–219.

77 Livy 28.7.11–12.

78 Livy 28.7.4.

What we have been saying is reflected by the results of our surface exploration. A first occupation would date to at least the Classical era. The city acquired greater importance from the Hellenistic period onwards and was also inhabited during the Roman and early Byzantine periods. Its foundation or presence ultimately eclipsed Alponus, which, nevertheless, remained inhabited. In keeping with this, the settlement at Roumelio/Platanakos is considerably larger than Alponus.

Despite Strabo's description of it as a fort, the ancient accounts in general and their context (e.g. Demosthenes and Aeschines) suggest, in our opinion, that it was a *polis*.

Territory and Frontiers

Nicaea's territory would have begun slightly to the east of Alponus, at some five hundred metres from the latter, on the right bank of the Nerotrouvia torrent, and have extended to the hillside of Paliokastro Anavras. The frontier with Paliokastro Anavras would have started from here and run in an E-W direction through the area of Platanakos to form the southern limit of Nicaea's territory, as far as the river Latzorema. The left bank of this river served as Nicaea's eastern frontier, so the *chora* of Scarpheia would have come to the other side of the river. To the north, Nicaea ended at the sea, at about the twelve or twenty-metre contour. Nicaea shared the small coastal plain with Alponus (see Figure 2.3, p. 73). Thus Nicaea's territory covered about 11 sq km altogether, slightly more than 3 % of the region, and included the end of the Anavra plain and was therefore largely flat. In fact, all its territory was under 400 metres (Table 2.2). Consequently, although its territory was similar in size to Alponus it was, apart from some marshland and swamps in the north, probably more fertile.

Table 2.2. The territory of Nicaea.

Settlements			
Roumelio-Platanakos/Nicaea (*polis*)			
Others			
Port?			
Territory	**Area (in sq km)**	**Perimeter (in km)**	**Percentage (%)**
	10.647	14.8	3.32
Height (in metres)	**Area (in sq km)**		**Percentage (%)**
0–200	9.86		92.61
201–400	0.79		7.39

3. *Agia Triada*

Pottery
LR (mid-third to late fourth century AD), EC

References
Karantzali *AD* forthcoming b; Tileli and Psarogianni 2010

Situation and Description
The Fourteenth Ephorate excavated a Late Roman rural villa to the south of the modern town of Agia Triada because of construction work on the new P.A.TH.E. Patras-Athens-Thessalonica-Evzonoi highway. The villa was located on the lower foothills of Mt. Callidromus with excellent views of the Malian Gulf and visual control of the plain, which extended over an area especially suited to farming.[79] It is a rectangular two-storey building aligned North-South, whose rooms are organised around a central courtyard with the entrance in its southern wall. It was built in two stages, close in time. The first stage, dating to the mid-third century AD, has been preserved on the north, west and east side of the ground floor. In a second phase the house was extended, the walls surrounding the central courtyard were reinforced and a tower added; this may have been used for storage and also for defensive purposes in the face of barbarian raids.[80] It had two large rectangular rooms used for storage, measuring 15×6 m and 15 m × 5.39 m respectively, on the west and east side of the courtyard, while the room on the northern side was used for living accommodation. The building was abandoned without any evidence of violent destruction. The find is particularly important because it demonstrates that the coastline had already advanced to create a fertile plain between the slopes of Mt. Callidromus and Malian Gulf by the mid-third century AD.

Two tombs that probably date to the Early Christian period have also been excavated close to the new Athens-Lamia highway south of Agia Triada.[81]

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[79] Tileli and Psarogianni 2010.
[80] See Zachos in Chapter 14.
[81] Karantzali *AD* forthcoming b; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali, Chapter 4 and pls. 4.18–19. Six funerary stelae, perhaps from the surrounding area, were used as building material in the second phase of the farmhouse (Tileli and Psarogianni 2010: 246–247).

Plate 2.4. Paliokastro Anavras. View from East.

4. *Paliokastro Anavras*

Pottery
C, H, R

Necropolis of Fournos/Fournoi
LG

References
Pritchett 1.75–76; 3.223–224; 4.164–166; Theocharis 1964: 242, pl. 286, β-γ; Ioannidou and Karetsou 1972: 330–331; Kilian 1975b: 26–27, pl. 23–24.1; Kilian and Dirlmeier 1979: 151, 184, pl. 48, 861-862-864, pl. 58, 1112; Dakoronia 1977b: 104–105, pl. 67 δ-ε; Dakoronia, Kotoulas, Balta, Sythiakaki and Tolias 2002; Topographical archive of Fourteenth Ephorate.

Situation and Description
To the northwest of the existing town of Anavra[82] is the imposing peak of Paliokastro (721 m, Plate 2.4), part of which is surrounded by an impressive

[82] 178 inhabitants in 2001 census.

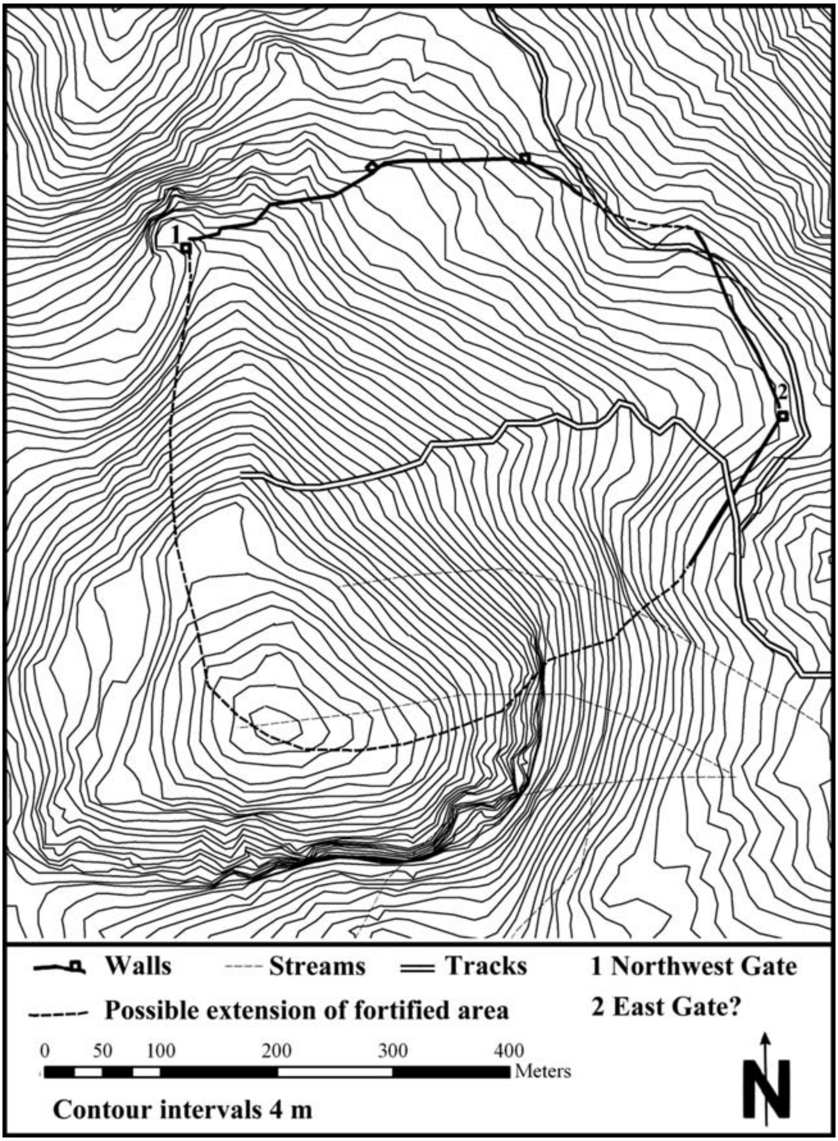

Figure 2.7. Paliokastro Anavras. Plan.

Plate 2.5. Paliokastro Anavras. Isodomic walling.

wall in regular courses, which is the best preserved in the whole of Epicnemidian Locris (Figure 2.7; Plates 2.5, and 5.4 and 5.5 of Chapter 5). Pritchett[83] visited the site and identified the western part of the wall and one of the gates which opened in its northwest corner. Close to the peak he also noted a separating wall that enclosed the ancient acropolis.

Turning off the national highway to the south, one comes to the village of Anavra after six kilometres. Here there is a turnoff to the acropolis (actually the ancient site) and, at the junction a hundred and twenty metres further on, a road to the monastery of Agios Georgios. After ninety metres, there is another right turn and seventy metres on a sign to Agios Georgios. Another eighty metres on the road forks and the path going straight ahead leads, three hundred metres further on, to Paliokastro, whose walls have been cut by the highway.

83 Pritchett 1.75–76; 3.223–224; 4.164–166.

The ancient site is situated on a high crest, whose western and eastern sides are very steep, but is more gradual to the north. In the south a watercourse separates it from the northern slopes of the Elafovouni (1,146 m), also known as Alafi.[84] There have been landslides, at least on the eastern side of the hill, so it may have been larger in Antiquity. The wall of Paliokastro Anavras starts at a height of about 520 metres, and continues to at least 600 metres and lies between 38° 46′ 58″ and 38° 47′ 00″ N and 22° 34′ 35″ and 22° 34′ 46″ E.[85] The wall is approximately 2.25 metres wide and is filled with rubble of small stones; in some places up to six courses are preserved and it can be followed until it is lost in the impenetrable scrub that covers part of the settlement. It is an isodomic trapezoidal wall, with courses approximately forty-five centimetres high, laid out in long and fairly large blocks and smaller trapezoidal blocks with a small convex quilted effect on their external face. The towers are square and relatively small, so it would have been difficult for them to house artillery. Our survey with the Fourteenth Ephorate documented four towers and two entrances, one to the east and the other, which has an axial design, at the northwest corner of the wall (Figure 2.8). The entire wall was apparently built in the same style and can be ascribed to a single period of construction. Classical period black glaze and Hellenistic and Roman pottery were also found, although Hellenistic material predominates. Altogether, the fortified enclosure occupied about five hundred by five hundred metres. It was a large settlement covering an area of between 20 and 30 hectares.

Close to Paliokastro, on the Fournos hill which rises to the southwest of the present village, there was also a necropolis of the Late Geometric of which twenty-two cyst inhumation tombs have been excavated. Their grave goods mainly consisted of objects made of bronze (Thessalian type fibulae, bracelets, pins, rings).[86] This necropolis could belong to a Geometric settlement that has not yet been discovered or to Paliokastro Anavras. So, although it has not produced surface material from earlier than the Classical period, it could have been inhabited during the Late Geometric. Several burials of the Classical and Hellenistic periods have been documented around Paliokastro Anavras, in Makria Rachi, to the northeast, in Agios Nikolaos, to the south, and in a wooded area at the foot of the hill, to the

[84] Stählin 1924: 239–240 with map; Burn 1977: 104 n. 20.

[85] For a description of the wall see Milán in this volume.

[86] Dakoronia 1977b: 104–105; Catling 1986: 42; Dakoronia *et alii* 2002; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali, Chapter 4; Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1200; Domínguez Monedero, Chapter 10.

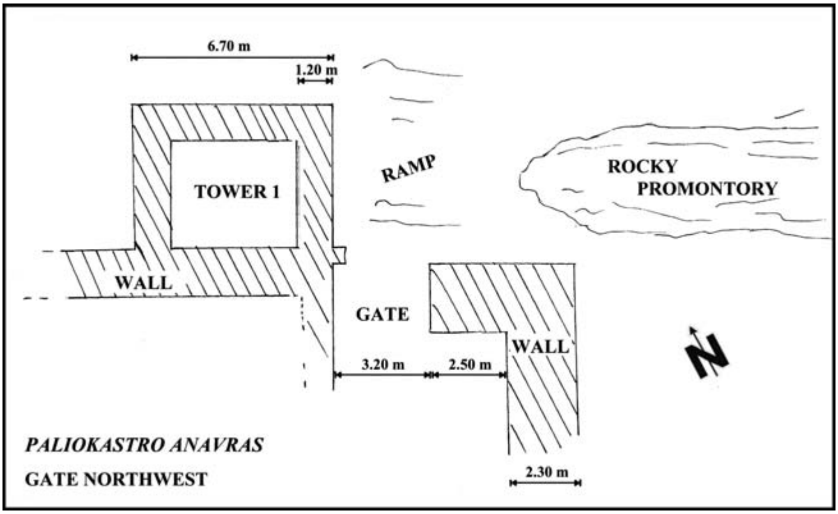

Figure 2.8. Paliokastro Anavras. The Northwest Gate.

southwest of the peak, there is a necropolis with graves constructed with slabs and courses of ashlars, probably Hellenistic.[87]

It is difficult to know whether Paliokastro was a *polis* or a fortified settlement of the kind that Strabo (9.4.4) mentions in the case of Cnemides. However, given the importance of the fortified enclosure, the size of the settlement and the wealth and size of the Hellenistic necropolis, it would be reasonable to assume that it was a *polis* and not just a simple fort on the southwest border of Epicnemidian Locris.

Identification

The map of Greece of 1852 situates Nicaea in Paliokastro, but Nicaea was in any case close to the coast, so we can discount this identification. Since no pottery earlier than fourth century has been found in Paliokastro, Pritchett[88] thought that after the tsunami mentioned by Strabo and which he dates to 426, the coastal *polis* of Alponus was abandoned, and some of its inhabitants stayed on the coast and founded Nicaea, while others moved inland and occupied Paliokastro, which was given the name Alponus (Pritchett called

87 Topographical archive of Fourteenth Ephorate; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali, Chapter 4.

88 Pritchett 1.75–76; 3.223–224; 4.164.

Paliokastro Alpenus II). We believe[89] that the Alponus situated on the coast was not abandoned after the tidal wave, and kept its name, so Anavra could not have been called Alponus and must be a different *polis* with a different name, perhaps one of several that still have not been located with any certainty (Calliarus, Tarphe-Pharygae, Augeiae, Bessa or Besa, Phalories or Pyroneia). Unfortunately, in the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to identify the ancient name of Paliokastro Anavras with any certainty.[90]

Territory and Frontiers

The western frontier of Paliokastro Anavras would have started at Mt. Zastanos (496 m) and followed the peaks of Kastraki (1,053 m) and Elafovouni (1,151 m) to the south and southeast. The border would reach the headwaters of the river Latzorema in the Dremata mountains. Here, between Mts. Elafovouni and Dremata, Paliokastro Anavras was on the frontier with Aenis, and Strabo (9.4.11) expressly says that Locris shared a border with the Aenianians. From there the border would reach the top of Mt. Profitis Ilias (479 m), were it shared the line with Mendenitsa, and from Profitis Ilias onwards it would have extended to the *chora* of Scarpheia (see Figure 2.3, p. 73).

Paliokastro Anavras had an area of about 35.5 sq km, more than 10 % of Epicnemidia's total area, and was very rugged, especially in the west, with

89 Cf. *supra*.

90 The only authors who mention Pyroneia are Lycophron and Stephanus of Byzantium (see Ziegler 1963: 73). Lycophron (*Alex*.1140 and ff.) refers to "Larymna and Spercheius and Boagrius and Cynus and Scarpheia and Phalories and your city of Naryca and you Locrian paths of Thronium and Pyroneian forests and all the mansion of Oileus, son of Hodoedocus". Unfortunately, as Fossey says (1990: 168), Lycophron does not follow a geographical order, but his account appears to concentrate on describing the area around the mansion of Oileus, the father of Aias, that is, the area around Naryca in the interior of Epicnemidia at the foot of the Callidromus and Pyroneia's location in a wooded place agrees with inland Locris. Moreover, Lycophron was a native of Chalcis, who lived at the end of the fourth century and beginning of the third, so it can be assumed that Pyroneia was inhabited in this period, as is the case of the other places he mentions. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Πυρωναία) says that it is a *polis* in Locris and refers, as his source, to Lycophron's account, which he quotes *uerbatim*. The etymology of Pyroneia is ambiguous. It could be related with πυρός (wheat), so could mean rich in wheat, hard to imagine in much of Locris and contrary to its epithet of wooded. Its name could also be connected with πύρ (fire), πυρά (pyre) or πυρία (vapour bath), so Pyroneia could mean "of the fire" or near the fire or the pyres, or the vapour baths. In the latter case it would point towards the area of Thermopylae. It could mean close to the Pyre of Heracles, which was on Mt. Oeta, near the modern village of Pavliani. The Thermopylae hot springs were dedicated to Heracles, and the whole area, together perhaps with the Melampygus Rock, belonged to the Heraclean cult and Paliokastro is the nearest Locrian place to the Pyre. All these details fit well with Paliokastro Anavras, but its identification with ancient Pyroneia remains simply as hypothesis.

the steep northern slopes of Mt. Callidromus. In fact, the territory of Anavra is the highest and most mountainous in Epicnemidian Locris. Only 25% of it is between 0 and 400 metres, 13% is between 401 and 600 and more than 60% is over 601 metres high (Table 2.3). The most fertile area, and probably the only part that was cultivable, was the Anavra plain that extends to the E-SE of the city and now serves to sustain the modern-day village of Anavra, especially the more fertile plain located to the southeast, known as Alepofolia.

Finally, one of the most important characteristics of Paliokastro Anavras was its strategic position. Paliokastro Anavras defended the entrance to Epicnemidian Locris by the southwest and controlled the route from Nevropolis to Mendenitsa, which ran along the northern side of Mt. Elafovouni. It also overlooked the route from Damasta to Drakospilia from Mt. Callidromus to Mendenitsa and, probably, the Anopaea Path to Alponus,[91] which could have followed, in some parts, earlier routes, which must have passed to the west of the city. From Paliokastro one can also see the monastery and the ruins of Drakospilia, the Thermopylae Pass, Alponus and Nicaea and, to the east, the valley of the river Latzorema.[92] Paliokastro Anavras was in visual contact with Alponus and Nicaea to the north and Mendenitsa to the south. Various routes connected Paliokastro Anavras to these settlements.

Table 2.3. The territory of Paliokastro Anavras.

Settlements			
Paliokastro Anavras (*polis*)			
Territory	Area (in sq km)	Perimeter (in km)	Percentage (%)
	33.553	26.0	10.45
Height (in metres)	Area (in sq km)		Percentage (%)
0–200	2.505		7.48
201–400	5.679		17.69
401–600	4.499		13.41
601–800	4.665		13.90
801–1000	7.360		21.95
1001–1200	8.208		24.47
1201–1400	0.367		1.10

91 Pritchett 1.76; 4.164–166.
92 Hdt. 7.176, 213–214, 216, 229. Cf. Th. 4.36.3; App. *Syr.* 18; Paus. 10.22.8–9; Polyaen.

B. *The Valley of the River Potamia*

Crossing to the right bank of the Latzorema we enter the heartland of Epicnemidian Locris, whose central-western part extends from the right bank of the river Latzorema to the left bank of the Liapatorema torrent, probably the ancient Aphamius (Figure 2.9). The first valley, of the Mendenitsa, lies between the Latzorema and the river Potamia. To the east, at the northern end of the area, there are two other valleys, that of the Potamia, the longer of the two, and that of the river Aivlassiorema. At the bottom of the Mendenitsa valley was a settlement that today has the same name, but whose ancient name is unknown, in the modern town of Mendenitsa. The Potamia valley descends in a S-N direction, from an altitude of 500 to 20 metres. The Profitis Ilias hill, 480 m asl, the site of an ancient settlement and fortification, occupies an outstanding position in the west, halfway along the valley, and is an indispensable lookout between the coast and Mendenitsa and also over a possible route and ford of the Latzorema in the direction of modern Karavydia. At the other side of the Potamia, on its right bank, is Scarpheia, in Trochala of Agios Charalambos, to the south of the modern town of Molos, which was for a long time the second *polis* of Epicnemidia. However, it became increasingly important, perhaps from the late fourth century BC, and it seems that from the latter part of the second century BC onwards, it succeeded in displacing Thronium, the main *polis* in the region. Between the Potamia and the Liapatorema or ancient Aphamius there is a fairly fertile area, which was the main part of Scarpheia's territory. Finally what may have been a sanctuary was built on the site of the existing hermitage of Agios Vlassios, toward the middle of the Aivlassiorema river valley.

To sum up, the area of the valleys of Mendenitsa, Potamia and Aivlassiorema includes three settlements: Trochala in Agios Charalambos = Scarpheia, Profitis Ilias in Karavydia and Mendenitsa; a possible port in the Church of Agios Konstantinos and Agia Eleni to the north of Nea Skarfeia; a fortress in Stefani; and perhaps a sanctuary in Agios Vlassios. At least one, Scarpheia, was a *polis* and possibly Mendenitsa and Karavydia/Profitis Ilias were too, at some point in their history.

Strat. 7.15.5. The bibliography on Thermopylae and the Anopaea path is very extensive, suffice it to cite here only Pritchett 1958: 203–213; Burn 1977: 89 ff.; Wallace 1980. See Domínguez Monedero 2010; Sánchez Moreno 2009; 2010 and esp. in this volume.

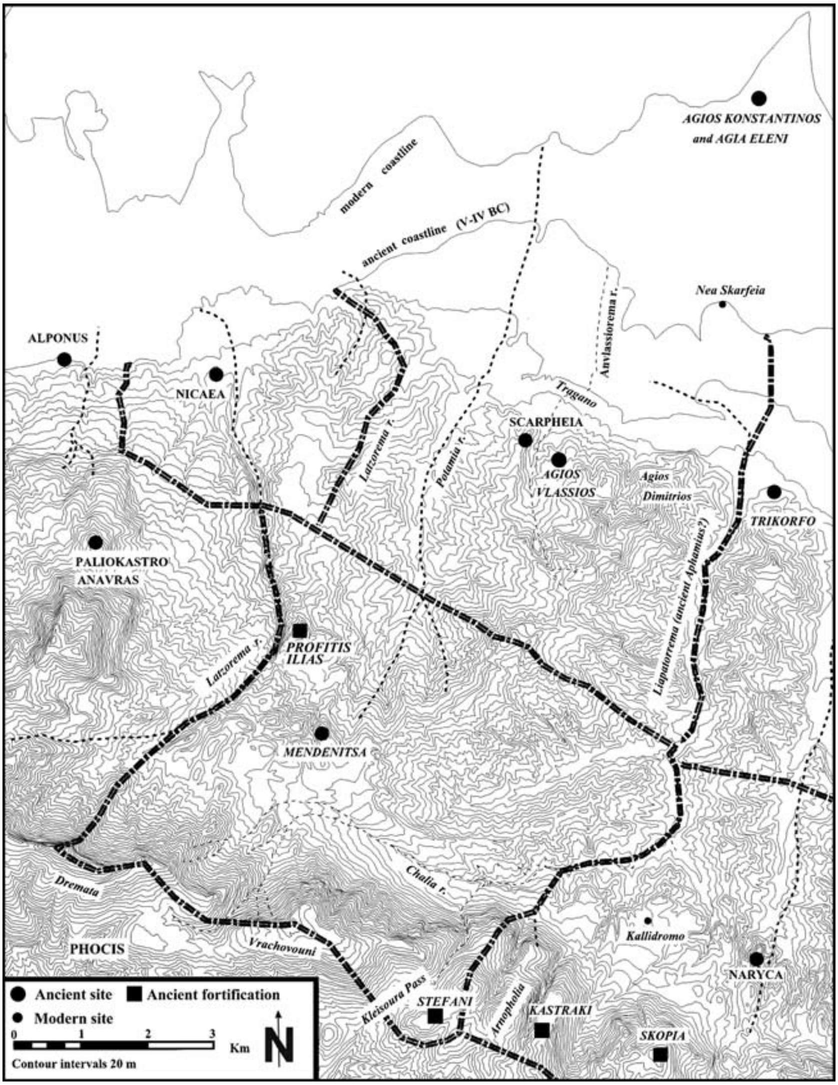

Figure 2.9. The valley of the river Potamia.

1. *Trochala/Prossilia/Agios Charalambos = Scarpheia*

Ancient Sources
Il. 2.532; Lyc. *Alex.* 1147; Livy 33.3.6; 36.19.5–9; App. *Syr.* 19; Str. 1.3.20 (= Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6) and 9.4.4; Mela 2.45; Plin. *NH.* 4.27; Paus. 2.29.3; 7.15.3–4; 10.1.2; Plu. *Mor.* 334 F; *Alex.* 29.6; Ath. 12.539 a; Procop. *Goth.* 8.25; Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκάρφεια; Anon. *Notitia Episcopatum*.737; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.11; Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.532; Hierocles *Synecdemos.* 643.6; *Anthologia Graeca* 7.639.4; *Tab. Peut.* 7/1; Hsch. s.v. Σκάρφη; Geogr. Rav. 375.6; Const. Porphyr. *De Them.* 2.5.

Inscriptions
BCH 45, 1921, col. III.139 (c. 230–210); *Syll* ³ 270 (c. 335/4) and 908; *IG* II², 3045 (mid-fourth century); *I. Magnesia* 31.3.9 (late third century); *IG* IX 1², 3: 750 (late second century), *IG* IX 1² 5: 2038, 2041, 2040 (= *Syll* ³ 220, c. 346) and 2039; *FD* III 1, number 110 (first half of third century BC), number 115 (290/89?); *FD* III 1, number 475 (Inv. 1697, c. 270–265), number 476 (= *CID* II, number 130, 266/5 or 265/4); *FD* III 2, number 213 (c. 134); *FD* III 4.4, number 362 (= *CID* IV, number 96, Inv. 1612, *Syll* ³ 538 A, c. 209/8), 359 (Inv. 3780 + 1659 + 2733, c. 266/5 or 265/4); *FD* III 5, 21, 22. Inv. 1836 (= *CID* II, number 43, spring 339); *SEG* 37.493 (c. 200–250 AD); *SGDI* 2597 (249/8?); *CID* IV, number 86 (= *SEG* 15.340, c. 212/1).

Numismatics
Head *BMC* XXII, p. 11 number 1, pl. II, 13; *HN*²: 337; Babelon 1914: II.3 numbers 458 and 459; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea*, 81; Georgiou 2009: 81–95.

Pottery
A, C, H, R, B

References
Leake 2.178–179; Gell 1827: 236; Bursian 1862: 1.188–189; Lolling (1878) [1989]: 787; Kahrstedt 1954: 32; Oldfather 1926: 1139; 1927: 460–465; Philippson and Kirsten 1950: I 344, 696, 703, 728; Burr 1961: 35; Dakoronia 1978a: 137; 1996c: 324–325; 1997: 444–445; 1998: 395–396; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 48; Pritchett 4.166–167; 5.176–177; 8.145–148; Catling 1986: 42; Barber 1988: 436; Buckler 1989: 34, 94; Nielsen 2004: number 387, pp. 671–672; Der neue Pauly, s.v. Skarpheia; Zachou and Papastathopoulou *AD* forthcoming; Georgiou 2009: 81–95; Mitsou and Mitsou 2010; Topographical archive of the Fourteenth Ephorate.

Situation and Description

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, after passing the town of Anderas (now Nea Skarfeia) and the river of the same name, Gell (1827: 236) found "traces of fortifications across the route" on the way to Thermopylae, ruins which he associated with Scarpheia. Leake (2.179) located Scarpheia between Andera and Molos, and so did Bursian (1862: 188) and Burr (1961: 31). Kahrstedt (1954: 32) situated the necropolis of Scarpheia in this flat area, between modern Nea Skarfeia and Molos.[93] Philippson[94] thought that Scarpheia was in a region known as Trochala, to the east of the church of Agios Athanasios, and Oldfather[95] claimed that Trochala was ten minutes to the south and a little to the east of Molos. Pritchett (4.166) looked for Scarpheia on the plain to the north of the modern highway, near modern Scarpheia and the satellite station but, although he visited the church of Agios Athanasios, he found no pottery in the immediate vicinity of the church. On a subsequent visit, Pritchett (5.176–177) found fragments of pottery and structural remains to the north of the satellite station. They dated to the third to fourth centuries AD, and he interpreted them as possibly being from a Basilica. According to the *Guide Blue*,[96] ancient Scarpheia was two kilometres inland from modern Skarfeia, on a hill to the left just at the turnoff for Molos, and Buckler (1989: 31, 34, 94),[97] in the best description we have, located Scarpheia on an isolated hill to the south of the coastal route and present-day Molos.

As we have already said, ancient settlements must primarily be sought not on the coastal plain but in the line of hills bordering the plain. This is particularly true in the case of Scarpheia, since, from what Strabo says (9.4.4) it can be inferred that the city was not on the ancient coast, but some ten stades, about two kilometres, inland.

To the south of Molos there is an area of hills between the rivers Potamia and Aivlassorema (or Agiosvlassiosrrema). Just over a kilometre to the south-southeast of Molos and a little to the north of a raised area called Prossilia or Agrossikia (340 m asl), there is a place called Trochala. It is not far from Agios Charalambos,[98] and is also known by this name. Here, in

[93] Molos is now the most important town in the area with 3,203 inhabitants and Nea Skarfeia has a population of 529 (figures from 2001 census).

[94] Philippson and Kirsten 1950: I.344, 696, 703 and 728.

[95] Oldfather 1926: 1139; 1927: 461.

[96] Barber 1988: 436.

[97] Buckler visited the area between Mendenitsa and Scarpheia on 25 May 1983.

[98] Agios Charalambos is a very small village with a population of 195 in the 2001 census.

Plate 2.6. Scarpheia. General view from North.

the same place as Buckler situates it, is an ancient settlement of considerable size. The site, which rises solitary from the plain, is located approximately between 38° 47″ 48″ and 38° 47′ 55″ N and 22° 38″ 36′ and 22° 38′ 53″ E and at a height of between eighty and a hundred and thirty metres. It occupies a double hill, the northern crest of which is lower, about a hundred metres, while the southern crest rises to a hundred and thirty metres (Plate 2.6). The south and east sides are fairly steep but the hill slopes down gently to the north and northeast, where much of the lower city would have been built. The settlement covers an area of some one thousand and seven hundred metres northwest-southeast and 35 hectares. Our survey with the Fourteenth Ephorate found here abundant Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine pottery and numerous fragments of tiles. There is no evidence, however, of Bronze Age pottery.[99] At the northern end of the hill architectural remains of the city are also visible.

[99] Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 48.

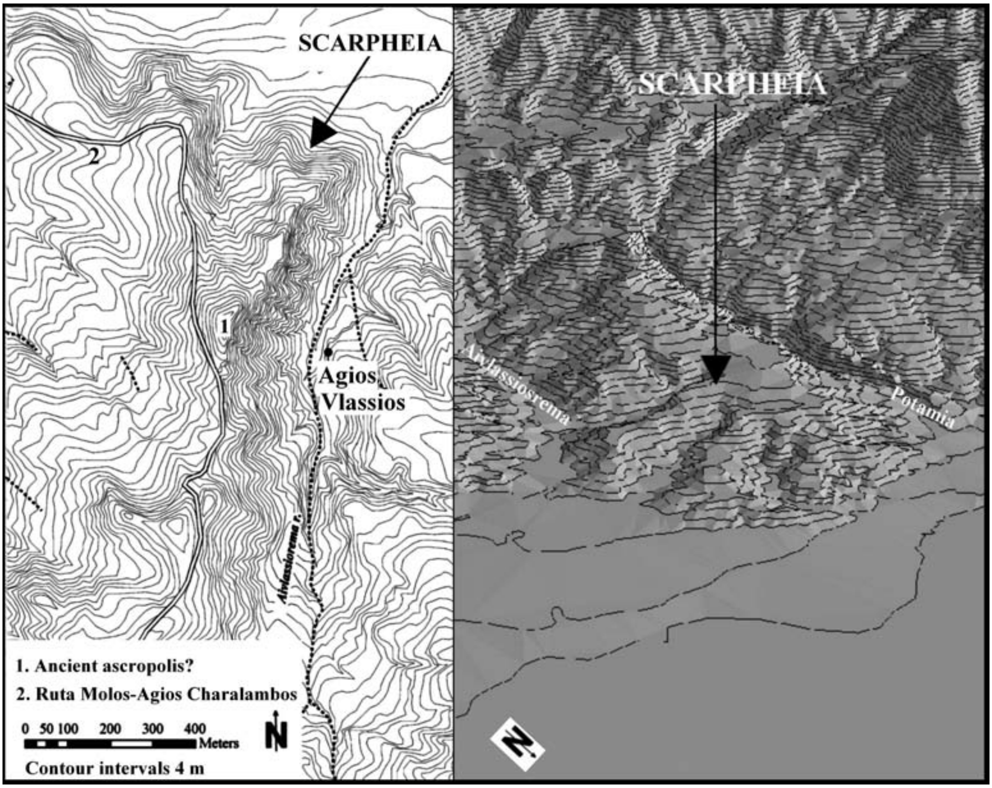

Figure 2.10. Ancient Scarpheia. (A) Plan from South. (B) TIN Model from North.

Several graves excavated at the northern edge and to the west of the hill of ancient Scarpheia, in the direction of Molos and on the bank of the river Potamia in the area known as Tragano, have provided information about the necropoleis of the city from at least the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine period.[100]

The site was possibly walled in Antiquity, but today there is no sign of the ancient fortification (Figure 2.10 A–B). The materials from ancient Scarpheia

[100] Topographical archive of the Fourteenth Ephorate; Dakoronia 1978a: 137; Catling 1986: 42; Dakoronia 1998: 395–396; Zachou and Papastathopoulou *AD* forthcoming; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4. Three other tombstones were also found close to Molos (*IG* IX 1² 5: 2038, 2040, 2041) and a recessed tombstone in the church of Agios Athanasios (*IG* IX 1² 5: 2039) must also come from the city's necropolis.

must have been reused in Molos and neighbouring areas, to judge by the Oldfather and Pritchett's reports.

Identification and History

Scarpheia is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.532) together with Bessa and the lovely Augeiae. Augeiae was close to Scarpheia so when it was abandoned, Scarpheia took over its territory.[101] Between the fifth and third centuries BC Scarpheia was a settlement of considerable size, for seventeen hundred people perished there in an earthquake (Str. 1.3.20 = Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6) when a tidal wave hit Thermopylae, Thronium and Tarphe. In either case the city, which appears to have taken the main brunt of the tidal wave, was completely destroyed. Centuries later Scarpheia suffered the consequences of another tidal wave that damaged Echinus and the Gulf of Opus in AD 551. In this case too, Scarpheia[102] apparently suffered the greatest impact, which suggests it was particularly exposed to tidal waves coming from the Malian Gulf in a NW-SE direction. In 197 the consul Flamininus arrived in Thermopylae from Elateia, after passing through Thronium and Scarpheia (Livy 33.3.6). In 191, after the defeat of Antiochus III at Thermopylae, the Romans pursued him and the remnants of his army as far as Scarpheia and then returned to Thermopylae and sacked the king's camp,[103] proof that Scarpheia was not far from the Pass. The king himself fled from Scarpheia to Elateia, and from there to Chalcis,[104] The city is also mentioned by Lycophron (*Alex.*1147), Mela (2.45), Pliny (*NH.* 4.27), Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.15.11) and the *Synecdemos* of Hierocles (643.6). The main information we have about the location of the city comes from Strabo (9.4.4: Σκάρφεια σταδίοις ὑπερκειμένη τῆς θαλάττης δέκα, διέχουσα δὲ τοῦ Θρονίου τριάκοντα, ἐλάττοσι δὲ μικρῷ [c. 10–13] ἔπειτα Νίκαιά ἐστι καὶ αἱ Θερμοπύλαι),[105] who says it is ten stades from the sea (rather less than two kilometres) and thirty (rather more than five) from Thronium. It is also between Nicaea and Thermopylae to the west and Thronium to the east. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (7/1) situates it seven miles (rather more than ten kilometres) from Thermopylae and twenty from Elateia (c. 30 kilometres) on a route which linked Thessaly with Phocis and Boeotia by means of the *mansiones* of Thapedon, Thermopylae, Scarpheia,

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101 Str. 9.4.5: οὐδ' [αἱ Αὐγειαί, τὴν δὲ χώ]ραν ἔχουσι Σκαρφιεῖς. Text restored cf. Radt 2004: 104; Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1196.

102 Procop. *Goth.* 8.25.6, *vid.* also *Geogr. Rav.* 375.6; *IG* IX 1^2 5: 2038, 2040, 2041, *Syll*^{3} 908; Ager 1998: 370–372; Daverio Rocchi 1998: 316–328.

103 Livy 36.19.6; App. *Syr.* 19.

104 Livy 36.19.6–9; App. *Syr.* 20.

105 Ed. Radt 2004: 104.

Elateia and Chaeroneia. It was a diocese (Anon. *Notitia Episcopatum*.737). From these accounts (together with Procopius), which ignore Thronium, it can be assumed that in the course of the Roman period, and particularly in the later Roman times, Scarpheia acquired sufficient prominence to displace Thronium and become the leading city in the area.

The position of Scarpheia in Trochala in Agios Charalambos, at the exit of the Potamia valley, fits Strabo's description well. The place, of considerable size, is at least six kilometres from Thronium, further to the north and east. Trochala, at a height of about sixteen or twenty metres is also some two or three kilometres from the ancient shore, which must have been to the north of the modern village of Molos. If we accept this hypothetical line for the ancient coast, along the lines of twelve to twenty metres in altitude, there would have been a large promontory to the north of Scarpheia, in modern Molos. This would explain why it was so exposed to tidal waves but Thronium less vulnerable: the promontory would have protected it from tidal waves in the Euboean Gulf. The East Gate of Thermopylae is about nine kilometres from this site, Nicaea is five kilometres to the west, Mendenitsa is the same distance to the south, and Paliokastro Anavras is six kilometres to the southwest. Thus, in our opinion, the identification proposed by Buckler of Prossilia-Trochala-Agios Charalambos with Scarpheia is completely correct.

There is no doubt about Scarpheia's status as a *polis*. An inscription with the word Σκ[αρφεῖς was found in the *Molos* plain coming from Trochala, towards the east of the Chapel of Agios Athanasios (*IG* IX 1² 5: 2038), which refers to the grant of proxeny to a Theban from the Achaea of Phthiotis by the Scarpheians. The city-ethnic is also mentioned in other inscriptions.[106] Scarpheia was one of only two cities in Epicnemidian Locris—Thronium was the other—to issue coinage, which it may have started doing in the mid-fourth century.[107] The Scarpheia issues are always struck in bronze and

[106] *FD* III 1, number 110 (first half of the third century BC); *FD* III 1, number 115, c. 290/89; *FD* III 1, number 475. Inv. 1697 (c. 270–265) lin. 4; *FD* III 1, number 476 = *CID* II, number 130, lin. 3 (restored, 266/5 or 265/4); *CID* IV, number 96. Inv. 1612 = *Syll*³ 538 A and *FD* III 4.4, 362, lin. 5, c. 209/8; *SEG* 37.493, c. 200–250 AD; *CID* II, number 43 = *FD* III 5, 21, 22. Inv. 1836, lin. 65, (Spring 339); *FD* III 4.4, 359. Inv. 3780 + 1659 + 2733, lin. 37 (266/5 or 265/4); *GDI* 2597, c. 249/8; *CID* IV, number 86 = *SEG* 15.340, lin. 6, c. 212/1; *FD* III 2, number 213, c. 134.

[107] The Eastern Locrian mintings are difficult to interpret; apparently the only cities that minted coins were Opus (city coinage and federal coinage), Thronium and Scarpheia. The mintings in Aeginetan design commenced in the first half of the fifth century (federal mintings) and ended around the time of the battle of Chaeroneia (Kraay 1976: 112–123; Martin 1985: 172).

the first appear to date to the mid third century BC. At least two series were minted, one with the head of Persephone with her hair in a knot on the nape of her neck on the obverse and the figure of Aias, son of Oïleus, fighting naked with a Corinthian helmet, sword and shield and the legend ΣΚΑΡΦΕΩΝ on the reverse; another with a same female head, Aias with his back to the left on the reverse and the legend ΣΚ. Other series date to the second century (c. 196–146); in this case they are bronze coins with a bearded head of Zeus on the obverse bearing the same legend as the earlier issues and have a robed female figure on the reverse. Other series of the same period lead the head of Demeter on the obverse and the figure of Aias and the same legend on the reverse. The last issues date to the first century BC. There are also coins of the same period with the head of Athena with a Corinthian helmet on the obverse and Hermes and the legend ΣΚΑΡΦΕΩΝ on the reverse.[108]

These issues provide sufficient evidence that Scarpheia was a *polis*. Also, Philodamus of Scarpheia composed, in 338, a *paean* about the myth of Dionysus for Delphic festivals[109] and Plutarch (*Mor*. 334 E; *Alex*.29) mentions a famous playwright of Alexander's time, Lycon of Scarpheia, who had his own troop of actors.[110] In both cases, Philodamus and Lycon, we are clearly dealing with the city-ethnic of Scarpheia.[111]

To sum up, Scarpheia was an important *polis*, second only to Thronium in the whole of Epicnemidian Locris. It was situated on the coastal plain of Locris, not directly on the sea but a little way inland (about two kilometres) between Nicaea to the west and Thronium, some five kilometres to the east. It was not far, about ten kilometres, from Thermopylae in a somewhat exposed position that left it vulnerable to the earthquakes that produced tidal waves in the Malian Gulf. Nicaea was a port city and Thronium also had a port, so Scarpheia may have had one too, as we shall see, at least in the Roman period. Scarpheia occupied an important strategic position and was easy to defend. The city guarded the part of the Thermopylae Corridor on a route which led from Heracleia Trachinia and the river Spercheius to

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108 Georgiou 2009: 81–95, esp. 84–85. Head and Babelon dated the Scarpheian issues in two periods, late fourth century and early third century BC, cf. Head *BMC* XXII, p. 12 and *HN*^{2}: 337; Babelon 1914: II.3, 381–382.

109 On Philodamus and the *paean*, see *Syll*^{3} 270, year 335/4; Vollgraff 1924; Powell 1925: 132–141, 162–171; Marcovich 1975; Käppel 1992: 207–284, 375–380; Furley and Bremer 2001: I.121–128; II.53–84; Neumann and Hartmann 2004; Mitsou and Mitsou 2010: 42–49.

110 Mitsou and Mitsou 2010: 50–51.

111 Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Σκάρφεια) also refers to Scarpheia as a *polis* in Epicnemidian Locris near Thermopylae.

Scarpheia, Thronium and Elateia, the latter some thirty kilometres away from Scarpheia.[112]

On the basis of the evidence available to us at present, Scarpheia was founded in the Archaic Period, and rebuilt on the same site immediately after the various tidal waves that ravaged the region. In 351 it was occupied by the Phocians[113] and ruled by Philip from 346 onwards. The city came under the rule of the Aetolians from 280 until the beginning of the second century BC. After the battle of Thermopylae in 191, Scarpheia was occupied by the Romans, but in 146 was apparently on the anti-Roman side and collaborated with the Achaeans. In that year the Achaean troops used it as their base and Scarpheia was the site of a battle in which the Romans defeated the Achaean Confederacy.[114] After that, Scarpheia remained under Roman rule.

Towards the end of the Roman period and the beginning of the Byzantine, Scarpheia was gradually abandoned and the population moved to the coastal plain. The remains of buildings and late pottery found[115] in this coastal area reflect this gradual drift of population. An inscription (*IG* VII, 24), dated to 401/2 AD, shows that Scarpheia was, together with Corinth, one of the main points for exporting Greek grain and perhaps there was a major settlement on the coastal plain beside a port at that time.[116] The city may have gone into decline after the earthquake of 551 AD and the Slavic invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries.[117] The city is last mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*De Them.*2.5) in the first half of the tenth century.

2. *The Church of Agios Konstantinos and Agia Eleni = Scarpheia's Harbour?*

Ancient Sources
Str. 9.4.4; Antip. *fr.* 59 G.-P.; Mela 2.45.

Inscriptions
IG VII, 24 (401/2 AD)

112 Cf. Paus.7.15.2. *Vid.* Sánchez-Moreno in this volume.
113 Diod. 16.38.3.
114 Walbank, 1979: III.709–710; Paus. 7.15.3–4; 7.10.1–2; Lyc. *Alex.*1147; Livy 36.19.5; Plin. *NH.* 4.27.
115 Cf. Pritchett 5.176–178.
116 Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2001: 61; Zachos in Chapter 14.
117 Sythiakaki 2002: 117.

Pottery
LR, B

References
Pritchett 4.166–167; 5.177–178; 6.116–117.

Situation and Structural Remains
Pritchett (4.166–167) found a considerable number of sherds to the north of the Earth Satellite Station, which is located about eight hundred metres inland from the gulf. About 1500 metres beyond the Earth Satellite Station on a road which leads to a lighthouse at the water's edge, the church of Agios Konstantinos and Agia Eleni (38° 50′ 20″ N; 22° 41′ 19″ E) can be found some two hundred metres to the left. More than 200 metres to the northeast of the church, Prichett (5.177) saw many sherds and some small fragments of architecture, an unfluted marble column shaft and another marble block which he thought to have belonged to an Early Christian Basilica. Likewise, in an area of some twenty square metres sherds were found including many small fragments of Roman combed ware. These were later dated as probably being from the third to sixth centuries AD. This site can also be situated some two kilometres to the north of the bridge which crosses the river Liapatorema (the former Aphamius) in the direction of Scarpheia. As we shall see, perhaps these remains do not correspond to the ancient Scarpheia but to the port.

Identification
In Strabo's text (9.4.4),[118] Scarpheia was ten stades from the sea, inland, but in 401/2 AD Corinth and Scarpheia were the two great granaries of Greece,[119] which implies that both were important ports for the exportation of cereal. Except where it has been reported, Pritchett explored all of the coast of Scarpheia to the north of Molos and Nea Skarfeia and found it "very shallow and most unpleasant." Indeed it is possible that a large part of the coast of Scarpheia was boggy in ancient times and thus with difficulty could have housed a port. In 146 a battle between the Achaeans and the Romans took place near Scarpheia, by this we should understand on the plain extending to the north of the city.[120] Pausanias (7.15.4) says that the Achaean *strategos* "Critolaus was neither seen alive after the battle nor found among the dead. If he dared to plunge into the marsh of the sea at the foot of Mount Oeta he

[118] See Radt 2004: 104.
[119] *IG* VII, 24.
[120] Paus. 7.15.3.

must inevitably have sunk into the depths without leaving a trace to tell the tale". If Pausanias is not referring to the marshlands of the Thermopylae, perhaps he is making reference to the marshlands which stretched to the north of Scarpheia, flanking the battle ground of 146. Antipater of Thessalonica, an Augustan epigrammatist (first century BC) suggests that Scarpheia had a harbour on this coast[121] and Mela (2.45), confusing probably the city with its port, says that Scarpheia was a coastal site.[122] Although Pritchett believed that the site was that of ancient Scarpheia it is possible that it really corresponds to its port in Roman and Byzantine times.[123]

It is not known whether an earlier port existed, but perhaps it is situated further south, bearing in mind the advancement of the marshlands. One kilometre to the southwest of Nea Skarfeia and about 3,5 kilometres to the northwest of ancient Scarpheia, the lines of altitude between twelve and twenty metres mark a broad curve where a large bay could have existed in ancient times. Perhaps an earlier harbour could be here. In any case a port must have existed in Scarpheia at least since the third century AD and it may have been situated in the vicinity of the chapels of Agios Konstantinos and Agia Eleni.[124] The necropolis of ancient Scarpheia could be found to the southeast of Molos, in the region of Agios Athanasios and Tragano, precisely on the road between city and port.

3. *Agios Vlassios = A Possible Ancient Sanctuary*

Just over a kilometre to the west of Trochala/Scarpheia, after crossing the river Aivlassiorema one comes to the iconostasis of Agios Vlassios (38° 47′ 32″ N; 22° 39′ 18″ E; 115 m asl). This chapel rests on large rectangular blocks of isodomic masonry (Plate 2.7A), and there are also the shafts of some columns (Plate 2.7B). This material may have come from the ancient city, but there could also have been a sanctuary here which was later to become Christianised.

121 Antip. *fr.* 59 G.-P.

122 See Pritchett 2002: 90 and n. 10.

123 Arjona in Chapter 8.

124 Cf. Polyb. 18.9.3: In 198, Philip V and the consul Flamininus spoke in Nicaea and agreed to meet the following day on the beach at Thronium. They neglected the possible port of Scarpheia, not because it were small or was not yet in existence, but because the Macedonian king was concerned for his own safety. Thus while Nicaea was controlled by his Aetolian enemies, Thronium belonged to Philip V. It is possible that the Aetolians also ruled Scarpheia.

Plate 2.7. Agios Vlassios. (A): Ashlar walling. (B): Unfluted column shaft.

Territory and Frontiers of Scarpheia

To the west, the river Latzorema marked the boundary between Nicaea and Scarpheia. To the east, Scarpheia and Thronium were neighbouring *poleis* and shared a common border, which was fixed at a river whose ancient name was Aphamius. A Delphic inscription (*FD* III 4.1, number 42) dating to the late second century indicates that the left bank of that river belonged to Scarpheia and the right bank to Thronium. It also tells us that at the mouth of the river it was channelled on both sides with dikes and ditches, which measured sixteen metres long. The same inscription reveals something of the countryside around Scarpheia and neighbouring Thronium. It mentions an oblique route that must have been the road (W–E) from Thermopylae to Thronium and a transverse route linking Scarpheia with Mendenitsa (N–S) through the valley of the Potamia. It also referred to cultivable lands, citizens' property, farmhouses and the tower of Lycon, built practically on the sea, which must have been a farm building rather than a watchtower. According to Pritchett there is only one river, called the Liapatorema (or Andera), between the river Boagrius and Molos that is sufficiently wide to need a bridge over it, at kilometre 186 of the old national highway. It is the obvious candidate for the ancient Aphamius, although its course may have changed.[125] Finally, if Mendenitsa, in the south, was a *polis*, the frontier between the two could have crossed the middle of the Potamia valley, near modern hill and ancient settlement of Profitis Ilias in Karavydia.

[125] Pomtow 1919/20: 170–171; *FD* III 4.1, 42.

The territory of Scarpheia, not counting Mendenitsa, would have had an area of about 33 sq km, which is rather more than 10% of the total area of Epicnemidian Locris and seems to extend further westwards and particularly southwards. Between them, Scarpheia and Thronium controlled the flattest and most fertile part of Epicnemidian Locris. In fact, Scarpheian territory is fairly flat, with more than 97% between 0 and 400 metres (*vide* Table 2.4 below). The city would have produced wine and may have exported some grain, although its importance as a granary at the beginning of the fifth century AD must have been due to the fact that Scarpheia had become the port through which grain from the Cephisus and perhaps also from Boeotia was exported. Scarpheia dominated its part of the Thermopylae Corridor and another important route that linked it with Mendenitsa and Phocis through the Kleisoura Pass.

If Mendenitsa was a *kome* of Scarpheia, the latter's territory would have been almost 68 sq km, or 21% of the region. Certainly it is possible that during some period in history, Scarpheia occupied the area of Mendenitsa, meaning that its territory would have reached the borders of Phocis. Pausanias (2.29.3) says that at the beginning in the era of Phocus, only the area around Tithorea and the Parnassus was called Phocis, but in the times of Aeacus, a generation later, the name extended to the neighbours of the Minyans of Orchomenus and the Locrians of Scarpheia (τὸ δὲ ὄνομα προϋπῆρχεν ἤδη τῇ χώρᾳ, Φώκου τοῦ Ὀρνυτίωνος γενεᾷ πρότερον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντος. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Φώκου τούτου ⟨ἡ⟩ περὶ Τιθορέαν τε καὶ Παρνασσὸν ἐκαλεῖτο [ἡ] Φωκίς: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξενίκησεν, ὅσοι Μινύαις τέ εἰσιν Ὀρχομενίοις ὅμοροι καὶ ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν τὴν Λοκρῶν καθήκουσι), that is, the Phocians on the border with Boeotia and Epicnemidian Locris. Pausanias (10.1.2) also says that the Phocians were impeded from accessing the Malian Gulf by the Hypocnemidian Locrians; sharing a border with Phocis on this side, Scarpheia on the Elateian side and those of Opus and the Opuntian port of Cynus bordered with Hyampolis and Abae (οὗτοι γὰρ δή εἰσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπεροικοῦντες, Σκαρφεῖς μὲν τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἐλατείας, ὑπὲρ δὲ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Ἄβας οἱ πόλιν τε Ὀποῦντα καὶ Ὀπουντίων ἐπίνειον νεμόμενοι Κῦνον). It is possible that Pausanias took into account the Scarpheian legend of their successful conquest of Mendenitsa or that its border stretched as far in an earlier period, but Pausanias' testimony may indicate that, at least in his time, Mendenitsa belonged to Scarpheia, so the city would have shared territory with Phocis, which is also consistent with the importance of Scarpheia at the end of Antiquity. Perhaps Mendenitsa was a *polis* until the Hellenistic period and was then absorbed by Scarpheia in Roman times.

We have another Delphic inscription (*FD* III 4.2, number 159, inv. 1284),[126] dated to the first century BC, that records an agreement reached between the *Engaioi* and the Thronians in the Gates (Pylae). The document is dated by the archons of Scarpheia and Thronium, so it is reasonable to assume that the *Engaioi* lived in Scarpheian territory and, obviously, the Thronians of the Gates in Thronium territory. The name *Engaioi* suggests that they lived in the hinterland of Scarpheian territory, towards the southeast; they probably shared a border with the Thronians at the Gates, which must have been the main subject matter of the agreement. Pylae would not refer to Thermopylae, but to a pass at the foot of the Callidromus (Fontana?). The *Engaioi* and the Thronians of the Gates appear to have belonged to a different legal entity from Scarpheian and Thronian citizens, so were perhaps dependent communities. Perhaps the *Engaioi* were the inhabitants of Mendenitsa subjugated to Scarpheia.

Finally we know that Demeter Euryodeia was worshiped in Scarpheia[127] and that Lycon of Scarpheia was a comic playwright and must have led a group of Dionysian players who performed before Alexander.[128]

Table 2.4. The territory of Scarpheia.

Settlements			
Trochala in Agios Charalambos = Scarpheia (*polis*)			
Mendenitsa? (*kome*?)			
Others			
Agios Vlassios (sanctuary?)			
Agios Konstantinos and Agia Eleni (harbour?)			
Territory	Area (in sq km)	Perimeter (in km)	Percentage (%)
	33.039	26.2	10.29
Height (in metres)	Area (in sq km)		Percentage (%)
0–200	23.905		72.35
201–400	8.371		25.34
401–600	0.763		2.31

126 *Idem* Pomtow 1919/20: 176–177.
127 Hsch. s.v. Εὐρυόδεια.
128 Plu. *Mor.* 334 E; *Alex.* 29.6; Ath. 12.539a.

Plate 2.8. Mendenitsa. General view from the West.

4. *Mendenitsa*

Pottery
C, H, R, B

References
Leake 2.179; Gell 1827: 237; Buchon 1843: 280–288; Baird 1856: 251–254; Lolling (1878) [1989] 181–182; Millar 1908: 234–249; Oldfather 1926: 1140; 1932: 2342; Bon 1937: 152–158; Kirsten 1938: 1872; Burr 1961: 35; Koder and Hild 1976: 221–222; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 49; Dakoronia 1988c: 246–247; Pritchett 5.167–168; Buckler 1989: 34, 41–44; Catling 1989: 49; Buckler 2003: 406–407.

Situation and Structural Remains
In the northern part of the modern town of Mendenitsa[129] there is a medieval fortress[130] that was used years ago for concerts and theatrical performances

129 Mendenitsa is a small town with a population of 595 in 2001 census.
130 Mendenitsa and its fortress have been known by many names: Ternitza, Dernitza,

and is now called Kastro politismou (Plate 2.8). The fortress is built at a considerable height, between 536 and 568 metres, extends between 38° 45′ 09″ and 38° 45′ 14″ N and 22° 36″ 57 and 22° 37′ 01″ E and occupies 8 hectares. Parts of its two concentric walls are preserved (Figure 2.11).[131] The external wall is less well preserved than the internal one and describes an oval of about four hundred metres whose axis lies SE-NW. As well as the medieval accretions, the exterior wall contains a good number of rectangular isodomic ashlars, strengthened with smaller stones and medieval mortar, all or most of them brought from their original location (Plate 5.7A). At least several towers that would have been built at intervals along the medieval plan are also visible. The inner ring, of a hundred and thirty-five metres, lies in a general NW-SE direction and is relatively well preserved. The area it encloses is divided in two by a dividing wall, which has a large tower in the centre (Plate 5.7B). This inner bastion also reuses various ancient materials, such as ashlar blocks and columns, most of which were also brought from their original location. So as well as being important in the medieval period, the settlement and walls at Mendenitsa certainly date back to Antiquity;[132] the ancient walls of isodomic masonry can be dated to the Classical period, probably the latter part of the fourth century. Black glaze pottery from the Classical period, mainly late fourth century,[133] and also Hellenistic, Roman and medieval pottery have been documented in the area enclosed by the walls. There are no traces of pottery from earlier periods.

The ancient site occupied a strong defensive position at a height of over 500 m between two watercourses, with a gentler slope to the east and south and is accessible mainly from the south. Mendenitsa overlooked the uplands between the modern towns of Mendenitsa and Kallidromo. Most of the fertile land belonging to this settlement extended south-eastwards, in the direction of the modern town of Kallidromo irrigated by the river Chalias.

Bodonitza, Boudonitza, Boudonitsa, Muntonitsa, Pontonitza or Pundonitza. We shall use the present name of *Mendenitsa* to refer to the village and the fortress in order to avoid any confusion.

131 On the fortifications of Mendenitsa consult Bon 1937: 152–158, cf. also Millar 1908: 234–249.

132 Pritchett 5.168; Buckler 1989: 31.

133 Buchon 1843: 286; Baird 1856: 253–254; Buckler 1989: 42 n. 16.

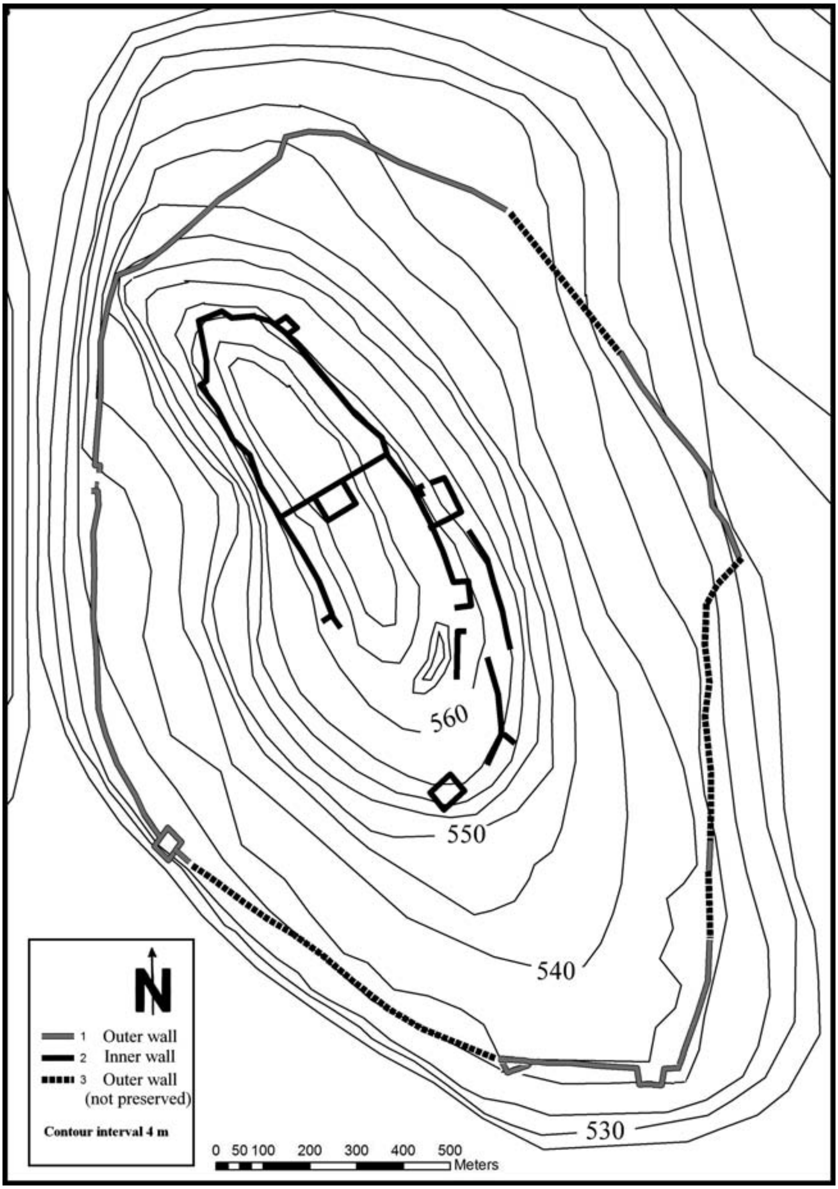

Figure 2.11. Mendenitsa. Plan.

In the modern town a sarcophagus was discovered with remains from at least seven burials dating to the Hellenistic period.[134] This could suggest that the settlement did not extend beyond the walls, but was contained approximately within the limits of the external wall while the necropolis was to the south, in the side of the settlement, occupying part of the modern town. If so, the area of the ancient habitat would have been approximately five hundred by a hundred metres.

The importance of its fortifications and the relative size of the habitat would suggest that Mendenitsa was an ancient *polis* at some point in its history, although, we have seen, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that it was a settlement (*kome* or *chorion*) belonging to another Locrian *polis*, particularly Scarpheia.

Identification

Gell (1827: 210–211, 237) thought that Mendenitsa was the site of ancient Thronium or Calliarus. Leake (2.179) believed that Pundonitza was probably Tarphe or Pharygae.[135] Lolling and Oldfather[136] considered Tarphe-Pharygae to be in Mendenitsa as did Burr (1961: 31, 45) and Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1979: 49). Barber (1988: 436) also puts Pharygae here. Buckler,[137] as we shall see, thought it was Argolas, the site of one of the battles of the Third Sacred War, although it is only mentioned in Diodorus (16.30.4), where it is only referred to as a hill.

Thronium was located in the modern-day Palaikastro ta marmara in Pikraki or Bzika, at the mouth of the Boagrius.[138] Calliarus is mentioned in the Homeric poems between Cynus and Opus (*Il.*2.531). Strabo (9.4.6) states that Calliarus in his time the city was not inhabited and was then a plain cultivated with handsome crops to which it owes its name.[139] Stephanus of Byzantium[140] simply states that Calliarus is a *polis* of the Locris. Fossey[141] thought it probable that it was to be found on the plain of Atalanti, in Opun-

134 Dakoronia 1980: 246–247; Catling 1989: 49.

135 Both names refer to the same area (cf. *infra* and Str. 9.4.6; Steph. Byz. s.v.Τάρφη). Pritchett (5.169–171) sites Tarphe in Naryca. Both he (5.171) and Buckler (1989: 95) think that Pharygae did not exist as a Locrian *polis*.

136 Lolling (1878) [1989]: 182; Oldfather 1926: 1139. See also Kirsten 1938: 1872.

137 Buckler 1989: 41–42 and 2003: 406–407, accepted with qualifications by Nielsen 2004: 666. Hirschfeld 1895: 728 simply says that Argolas is a hill in Eastern Locris.

138 Cf. *infra*.

139 *Idem* Hsch. s.v. Καλλίαρος. See Oldfather 1919: 1613–1615.

140 Steph. Byz. s.v. Καλλίαρος (= Hellanic. *FGrH* 4 F13).

141 Fossey 1990: 75 did not find the site and quotes as his sources French 1972, figs. 11, 13, 14, 16b–d, 19 and Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 262 G1 and Hope Simpson 1981: 80, C66 who in turn referred to French.

tian Locris, some 750 metros west-northwest of Skala Atalantis on a small elevation c. 150 metres E-W and c. 60 metros N-S where ceramics from HA III, HM and HR III B have been found.[142] Dakoronia[143] suggested the possibility that Calliarus was situated in Palaiokastra on the northeastern border of the Atalanti plain. Palaiokastra has vestiges of a fortification and is located in an area of low hills on fertile terrain. 1.5 kilometres to the south six chamber tombs were excavated from HR III which may be related to this settlement.

However, it must not necessarily be supposed that all the places mentioned in the Homeric *CS* date back to the Mycenaean era and if the Atalanti plain is the most extensive in the whole of Eastern Locris, Calliarus' description may as much correspond to other areas in the region, especially the southeast of Epicnemidian Locris. Eustathius (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.531) notes a double etymology for the name Calliarus, one being the common Calliara, in neutral plural, from the beautifully cultivated land, the other being Calliarus, from the son of Hodoedocus and Laonome, who would therefore be the brother of Oïleus. This mythical generation would also seem to point to it being in Epicnemidia, in the south of the region to be precise. Certainly, we can scarcely count the indications as to the possible whereabouts of Calliarus[144] and we cannot assign to it a concrete location, but perhaps it could have been, along with Bessa and Tarphe, in Epicnemidian and not Opuntian Locris.

Tarphe is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.533), situated next to Thronium on the other side of the river Boagrius, at a distance of some twenty stades, about four kilometres from this latter city (Strabo. 9.4.6). Tarphe, a *polis* according to Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v.Τάρφη), was also affected by the submarine earthquake of Strabo (1.3.20), one of the tidal waves of which hit Tarphe and Thronium. From this it can be gathered that, although its territory was wooded,[145] it was not only close to Thronium, but also sufficiently near the coast to be affected by the tsunami. Little or nothing of this evidence can be applied to Mendenitsa. The latter was beside the river Potamia and therefore a long way from the river Boagrius; the distance from Thronium is about eleven kilometres, i.e. some sixty stades[146] and, while part of

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142 Cf. Der neue Pauly s.v. Kalliaros.

143 Dakoronia (1993a: 120–124) also mentions fragments of an inscription which may be related, although with many a doubt, to the name of the settlement.

144 Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 48.

145 Str. 1.3.20; Steph. Byz. s.v. Φαρύγαι.

146 Oldfather 1932: 2343, in an attempt to reconcile Strabo's account with the distance between Mendenitsa and Thronium, says that, depending on where the starting point is fixed, the distance could be twenty stades.

Mendenitsa's territory is wooded, especially the south part in the foothills of the Callidromus, it is situated so far inland it is practically impossible for it to have been hit by a tidal wave.

Argolas is mentioned in the context of the beginning of the Third Sacred War (years 356 and 355).[147] According to Diodorus, when Diotimus was archon at Athens (16.29.1), Philomelus, the *strategos* of Phocian Confederacy, in 355 BC, with ten thousand infantry and horsemen, invaded the territory of the Locrians (Diod. 16.30.3: εὐθὺς οὖν ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λοκρῶν χώραν) and fought a battle against them in which he was victorious. After that, the Thessalians with their allies from neighbouring district, that is their *perioikoi*, assembled a force of six thousand, came to Locris and waged a battle against the Phocians but were defeated on a hill called Argolas (Diod. 16.30.4: συνάψαντες μάχην τοῖς Φωκεῦσι περὶ λόφον Ἀργόλαν ὀνομαζόμενον ἡττήθησαν). After the battle the Boeotians arrived with thirteen thousand men and fifteen hundred Achaeans came to the aid of the Phocians. The Boeotian and Phocian armies camped opposite each other,[148] and later the Boeotians captured a good many mercenaries that were out foraging, took them out in front of the city (Diod. 16.31.1: προαγαγόντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως) and, after the heralds had announced that they had been sacking temples, put them to death. The mercenaries responded by capturing enemy troops and treating them in the same way.[149] Then the armies invaded another region and as they were marching through *heavily wooded and rough country*, the vanguards of the two armies encountered each other and a battle ensued (Diod. 16.31.3: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐμβαλουσῶν καὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιουμένων διὰ τόπων καταδένδρων καὶ τραχέων ἄφνω συνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις οἱ προηγούμενοι τῆς στρατιᾶς). The Boeotians won the battle and, while fleeing across rough and almost impassable terrain, many Phocians perished and Philomelus found himself trapped in an area of steep cliffs, and fearing torture if he were captured, threw himself off a precipice (Diod. 16.31.4: τῆς δὲ φυγῆς γινομένης διὰ τόπου κρημνώδους […] εἴς τινα κρημνώδη τόπον συνεκλείσθη: οὐκ ἔχων δὲ διέξοδον καὶ φοβούμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αἰκίαν ἑαυτὸν

147 The main problem in locating Argolas and in general the course of events that took place in these two years, derives from the fact that in two separate passages Diodorus relates events that appear to be the same but have some differences (16.24.4–25.2 and 27.1–30.3), with a digression on the Delphic tripod inserted between them (16.26.1–6). The difficulty lies in combining the accounts, amalgamating some facts as mere repetition or differentiating others as relating to separate events.

148 Diod. 16.30.4.

149 Diod. 16.31.2.

κατεκρήμνισε).[150] Thanks to Pausanias (10.2.4) we know that this last battle took place close to the city of Neon (κατὰ Νεῶνα πόλιν).

The identification of Argolas with Mendenitsa implies that the fortress next to a river, the Argolas hill and the *polis* that the Phocians used as their base relate to the same place and also means that the Phocian expedition would have taken place in Epicnemidian Locris and that the Phocians and the Boeotians withdrew through the Passes of the Callidromus, the first through the Kleisoura Pass and the second through the Fontana Pass. The only certain point in the campaign is Neon, whose acropolis in the classical period was Tithorea. Neon-Tithorea[151] is not on the left bank of the river Cephisus, next to the frontier with Epicnemidian Locris, but the other side of the valley. In fact, it occupies a strong position on one of the northern spurs of Parnassus, closer, therefore, to Hesperian Locris than Epicnemidian Locris. Various routes connect this city with Boeotia[152] and Delphi.[153] Moreover, if Philomelus' campaign was waged in Epicnemidia, the two armies would have passed close to each other along the entire broad and flat Cephisus valley without confronting each other, while Diodorus' account implies that they were marching along a rough and heavily wooded path. What we know about the battle of Neon would suggest an earlier withdrawal through Parnassus after a campaign in Hesperian Locris, and all the action could well have taken place on the Amphissa plain. Moreover, the Phocian invasions of Epicnemidia in 353/2 and 352/1 did not use the Kleisoura Pass but the Fontana and Vasilika passes, and in any case the attacks occurred across the Boagrius valley, around Naryca and Thronium, whose control was the main strategic objective rather than Mendenitsa.[154] Since Hesperian

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150 According to Pausanias (10.2.4), Philomelus threw himself from a high and precipitous place (κατὰ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου κρημνοῦ). Cf. Justin 8.1.13; Beloch *GG*^{2}, 3.1.250.

151 Hdt. 8.32; Paus. 10.32.8–19; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τιθοραία. Neon-Tithorea can be located with little doubt in modern Tithorea (McInerney 1999: 278–280; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 77–93, both with bibliography; Oulhen 2004: 422–423 number 187.) In the Classical period the city was called Neon and the mountain near the city Tithorea, which was perhaps its acropolis. Possibly from the Hellenistic period onwards, but certainly in the Roman period, the city was renamed Tithorea. This change is recorded by Pausanias (10.32.9.)

152 Plu. *Sull.*25; Fossey 1986: 53.

153 According to Pausanias (10.31.9), there were two routes from Delphi to Tithorea over the Parnassus; one goes up the valley of the river Kachales but, although it was shorter, the terrain was rough and it could only be travelled on foot; the other, which skirts the northern edge of Mt. Parnassus, was less mountainous and could be used by carriages. The text gives a distance between Delphi and Tithorea of eighty stades (about fourteen kilometres), an impossible figure that has been corrected to a hundred and eighty (approximately thirty-two kilometres).

154 Diod. 16.33.3, 37.1, 38.3–5.

Locris was the first region involved in the conflict, it seems probable that the Thessalians and Boeotians came specifically to their aid and in fact the entire campaign appears to reflect Philomelus' strategy, which was to confront the various enemy armies separately before they could join forces.

The identification of Argolas with Mendenitsa is certainly possible but it is also possible that, at the beginning of spring 355, Philomelus invaded Hesperian Locris, defeated the Hesperian Locrians and then turned against the Thessalians who he defeated around Argolas, a hill in Hesperian Locris. Then, on the way back, the Boeotians must have taken him by surprise and cut him off. Philomelus was obliged to retreat along the rough paths over Parnassus, perhaps thinking he could reach Delphi by taking a detour through the Cephisus valley without having to fight them, and came to Neon-Tithorea, where the two armies fought each other. In short, we still do not know the ancient name of Mendenitsa, but, in my opinion, as we shall see, Bessa or the most important Augeiae are perhaps the best possibilities.[155]

5. *Profitis Ilias in Karavydia*

In the centre of the Potamia valley the high hill of Karavydia, with the Chapel of Profitis Ilias at the summit (479 m; 38° 46′ 2″ N, 22° 36′40″ E), occupies a strong defensive position controlling the route from Scarpheia to Mendenitsa (Plate 2.9). On the hill are the remains of a fortification, a stretch of wall, fallen ashlars and a tower (Plate 5.9 in Chapter 5). The rectangular ashlars, the material of the tower and the absence of brick and mortar suggest it was built in the Classical or Hellenistic period. The settlement is in visual communication with Mendenitsa and would protect the north of its territory. Otherwise, Mendenitsa would have been unable to keep watch over the exit from the valley, the coast and Scarpheia. For these reasons, as well as the fact that it was nearer Mendenitsa, we think it was a settlement that belonged to Mendenitsa and not Scarpheia. A grave discovered in the vicinity of the present cemetery to the southwest of Karavydia village supports the existence of a settlement at Profitis Ilias that would have its necropolis in this area.[156]

Profitis Ilias may have been not only a fortress but also a settlement, a *chorion*, that would farm the small plain on which it is built and that

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[155] It has also been suggested a location in the modern day village of Kallidromo (cf. Philippson 1950: I, 344 and 689).

[156] Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming a.

Plate 2.9. Profitis Ilias. General view from South.

still supplies the modern village. Neither can it be entirely ruled out that it was a small *polis* situated between Scarpheia and Mendenitsa. On the basis of the information available to us at present, we cannot determine the ancient name of Karavydia but Bessa or Augeiae are the best possibilities (see below).

The Possible Identifications of Augeiae and Bessa

The lovely Augeiae is cited in Homer (*Il.* 2.532: Αὐγειὰς ἐρατεινὰς) in the same verse as Bessa and Scarpheia and, according to Strabo (8.5.3), the place had disappeared completely by his time and its heavily wooded territory belonged to Scarpheia.[157] Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Αὔγεια) however says that Augeiae was a *polis* in Locris. From the evidence available it can be inferred that Augeiae must have been close to Scarpheia, sufficiently near for

[157] Str. 9.4.4; Oberhummer 1896: 2306.

its territory to be taken over by that city, and was towards the south, which would justify it being described as wooded.

Bessa quotes Homer (*Il.*2.527) along with Scarpheia and Augeiae. In Strabo's times (9.4.5) the city did not exist and was then a wooded area.[158] Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Βῆσσα) states that it is a *polis* of the Locrians. Oberhummer (1897: 328) stated that it was a city in the East of Locris in the region of Scarpheia. If we accept the restoration of the lagoon in the Strabonian text, perhaps it was situated also in an inland valley.[159]

It may be useful to refer in greater detail to Strabo's writings. The geographer divides continental Locris into two parts, Hesperian and the Locrians in front of Euboea. These are in turn subdivided into two, the Epicnemidians and the Opuntians, to the east and west respectively, separated by Daphnus.[160] As he himself states (9.4.1), his description begins with the Opuntian Locrians occupying paragraphs 9.4.2 and 9.4.3 and where he records Halae, Cynus, Opus (9.4.2), Alope and Daphnus (9.4.3). In 9.4.3 he indicates that, after Daphnus comes Cnemides, "this area belongs to the Epicnemidian Locrians", with which he commences his description of Epicnemidia, where firstly he lists Cnemides, Thronium, Scarpheia, Nicaea and the Thermopylae (9.4.4). He continues by saying that the other cities are not worth a single mention, except those noted by Homer (9.4.5) such as Calliarus, Bessa and Augeiae. The latter is situated in Epicnemidian Locris. He later names Tarphe-Pharygae (9.4.6), which also belonged to Epicnemidian Locris. From here on, in 9.4.7 he begins to describe the Hesperian Locrians. We can suppose that, in a final *excursus*, Strabo noted all of the Homeric localities in Eastern Locris which were uninhabited during his time but it could also be interpreted that Strabo included these four places in his description of Epicnemidian Locris. In fact Augeiae and Tarphe-Pharygae were situated in Epicnemidian Locris (9.4.3). Perhaps Bessa, which had also disappeared by Strabo's time (Str. 9.4.5), was also near to Augeiae and Scarpheia; in any event it was in Epicnemidian Locris and not in Opuntian Locris.

From the evidence available at present, the only places that answer these descriptions are Mendenitsa and Karavydia/Profitis Ilias. They are the only inhabited places of any size in or close to Scarpheian territory, they are towards the south and their territory, which extended to Mt. Callidromus, were wooded. Perhaps Profitis Ilias or/and Mendenitsa were *poleis* that

158 Schol. *Iliad* 532a (Erbse) and note; Herodian. 1.266; Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F188; Epaphrod. *fr.* 22; Heracleon *fr.* 17B.

159 For the location in Roustiana in Opuntian Locris see Dakoronia 1993a: 126.

160 Str. 9.3.1, 17, 4.1.

were progressively depopulated from the end of the Hellenistic period, as occurred in much of central Greece (Boeotia, Phocis and Opuntian Locris) and the sites were later reoccupied, perhaps in the second century AD, by Scarpheia.[161]

6. *The Stefani Fortress in the Kleisoura Pass*

References
Dasios 1992: p. 17, number 16; Adam 2001 (republ. 2003): 123–124.

Situation
The modern road to the village of Kallidromo[162] that crosses the northern foothills of Mt Callidromus starts from the east-southeast of the modern town of Mendenitsa. This road, after leaving Mendenitsa, and turning right after about two kilometres in an area called Chalias, leads to the Kleisoura Pass and the town of Xylikoi. The route follows the side of the Callidromus and takes a narrow pass through the mountain between the spurs of Mts. Pournares to the northwest and Kalogerorachi to the southeast. Just on the Kleisoura Pass at the junction of a path that goes towards ancient Teithronium to the west and Xylikoi, to the south, is the Stefani hill, whose peak reaches 861 metres.

Here there is a rhomboidal fortress that occupies practically the whole of the small plateau situated on the summit. The wall, approximately two-three metres wide (2.70 to 3.50 m) and built of polygonal rubble, is in total ruins. The perimeter of the fortress is about 1,800 metres (250 × 350 m) and encloses an area of half a hectare. There is no datable pottery, so it is impossible to date the fortress, but perhaps the absence of mortar and its visual communication with the neighbouring tower of Skopia/Vigla, to the southwest of modern village of Kallidromo, where Classical and Hellenistic pottery has been found, point to an ancient date.[163]

We do not know the ancient name of this fortress, which was designed to control the Kleisoura Pass to the west and is in visual communication with Mendenitsa and the Cephisus valley in Phocis.

Territory and Frontiers of Mendenitsa
The territory of Mendenitsa must have been limited by the *chora* of Scarpheia to the north, with the dividing line through the northern part of

161 Also Paliokastras in Atalanta and Alope in Opuntian Locris became depopulated and were later re-inhabited (*vid.* Blackman 1999: 73).
162 With a population of 225 in 2001 census.
163 Dasios 1992: p. 17, number 16. Cf. Adam 2001: 123–124, who dates it to Justinian's time.

Karavydia/Profitis Ilias, while to the south its territory ended with Mt. Callidromus and Phocis. To the west, across the river Latzorema, were Nicaea and Paliokastro Anavras, and to the east, on the other side of the river Aphamius, now called the Liapatorema, was the territory of Thronium (see Figure 2.9, p. 107). Mendenitsa's territory had a total area of over 35 sq km, or 11 % of Epicnemidian Locris. It was also fairly rugged, since only 42 % was less than 400 metres high, 28 % was between 401 and 600 and the rest (30 %) was over 600 metres (Table 2.5, below). Mendenitsa was in an area notable for timber, and the most fertile part of its territory was in the north, and more particularly to the west/southwest.

Mendenitsa was situated at a point where many routes met. The ancient city guarded the Kleisoura Pass that connected the region with the Cephisus valley, towards the Phocian city of Teithronium. Another route went down the Potamia valley from Mendenitsa to Scarpheia, and from there on to the coast of Locris and Thermopylae.[164] Yet another went southwest to Naryca. This road joined the one from Thronium, along the Boagrius valley, and then went through the Fontana Pass to ancient Triteis, in Phocis, ten kilometres to the east of Elateia.[165]Another route connected Mendenitsa with Paliokastro Anavras and Alponus.[166]

Table 2.5. The territory of Mendenitsa.

Settlements			
Mendenitsa (*polis*?)			
Karavydia/Profitis Ilias (fortress or *kome*)			
Others			
Stefani (fortress)			
Territory	Area (in sq km)	Perimeter (in km)	Percentage (%)
	34.994	26.7	10.90
Height (in metres)	Area (in sq km)		Percentage (%)
0–200	0.969		2.77
201–400	13.712		39.18
401–600	9.837		28.11
601–800	6.757		19.31
801–1000	3.085		8.82
1001–1200	0.634		1.81

164 Pritchett 5.167–168.
165 McInerney 1999: 336–337 and Sánchez-Moreno in this volume.
166 Buckler 1989: 31, 34, 43; McInerney 1999: 53, 336.

C. *The Xerias/Platanias* (= *Ancient Boagrius*) *Valley and the East of Epicnemidian Locris*

To the east of the river Potamia is the narrow valley of the river Liapatorema, probably ancient Aphamius. On the right bank of this river it is an area some two kilometres wide and eight long, measured from the national highway to the northern slopes of the Callidromus, formed by Mts. Trikorfo (252 m) and Megali Rachi (320 m). Here there was a small settlement, also called Trikorfo or Trilofo, just at the mouth of the valley.

Even further to the east, is the valley of the river Platanias, which was called Boagrius in Antiquity, and was the most important river in Epicnemidian Locris. The mouth of the Boagrius was near the modern town on Agios Serafeim.[167] At the mouth of the valley was Thronium, the region's most important *polis*, situated at Palaiokastro Marmara in Pikraki. From Palaiokastro Marmara an inland route passed the existing monastery of Metamorphoseos tou Sotiros, where perhaps there was an ancient sanctuary. However, the main route from Thronium went up the Boagrius valley to ancient Naryca, which was situated on a hillock at the top of the Boagrius valley, in Paleokastras Renginiou, some three kilometres northwest of the modern village of Rengini.

In the East of Epicnemidia we can first discern the narrow coastal strip in the modern village of Kamena Vourla[168] and Mt. Gouvali. A Geometric necropolis overlaid by a level of Byzantine habitation has been excavated in Kamena Vourla and what is known as the "Rock Altar" has also been preserved. This may have served the ancient port of Thronium in Kamena Vourla. This evidence shows that this was the level of the shore in Antiquity. The Gouvali peak rises approximately three kilometres to the east of this "Rock Altar". It leans to the north in such a way that in Antiquity it dropped sheer to the sea in the midst of the marshes and there would probably have been no coastal route here at all. On Mt. Gouvali is the ancient fortified settlement of Cnemides. The partly-submerged ashlars of Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia, perhaps part of the ancient port of Cnemides, prove that in this part of Epicnemidia the coast has subsided since Antiquity, in contrast with the rest of the coastline. The possible port, like the settlement on the summit, would have been a *kome* or *chorion* dependent on Thronium or a *polis*.

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167 1,039 inhabitants in the 2001 census.
168 2,848 inhabitants in the 2001 census.

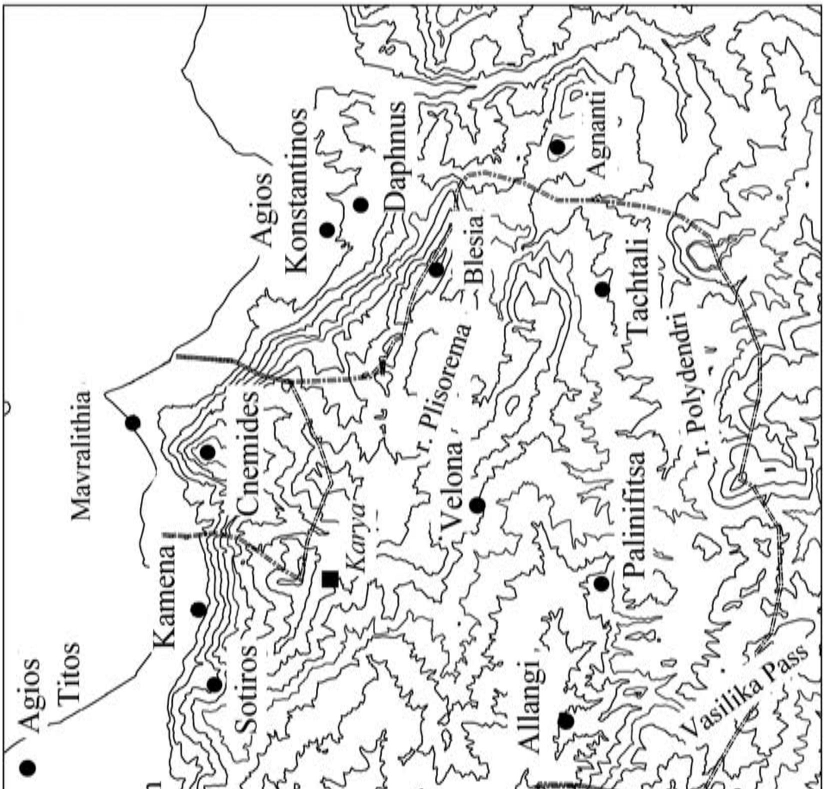

Figure 2.12. The Boagrius valley and the East of Epicnemidian Locris.

To the south of Mt. Cnemis, between this chain and the Callidromus, were the valleys of the rivers Plisorema and Polydendri, which were broader than the narrow coastal strip to the north. The two valleys are separated by the intermediate range formed by Mts. Dasos (790 m) and Tranitsa (823 m). The Plisorema valley, site of the modern village of Karya,[169] presents a general NW-SE orientation, connecting the eastern part of Epicnemidia with contemporary Agnanti and Zeli and reached the Dipotamos in an area that bears the name of Steni, the Pass. It was guarded by a possible tower on Mt. Blesia (926 m), to the north of the valley. The valley of the river Polydendri was broader, and had good land for cultivation. Unlike other valleys, it runs southwards, following the foothills of the Callidromus as far as the Dipotamos valley at the height of the Agnantorema stream. In the north, at the entrance and exit of the valley respectively, are two ancient settlements, one in Velona and the other in Tachtali/Ities. The latter, if we consider it to be an Epicnemidian rather than a Phocian or Opuntian Locris site, would have protected the whole of the southeast of the region. In the southern part of the valley there were another two settlements in Allangi/Voulomeni Petra and Palianifitsa (also called Agios Ioannis Anifitsas).

To sum up, the area of the valley of Boagrius and the East of Epicnemidian Locris included eleven or twelve probable sites: Palaiokastro ta marmara/Bzika/Pikraki = Thronium, Agios Titos in Kainourgio, Kamena Vourla, Gouvali = Cnemides, Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia, Trikorfo/Trilofo = Tarphe-Pharygae?, Tachtali/Ities, Allangi/Voulomeni Petra, Palianifitsa, Velona, Paliokastra Renginiou = Naryca and perhaps Karya. At least two, Thronium and Naryca, and perhaps Cnemides were *poleis*. Several towers and fortresses such as Kastraki, Skopia, Blesia and an ancient sanctuary at the Metamorphoseos tou Sotiros Monastery of Kamena Vourla can also be noted.

1. *Palaikastro ta Marmara/Pikraki/Bzika = Thronium*

Ancient Sources

Hom. *Il.* 2.533; Eur. *IA*.264; Th. 2.26.1–2; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F298 (*apud* Harp. s.v. Θρόνιον); Aeschin. 2.132, 140; Lyc. *Alex.* 1148; Ps.-Scyl. *Per.* 61; Polyb. 9.41.11; 18.9.3; Livy 28.7.11–13; 32.36.2; 33.3.6; 36.20.4; Diod. 12.44.1; 16.33.3–4; Str. 1.3.20 (= Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6) and 9.4.4; Plin. *NH.* 4.27; Paus. 5.22.3; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.15.17; Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.532, 638; Steph. Byz. s.v. Θρόνιον; Hsch. s.v. Θρονεῖον; Etym. M. s.v. Θρόνιον.

[169] 318 inhabitants in the 2001 census.

Inscriptions
IG XII 5, 812 (late third century BC); *SEG* 30.42 lin. 2 (c. 450); *IG* IX 1^2 5: 2031–2033; *BCH*, 26, 1902, p. 336, number 46; *FD* III 1, number 475. Inv. 1697 (= *CID* II, number 129); *FD* III 4.2, number 157. Inv. 3368; *FD* III 6, number 111. Inv. 2492 + 2496; *CID* II number 31 (late fourth BC), 32, 75, 76 (= *Syll*^{3} 251), 95, 97, 102, 120 (= *Syll*^{3} 237); *Klio*, 16, p. 175, number 134.

Numismatics
Von Rauch 1846: I number 12; Babelon 1914: II.3, numbers 456 and 460; *AZ* 9, 1849, 92 number 2; *AZ* 10, 1847, 148, number 16; Head *BMC* XIX–XX p. 3, number 37, XXII–XXIII, p. 8, numbers 71–76, pl. II.14–15; *HN*^{2}: 337; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea*, 81.

Pottery
A, C, H, R

References
Meletios 1807: 2.325; Leake 1835 (republ. 1967) 2.177–178; Dodwell 2.66; Gell 1827: 235–236, 238; Buchon 1843: 306–309; Bursian 1862: 1.189; Lolling (1878) [1989]: 788–791; Oldfather 1926: 1140; 1936: 609; Philippson 1950: I.344; Burr 1961: 36; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 49; Pritchett 4.151–155; Barber 1988: 436; Buckler 1989: 31, 54; Zachos 1997: 154; Zachos 2013, 74, 97, 103, 124, n. 158; Adam 2001: 32–36; Nielsen 2004: number 388, p. 672; Karantzali *AD* forthcoming a; Tileli *AD* forthcoming.

Situation and Description
The exact site of Thronium was established by Meletios, metropolitan of Athens between 1661–1714,[170] who found an inscription that mentioned the *boule* and *demos* of the Thronians (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 2031) in Palaiokastro eis ta marmara, a hill on the right bank of the river Boagrius, now known as Xerias or Platanias.[171] Leake (2.178) located Thronium in Palaiokastro, beside a broad torrent that he correctly identified as the Boagrius. Buchon (1843: 306–309) says that stones from the ruins of Thronium were used in the construction of a sugar refinery in the town of Kainourgio in 1840. Buchon tried without success to excavate a temple situated a little below the acropolis and said that even in his day the city walls built of large rectangular stones were

170 Meletios 1807: II.325.
171 Two other inscriptions come from the Palaiokastro ta marmara area, *IG* IX, 1^2 5 2032, a decree of proxeny from the beginning of the third century, and *IG* IX, 1^2 5 2033, a gravestone, to which an inscribed brick must also be added (Jardé and Laurent 1902: 336, number 46) and another sepulchral inscription published in *Revue Archeologique* 3, 316.

recognisable on the two flanks of the hill. Oldfather[172] situated Thronium in Palaiokastro of Pikraki, a village now abandoned, which used to be called Palaiokastro eis ta marmara and, similarly Burr (1961: 36) located Thronium in Palaiokastro, near Pikraki. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1979: 49) also located Thronium here, on an area of flat ground of some three hundred by two hundred metres on a small rise with few defensive advantages. Pritchett (4.154) reached Thronium from Thermopylae by turning right immediately after crossing the bridge over the river Boagrius. According to his description, a dirt track starts behind a petrol station and leads, after less than fifty metres, to the hillock of Thronium, which overlooks the road and the site is considerably larger than the three hundred by two hundred metres that Hope Simpson and Lazenby attributed to it and also has a large quantity of Corinthian and Megaric pottery, although he did not find any black glaze. Barber (1988: 436) says that, two and a half kilometres after passing Kamena Vourla, one comes to Kainourion, and the site of ancient Thronium is on a hill to the left at the turn-off to the modern town. According to Buckler (1989: 54), Thronium occupies a steep hill. The lower city stretches along the east bank of the river Boagrius, where there are still scattered blocks of limestone, abundant pottery and tiles. Above the city stood the acropolis, on a projecting peak of Mount Cnemis.

Immediately to the west of the river Xerias or Platanias, which we can say with certainty was the ancient Boagrius, some two kilometres southwest of Kainourgio[173] and to the south of the present road, there is a notable ancient settlement in Palaiokastro ta marmara or eis ta marmara, also called Pikraki or Bzika (Plate 2.10). The site extends over a hill along a northwest-southeast axis at a height of between ninety and two hundred and fifty metres and between 38° 46′ 20″ and 38° 46′ 45″ N and 22° 42′ 18″ and 22° 46′ 49″ E. The acropolis is on the southeast at a height of two hundred and forty metres in a place known today as Pikraki, where there is a perennial spring. From here it descends rather more gently towards the northwest where, on the top of a small rise, is the iconostasis of Profitis Ilias (38° 46′ 36″ N, 22° 42′ 49″ E; at a height of 163 metres). The small eminence of Profitis Ilias divides the hill into two small flat areas which would together form the lower city. At an altitude of about a hundred metres there is a third and final terrace, to the northwest, before reaching the plain: it could be the necropolis or perhaps formed part of the ancient settlement. Palaiokastro occupies about one thousand and

172 Oldfather 1926: 1140; 1936: 609.
173 1,384 inhabitants in 2001 census.

Plate 2.10. Thronium. General view from the West.

nine hundred metres NW-SE and some four hundred metres W-E and, with more than 100 hectares, is the largest known site in Epicnemidian Locris (Figures 2.13 and 2.14).

Very possibly the city was fortified in the Classical period. Buchon (1843: 306) describes rectangular blocks and other smaller, irregular ones, and this suggests a wall of isodomic masonry and its infill of polygonal rubble. Oldfather (1936: 613) confirms that in 1928 the city wall still survived although its course was not completely continuous. Likewise, the foundations of a temple and several houses were visible. Today, however, there are no such remains of a wall but, as Buckler says, scattered blocks and many fragments of pottery and tiles. Architectural remains from Classical and Hellenistic times has recently excavated by the Fourthteen Ephorate.[174]

[174] Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

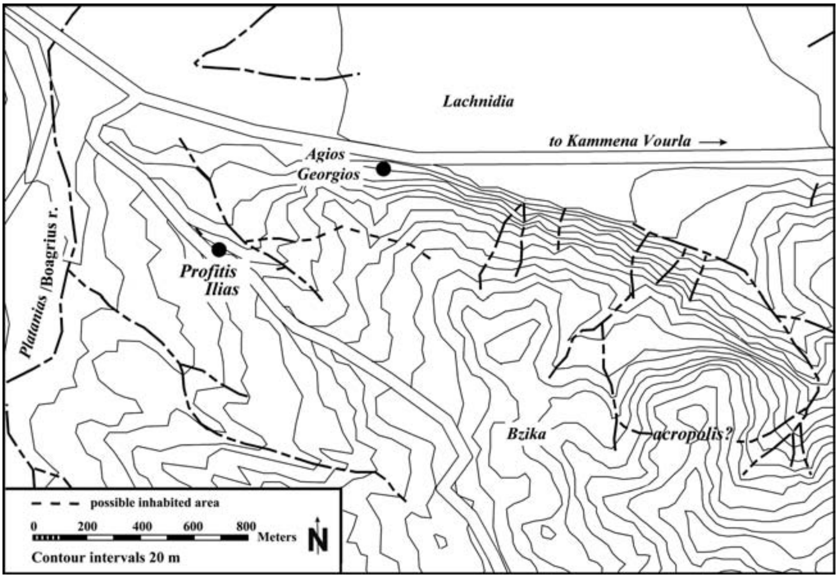

Figure 2.13. Ancient Thronium. Plan.

As well as Corinthian and Megaric pottery, our survey documented Classical black glaze and pottery dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods but, like Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1979: 49), we found no fragments dating to the Bronze Age. However, rock-cut chamber tombs[175] of the LH type that may indicate the presence of a Bronze Age settlement have been documented in the area close to Thronium at a place called Pournarotsouba. The research of the Fourteenth Ephorate did not find any associated material.[176]

Identification and History

Thronium is mentioned in the *Iliad* along with Tarphe near the river Boagrius (2.533: Τάρφην τε Θρόνιον τε Βοαγρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα) in Epicnemidian Locris. Pausanias (5.22.3: Λοκροί τε ἐκ Θρονίου τῆς ἐπὶ Βοαγρίῳ ποταμῷ) and Strabo (9.4.4) also say that Thronium was on the Boagrius, also called Manes, a river to the west of the city since Strabo says it is after Thronium coming from the east. It flowed past Thronium and reaches the sea, on the shores that belonged to the city.[177] Pliny (*NH.* 4.12) confirms that the river Boagrius

175 Adam 2001: 34.
176 See Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.
177 Str. 9.4.4: ἶθ' ὁ Βοάγριος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ παραρρέων τὸ Θρόνιον, Μάνην δ' ἐπονομάζουσιν

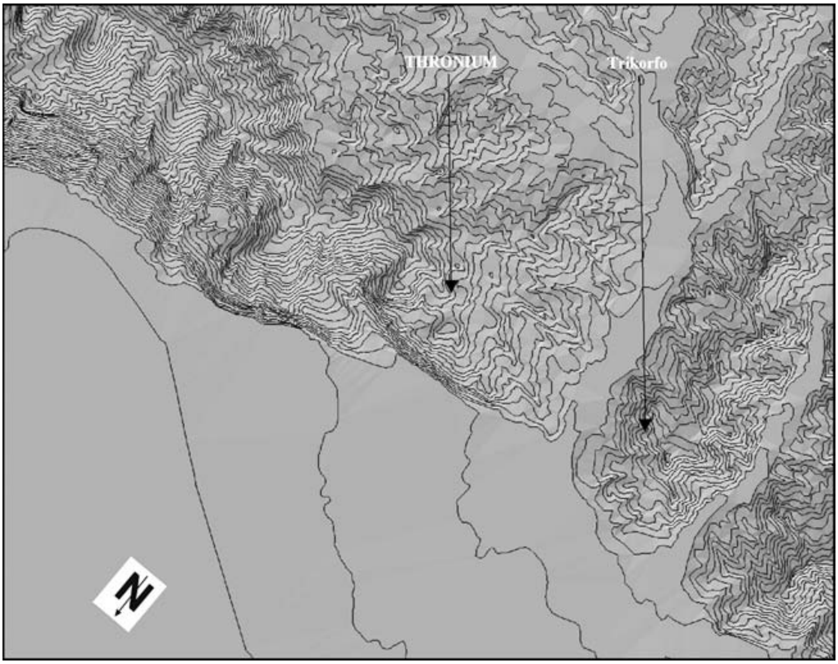

Figure 2.14. Thronium and Trikorfo/Trilofo. TIN Model.

flowed into the sea, next to Thronium.[178] Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.15.17) also mentions Thronium and the mouth of the Boagrius.

According to Aeschines (2.132) Thronium, together with Alponus and Nicaea, guarded the roads to Thermopylae, in fact it was the eastern end of the Pass' defence.[179] It was also on the route that went from Heracleia Trachinia, Thermopylae and Scarpheia to Elateia,[180] and another road went from the city to Teithronium and Drymaea in Phocis.[181]

αὐτόν: ἔστι δὲ χειμάρρους ὥστ' ἀβρόχοις ἐμβαίνειν τοῖς ποσίν, ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ δίπλεθρον ἴσχειν πλάτος.

178 Plin. *NH.* 4.12 (*thronium, iuxta quod boagrius amnis defertur in mare*) says, incorrectly, that Thronium is on the coast of Locris at the mouth of the river Boagrius. Perhaps he is confusing Thronium with its harbour.

179 Aeschin. 2.132: Ἀλπωνὸν καὶ Θρόνιον καὶ Νικαιαν, τὰ τῶν παρόδων τῶν εἰς Πύλας χωρία κύρια.

180 Livy 33.3.6.

181 Livy 28.7.13. Lycophron (*Alex.*1148) mentions the Locrian roads of Thronium. Besides being a mere poetic device, this could reflect the fact that various important routes met there.

The city was some forty stades from Cnemides, that is, twenty stades from Cnemides' harbour to Thronium's harbour and twenty from Thronium to its port, it also was twenty stades inland, measured from its harbour, and Scarpheia was thirty stades from Thronium (approximately 5.5 kilometres).[182] Eustathius (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.*1.426.23–25) also says it was inland. The city was hit by the tidal wave that, according to Strabo (1.3.20), inundated Thronium and Tarphe and caused the death of more than eight hundred of Thronium's inhabitants. The earthquake also changed the course of the Spercheius and made the Boagrius flow through a different ravine. We do not know in either case whether this was temporary or permanent, but the city rapidly recovered from this catastrophe.

Thus it is clear that ancient Thronium was inland, although relatively near the coast, on the right bank of the river Boagrius. To the east lay Cnemides, to the northeast was its harbour and to the west Scarpheia and beyond that Thermopylae. At the same time, to judge by the earthquake that Strabo describes and the evidence available to us, it was also fairly large and important and for a long time, until at least the mid-second century, it was the largest city of Epicnemidian Locris.

Palaiokastro in Pikraki fits the description given by the ancient authors. The site is inland, just on the right bank of the Boagrius, between Cnemides to the east and Scarpheia to the west. The distance between Scarpheia and Palaiokastro, less than six kilometres, agrees with Strabo's thirty stades (9.4.4). It is the last point in the defence of the route from Thermopylae, where it turns southwards up the Boagrius valley towards Naryca, which is six kilometres south of Palaiokastro, and then goes on though the Fontana and Vasilika Passes. The settlement at Palaiokastro is the largest of the known sites in Epicnemidian Locris, which is consistent with Thronium's importance. It may have been walled in the fifth century, at least its acropolis, but certainly would have been by the fourth century, when its walls would have been of isodomic masonry.[183]

Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F298 *apud* Harp. s.v. Θρόνιον) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. Θρόνιον) state that Thronium was a *polis* of the Locrians and both Polybius (9.41.11) and Strabo (9.4.4) mention its territory. Ps.-Scylax (*Per.*61) also claims that it is a *polis* although in his account it belongs to the

182 Str. 9.4.4: μετὰ δὲ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ Κνημίδων λιμήν, ὑπὲρ οὗ κεῖται τὸ Θρόνιον ἐν σταδίοις τοῖς ἴσοις κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν [...] ετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σκάρφεια σταδίοις ὑπερκειμένη τῆς θαλάττης δέκα, διέχουσα δὲ τοῦ Θρονίου τριάκοντα.

183 Finally, about three kilometres to the south is the modern village of Komnina.

Phocians. The fact that Thronium was a *polis* is proved by inscriptions and coins. The city-ethnic can be seen in a number of inscriptions.[184] In *IG* IX, 1^2 5 2031 an archon, a secretary and a treasurer and the *boule* and the *damos* of Thronians are mentioned. In *IG* IX 1^2 5: 2032 the Thronians granted proxeny to an Aetolian at the beginning of the third century and at the end of the second century they reached an agreement on the frontier with Scarpheia (*FD* III 4.1, number 42), a city with which they were in dispute in the same period over the Amphictyonic representation (*CID* IV, number 124). In Epicnemidian Locris only Scarpheia and Thronium had their own coinage and only Thronium issued silver coins, which gives an idea of its importance. Thronium began to issue coinage in the first part of the fourth century or possibly even in the second half of the fifth, and continued to do so until the about the time of the battle of Chaeroneia. If the silver *oboloi* with a bearded head on the obverse (the river Boagrius personified, or Pan, Silenus or a Centaur) and Mt. Cnemis on the reverse date to the mid-fifth century, they would be the oldest coins minted in the whole of Locris. New issues in the mid-third century or the first half of the second century were perhaps connected to Thronium's association with the Aetolian Confederacy. We also know of other issues in bronze bearing the head of Pallas wearing a Corinthian helmet on the obverse and a bunch of grapes on the reverse, with the name of the Epicnemidian Locrians (ΛΟΚΡ ΕΠΙΚΝΑ). They are dated to the latter part of the fourth century (338–300) and associated with Opus, but they may actually come from Thronium, and date to a time with the Epicnemidian Locrians had separated from the Opuntian Locrians.[185]

Thronium was inhabited from at least the Archaic period. As part of ancient alliance with Boeotia as a whole and Thebes in particular, the

184 *SEG* 30.42 lin. 2 (c. 450); *CID* II, 31 lin. 79; 32 lin. 37; 97 lin. 25; *FD* III 1, number 475, inv. 1697 (= *CID* II, number 129); *FD* III 6, number 111, inv. 2492 + 2496; *FD* III 4.2, number 157, inv. 3368 and *Klio* 16, p. 175, number 134.

185 Cf. Babelon 1914: II.3, number 460: the silver coins have a bearded head of a local hero on the obverse, perhaps the river Boagrius, Pan or Silenus, and on the reverse Cnemis and the legend ΘΡΟΝΙ. Some bronze issues with the legend ΘΡΟΝΙΕΩΝ could date to the mid-third century. He dates them to the second century and thinks they relate to Thronium's membership of the Aetolian Confederacy. At the end of the fourth century bronze coins were also issued, perhaps in Thronium, with the legend ΛΟΚΡ ΕΠΙΚΝΑ. They bore the armed head of Athena on the obverse and the previously-mentioned bunches of grapes on the reverse (*AZ* 9, 1849, 92 number 2; *AZ* 10, 1847, 148, number 16; Head *BMC* numbers 71–76; Babelon 1914: II.3, number 456) which could imply the existence of a political organisation other than the Opuntian or Hypocnemidian Locrians and the cities of Epicnemidian Locris (Nielsen 2000: 106 and n. 90). See also Head *HN*^{2}: 337 and Georgiou 2009: 92 n. 74.

city entered the Peloponnesian War on the Spartan side, together with the rest of the Eastern Locrians, and took part in incursions into Euboea and piracy in the Channel. In 430 the Athenians sent thirty ships against Locris[186] under the command of the *strategos* Cleopompus.[187] The Athenians destroyed several places on the coast, took Thronium, perhaps after a brief siege and forced them to hand over hostages. Diodorus (12.44.1) says they were conquered after being besieged, which may indicate that Thronium was walled at that time. This gave the Locrians time to raise troops, but they were defeated in Alope by Cleopompus on his way back. Immediately afterwards the Athenians fortified the island of Atalanti in the Gulf of Opus to counter attacks against Euboea.[188] In 426 the Athenians attacked the Locrian coast again, with sixty ships, this time under the command of Nicias.[189]

Possibly for much of the Classical period, the Epicnemidians were included in the joint federal state of the Eastern Locrians with Opus as the leading *polis*. Perhaps in the middle of the fourth century this Confederacy divided into two independent states.[190] In 353/2 Onomarchus, the *strategos* of the Phocian Confederacy, invaded Locris, took Thronium by assault and sold its inhabitants into slavery.[191] The city remained in Phocian hands until 346.[192] The Pseudo-Scylax (*Per.* 60–61) includes the whole of the territory to the west of Alope in Phocis and specifically referred to Thronium and Cnemis as Phocian. Despite the remaining uncertainty about this author's chronology and, assuming this is not an error by that writer, it is possible that his account accurately describes the Phocian occupation of the whole of Epicnemidian Locris, from 353/2 in the case of Thronium, 352/1 for the rest of Epicnemidia, and until 346.[193] Around 280 Thronium fell under Aetolian control. It was razed to the ground by Philip V (c. 218) and after the conquest

186 If the triremes carried the normal crew of two hundred men, the Athenian contingent amounted to six thousand men of whom some three hundred were hoplites, a hundred and twenty archers, five thousand one hundred oarsmen, who could also be used as light infantry, and some four hundred and fifty sailors. Altogether the Athenian troops would have greatly exceeded the contingent that could have been mustered by all the Eastern Locrians put together.

187 Th. 2.26.1; Diod. 14.44.1.

188 Th. 2.32; 3.89.3; Diod. 12.44.1.

189 Th. 3.91.3.

190 Nielsen 2000: 118–119.

191 Diod. 16.33.4.

192 Aeschin. 2.132.

193 Cf. Fossey 1990: 167.

of Thebes in Phthiotis by the Macedonians in 217, the Aetolians repopulated Thronium with the inhabitants of Thebes that had been expelled by Philip.[194] Philip took the city again in 208 and from there marched against Teithronium and Drymaea in Phocis.[195] In 198 Flamininus and Philip V met at Thronium's harbour.[196] Perhaps the vicissitudes of the fourth and third centuries finally led to the city's decline, and by the Roman period the most important city of Epicnemidian Locris was apparently Scarpheia rather than Thronium.

2. *Agios Titos in Kainourgio*

Around the church of Agios Titos to the north of modern Kainourgio and some five hundred metres from the present coastline, in the middle of olive groves, some remains in the form of pieces of marble and various architectural fragments of an Early Christian Basilica and a palaeo-Christian church of the middle-Byzantine period are preserved. Surface pottery dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD is scattered around the temple over a wide area (see Figure 2.12).[197] The port of Thronium may have been in this area at that time, although it is also evident that the coastline lay to the north of the church during that period.

3. *Trikorfo/Trilofo Renginiou = Tarphe-Pharygae?*

Ancient Sources
Il. 2.533; Str. 1.3.20 (= Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6); 9.4.6; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τάρφη; s.v. Φαρύγαι; Etym. M. s.v. Τάρφη; Herodianus 1.345; 2.203.

Pottery
N, C?, H, R

References
Dimaki *AD* forthcoming; Froussou 2004: 167–169; Froussou 2006: 641–656; Papastathopoulou 2007: 143–153; Papastathopoulou forthcoming.

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194 Livy (28.7.11–12) in his account of the events in 209/8, says that Philip V destroyed the city and drove out its inhabitants in *the previous war* and subsequently the Aetolians repopulated it with the Achaeans expelled from Thebes of Phthiotis after it was taken by Philip. The previous war must have been the so-called *War of the Allies* (220–217) and Thebes in Phthiotis was conquered in the summer of 217. Thronium may then have been destroyed during Philip's campaign in Phocis in the autumn of 218.

195 Livy 28.7.13.

196 Polyb. 18.9.3; Livy 32.36.1.

197 Gialouri 2009: 1254.

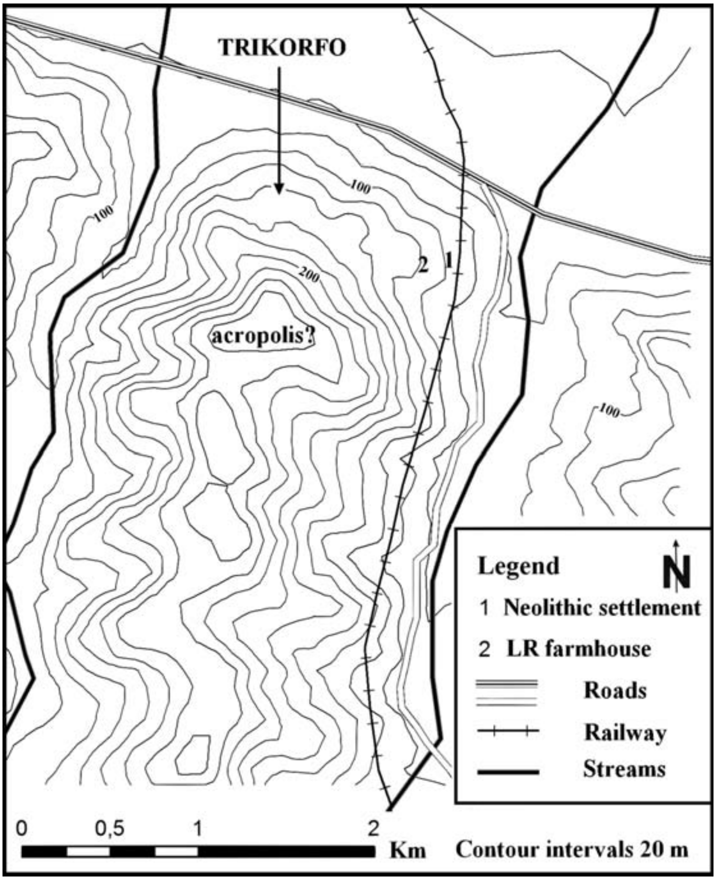

Figure 2.15. Trikorfo/Trilofo Renginiou. Plan.

Situation and Description

In Antiquity the river Liapatorema, possibly the ancient Aphamius, formed the frontier between the *poleis* of Scarpheia and Thronium and its mouth was probably near the modern town of Nea Skarfeia. Just where the valley of the river Liapatorema, flows into the coastal plain, on the eastern side, at least two kilometres southwest of modern Agios Serafeim, is a low hill between 75 and 83 metres high. Behind it is a very rugged area called Trikorfo or Trilofo Renginiou (308 metres asl), which gives its name to the ancient settlements here, and opposite it is the small plain, called Bataria (Figures 2.14 and 2.15, Plate 2.11). To the west, across the river, just in the ancient territory of Scarpheia, is an area of hills known as Agios Dimitrios.

Plate 2.11. Trikorfo/Trilofo. Western area. View from the North-west.

Various ancient sites are known in the Trikorfo/Trilofo area. Hellenistic and Roman pottery was found on the eastern side of the hill and the plain around the exit of the modern railway tunnel.[198] It no doubt originated on the hill itself. The Fourteenth Ephorate has excavated a possible Neolithic settlement and cremation burial here.[199] Higher up the same side of the hill, a rural villa has also been excavated. Two parallel walls are preserved, which have been dated between the end of the second century and the third quarter of the third century AD.[200] Scattered fragments of pottery were also found on the top of the hill, but did not extend as far as the immediate area of the farmhouse, which must thus have been situated on the outskirts of a settlement dating to at least the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[201] On the west of the hill we found traces of black glaze, possibly Classical, Hellenistic

[198] Papastathopoulou 2007: 144.
[199] Dimaki *AD* forthcoming; Froussou 2004: 167–169; Froussou 2006: 641–656; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4; Dimaki in Chapter 9.
[200] Papastathopoulou 2007: 143–153.
[201] Papastathopoulou 2007: 145.

Plate 2.12. Trikorfo/Trilofo Renginiou. (A): Irregular blocks. (B): Worked block.

and Roman pottery and some tiles and scattered ashlar blocks that would have formed part of the same settlement (Plate 2.12A–B). It would have extended up to the top of the hill and probably continued over part of the eastern side. If so, it would have been a fairly large site inhabited at least during the Hellenistic and Roman periods and probably also the Classical period occupying some one thousand and four hundred (E–W) by nine hundred metres (N–S) with an area of about 30 hectares.

Trikorfo's height obstructs Thronium's view of its border with Scarpheia, so the site at Trikorfo must undoubtedly have been used to guard the frontier, especially in view of the fairly tense relations between Thronium and Scarpheia. At the same time the small Bataria plain, the nearby springs and the river Liapatorema, would have made it a habitable area. The settlement could have belonged to Thronium, as *chorion*, if we treat the river as the border between Scarpheia and Thronium or it could have been a *polis* at some point in its history.

Identification

Tarphe appears in the *Iliad* (2.533: Τάρφην τε Θρόνιον τε Βοαγρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα)[202] situated close to Thronium on the other side, that is, on the left bank of the river Boagrius and it was situated on a rise twenty stades probably between Thronium and Scarpheia, and some of its territory was fertile and some wooded (Str. 9.4.6). In Strabo's time (9.4.6) it was called

[202] The *Catalogue of Ships* is usually considered to relate to the Mycenaean world so Mycenaean pottery has to be present for an identification to be made. This is the case of Roustiana, assimilated with Bessa (126–127), to the W-NW of Livanates, but, in my opinion, the *CS* probably describes also the situation in the Archaic era.

Pharygae and there was a temple dedicated to Hera Pharygea there.[203] This proximity between Tarphe and Thronium is reaffirmed by Strabo (1.3.20 = Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6) and in fact they were both affected by one of three tidal waves produced by an earthquake that occurred in the area. According to Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Τάρφη) Tarphe was a Locrian *polis* beside the perennial Pharygae spring, and he repeats this when he describes Pharygae as a *polis* in Locris, implying that he considered Tarphe-Pharygae to be the same *polis*. The *Etymologicum Magnum* associates Tarphe with dense vegetation and says there was a lake nearby called Tarphia.

Oldfather[204] located Tarphe-Pharygae in Mendenitsa despite the fact that this town is about sixty stades (nine kilometres) from Thronium, and Burr (1961: 35) shared his opinion. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1979: 49) also thought this was a possibility because the area was heavily wooded and the etymology of the name, *pharynx*, chasm or pass (Latin *fauces*), would have referred, according to these authors, to the Kleisoura Pass. Pritchett (4.155–156) originally thought the site of Tarphe was in the modern town of Komnina[205] but, subsequently (5.167–171), since no ancient remains were found there, by adjusting Strabo's text he identified Tarphe with Naryca. Even so, the distance between Thronium and Naryca is six kilometres, more than thirty stades, so this does not match Strabo's account either.

To sum up, Tarphe was situated on a hill two or three kilometres west of Thronium, after crossing the river Boagrius, sufficiently close to the coast to be affected by a tidal wave, and some of its territory was fertile (relatively flat?), and some was wooded (inland or mountainous?). Nearby there was a small lake, called Tarphia, and a chasm, hence the name Pharygae ("in a chasm").[206] In the same place or in the same area there was a small spring called Pharygae beside a temple dedicated to Hera Pharygea. Possibly Tarphe had been abandoned by the first century BC for Strabo's text suggests that it no longer existed in his time,[207] but the temple would have survived

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203 Pritchett 5.167–170; Buckler 1989: 95. Moreover *Pharygion* is also used for a promontory (*akra*) in Phocis (Str. 9.3.13; Kirsten 1938: 1872–1873) and there was a place in Phocis called Pharygae at the foot of a mountain known as Acrurium, later called Galatas. It was somewhere on the route between Athens and Elateia, in the Cephisus valley close to Medeon (McInerney 1999: 73–74; Buckler 1989: 94–95.)

204 Oldfather 1926: 1139 and also Kirsten 1938: 1872.

205 369 inhabitants in 2001 census.

206 Pappadakis 1920/21: 143: the epithet is derived from φαραγγαῶδης: "full of chasms or ravines."

207 Buckler 1989: 95.

and the whole area remained. Perhaps, like other parts of Locris, it could have been repopulated after the first century.

Trikorfo is about 2.5 kilometres west of Thronium, and Scarpheia is 5.5 kilometres to the west of Trikorfo. It is on a low hill on the other side of the Boagrius. The ancient coast was probably about three kilometres to the north, so the site would have been a little way inland but also sufficiently near the coast to have been affected by a tidal wave. In fact, its position is very similar to that of Scarpheia or Thronium, at the exit of a valley, on a rise not far from the sea, which is the characteristic pattern of the whole of the centre and east of Locris. But this area is smaller, so it would have been impossible to build a settlement of similar size here. Between this site and the sea, to the west of the mouth of the Aphamius, there would have been a small coastal plain in Antiquity, and nearby various springs and an area of marches and small lakes probably existed similar to that of Vromolimni in Cnemides. Behind lies Mt. Trikorfo, which is particularly high and wooded, in fact it is the most rugged area of the whole of the coast of central Epicnemidian Locris. Trikorfo is also the only ancient place known between Thronium and Scarpheia to the west of the first and between Thronium and Naryca to the south and fits the accounts given by Homer and Strabo and could, hypothetically, be ancient Tarphe.

Although it cannot be entirely ruled out, it is hard to believe there was a *polis* called Tarphe between Thronium and Scarpheia, certainly in the Roman era when we know that the two *poleis* shared a border. Perhaps Tarphe may have been a *polis* at some time during the Archaic or Classical era, for most of its existence it was a *chorion* of Thronium.

4. *Kamena Vourla*

Ancient Sources
Str. 9.4.4; Polyb. 18.9.3; 19.9.2; Livy 32.36.1; 33.38.14; 35.37.1–6; 36.20.5.

Pottery
"Rock Altar"
Undatable

Agios Dimitrios Kainourgiou near Kamena Vourla (Byzantine farmhouse and Protogeometric and Geometric necropolis)
PG, G, B

References
Oldfather *AJA* 44 (1940) 108 ("Rock Altar"); Liagouras 1963: 144; Pritchett 4.151; 5.177–179 ("Rock Altar"); Theocharis 1964: 242, pl. 285 β-γ, 286 α; Kilian 1975a:

4–5, 112, 161, pl. 46: 1325, 62: 1884; Kilian 1976b: 27, pl. 24, 2–8 and 25, 3–4; Kilian and Dirlmeier 1979: 151, pl. 48: 865; Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009: 1029–1042; Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1196–1197; Gialouri 2009: 1247–1264; Sipsi *AD* forthcoming.

Situation

Between the Cnemis Cape and the river Boagrius, near the modern spa resort of Kamena Vourla and actually within the modern town, not far from the Athens-Lamia road is a monument that Oldfather visited in 1937,[208] which he interpreted as a rock altar. The natural rock of pale grey limestone has twelve steps cut into it on the west side, beginning about half-way up. Oldfather (1940: 108) reached the top of the rock by means of a metal ladder and believed that a level surface on the south side could have been an altar and a hole in the northwest side, perhaps a natural formation, a place for libations. Pritchett (5.177–179) visited the place and, consistent with Oldfather's opinion, also thought the rock was an altar dedicated to a chthonic divinity. Pritchett (5.179) also mentions graves within two hundred metres, recorded by the local inhabitants, although these could not be found in the area.[209]

Just after kilometre 176 on the (old) national highway in the direction of Lamia, there is a bridge over a small stream and immediately after it a pedestrian underpass (38° 46′ 28″ N; 22° 46′ 28″ E). From here, leaving the road and following a narrow path at least a hundred metres southwards, there is a high voltage pylon and around it rocky formations and what is alleged to be the "Rock Altar" (38° 46 25″ N, 22° 46′ 25″ E, at a height of forty metres, Plate 2.13A). The metal ladder used by Oldfather and Pritchett still rests against one side, allowing access to the top of the purported altar and we used it too (Plate 2.13B). Under and around the "altar" was some undatable pottery.

To the west, 2 km from Kamena Vourla and close to the mountainside, in Agios Dimitrios Kainourgiou, the Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the 7th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities have excavated a Protogeometric and Geometric necropolis[210] with a Byzantine

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208 Oldfather 1940: 108.

209 Pritchett 4.13–14 and pls. 9 and 10. Perhaps he refers to the Geometric necropolis excavated years later by the Ephorate.

210 Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009: 1029–1042; Sipsi *AD* forthcoming; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in this volume. Cf. Liagouras 1963: 144 and Theocharis 1964: 242, pl. 285 β-γ, 286 α.

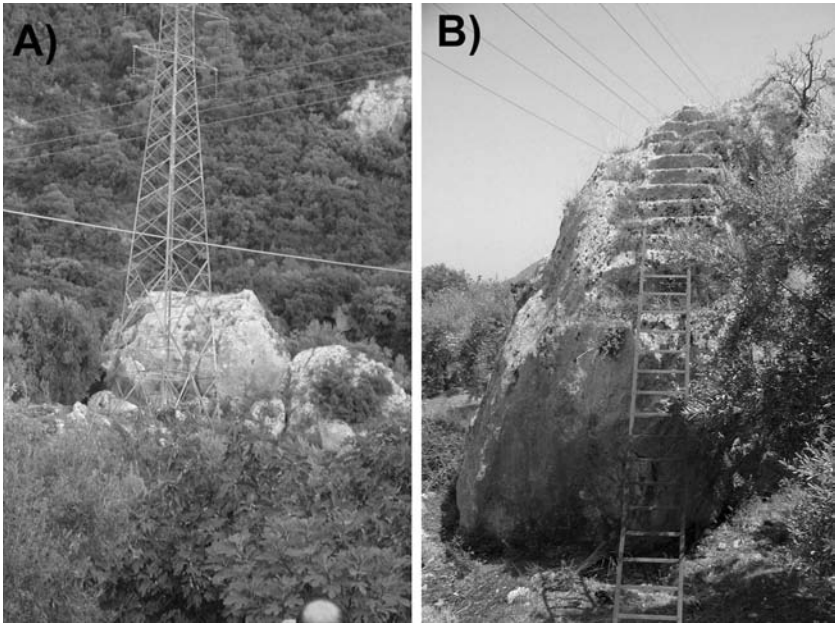

Plate 2.13. Kamena Vourla. (A) The so-called "Rock altar" and high voltage pylon. (B) Steps and metal ladder (Oldfather, Pritchett and us) in the "Rock altar".

farmhouse above it.[211] The cemetery could indicate the presence of a Geometric settlement in the area.

To sum up, these remains are an indication that at a very ancient date there was a small area or shore where a necropolis (in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods), some kind of structure (the "Rock altar") or a farmhouse (in the Byzantine period) could be built.

Identification

As we have said, in 430 the Athenians decided to send a fleet against the Locrians to challenge their incursions on the island of Euboea and the piracy they were carrying out in the Channel. Therefore, with thirty triremes, Cleopompus landed on the Locrian coast and took Thronium.[212] As well as being the most important city in Epicnemidian Locris, it seems clear that the attack against Thronium was in retaliation to the Locrian vessels which, departing from this *polis*, attacked Euboea and committed piracy in the

[211] Gialouri 2009: 1247–1264. The farmhouse can be dated to the 12th century AD.
[212] Th. 2.26.1; Diod. 12.44.1.

Channel. Obviously Cleopompus must have seen the coast of Thronium as a safe place and one capable of accommodating a fleet with six thousand men. In 413, king Agis sought the construction of fifteen triremes from the Phocians and Locrians.[213] Clearly, they had to have been partly constructed in Phocis and in Opus, but the Epicnemidian Locrians may also have contributed which gives rise to the theory of the existence of shipbuilding yards located in one of its principal *poleis* or in both. In 347/6, the Athenians, in light of the Phocian promise to hand over Alponus, Nicaea and Thronium, sent Proxenus with fifty triremes, evidently because all of these *poleis* or at least some of them contained a port capable of accommodating a squadron of ten thousand men.[214] In 198 a conference between the consul Flamininus and King Philip V of Macedonia took place on the beach (Polyb. 18.9.3: τὸν κατὰ Θρόνιον αἰγιαλόν) or shore (Livy 32.36.1: *litus ad Thronium*) close to Thronium at least one day at sea from Nicaea.[215] We can assume that both authors are referring to the harbour mentioned by Strabo (9.4.4, see below), obviously Thronium's harbour since we know that the city was situated inland.[216] In 192 Thronium's harbour was the point of departure for an abortive expedition against Chalcis by Herodorus[217] and in 191, according to Livy (36.20.5), at least ten ships from Antiochus III's fleet were at anchor close to Thronium at the time of the battle of Thermopylae, so must obviously have been anchored in Thronium's harbour. After the battle, this squadron withdrew toward the cape of Cenaeum in Euboea and from there set sail for Demetrias. So Thronium's harbour must have been fairly large and capable of giving shelter to a considerable number of ships. As well as a wharf the harbour must have had a beach where ships could come in to land.

According to Strabo (9.4.4) the Thronium's harbour was twenty stades from Cnemides (a little over three kilometres, Figure 2.16). Although it is true that there is a *lacuna* in Strabo's text,[218] so we do not know the exact distance between Thronium, perhaps twenty stades inland, and its harbour from his account, it can be inferred that the harbour was somewhere between the city of Thronium and Cnemides. The only place that fits Strabo's account and lies between Cnemides and Thronium is Kamena Vourla. The existence

213 Th. 8.3.2.
214 Aeschin. 2.132–133.
215 Polyb. 18.9.3–4, Livy 32.36.2.
216 Cf. *supra*.
217 Livy 35.37.6; 38.14.
218 Cf. Radt 2004: 102 and 104.

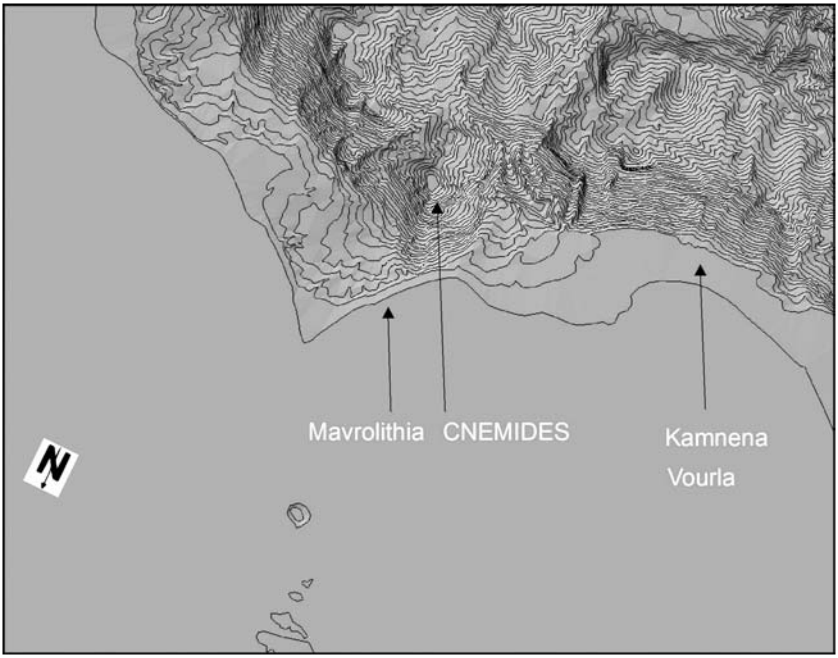

Figure 2.16. Kamena Vourla, Mavrolithia and Cnemides. TIN Model.

of a landing platform and a fairly long beach is consistent with the area's ancient topography. The "Rock Altar" is four kilometres from the Gouvali peak, the site of ancient Cnemides, and if we situate the harbour here on the northwest side of the Gouvali, in the area known as Mavrolithia or Mavralitharia, the distance is 3.6 kilometres, that is, twenty stades. From here to ancient Thronium is about four kilometres, which is fairly close. Rock altars, dedicated to a chthonic divinity associated with natural fissures such as that in the rock, are so rare in mainland Greece[219] that the one at Kamena Vourla would be an isolated case. It is much more likely that the "altar" was actually some kind of structure connected with the harbour and was used for keeping watch and protecting the landing stage. Its similarity to the "Bastion Rock" at Alponus, taking advantage of this kind of natural outcrop as a watchtower and fortification, is immediately obvious and it is very possible that this Bastion was used for the same or similar purpose in

219 Yavis 1949: 221–222.

Alponus as the "Rock Altar" at Thronium's harbour.[220] We cannot completely rule out the possibility that it was a port at the mouth of the Boagrius from Archaic to Early Roman times nearer Thronium but Kamena Vourla could have been a port of Thronium, at least one of them.

5. *Tachtali/Ities*

Pottery
EH I, EHIII, MH, LH, A?, C, H, R, B

References
Pritchett 3. 222–232; 4.124; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4; Dimaki in Chapter 9.

Situation and Description
It is common[221] in modern research to defend not just the existence but also the importance of a coastal route that would have connected Thermopylae with Opus and the Atalanti plain. This road, which would have followed the Locrian coast and practically the same route as the modern highway, has even come to be considered the only one that could have been used by a large army with its baggage trains and impedimenta. Pritchett[222] has already expressed doubts about the importance of such a coastal route, which was in fact opened in 1936, and re-evaluated the decisive role played by the N-S Passes to the east of Thermopylae. As Pritchett maintains, between Thermopylae and Elateia the Passes of the Callidromus were used, and these included, in addition to the Kleisoura, the more important Fontana and Vasilika Passes.

There is little doubt that the most frequently used route from Thermopylae to Elateia went through Thronium and Naryca up the Boagrius valley. Closely linked to it, there was another important inland route connecting Thermopylae with Hyampolis. In fact, Bittner, in May or June, 1876, went from Kalapodi, near Hyampolis, to Agios Konstantinos not via Atalanti but over Mt. Cnemis via Tachtali. In our opinion[223] the coastal route was

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220 *Vide* Arjona in this volume.
221 Grundy 1901: 346; Larsen 1960: 233.
222 Pritchett 3.222–232; 4.123–175, esp. 124: the construction of the modern highway has encouraged the modern idea that the route along the coast was commonly used in Antiquity and the evidence for shorter and easier routes has been ignored.
223 See Sánchez-Moreno in this volume. According to Strabo (9.4.3), Daphnus was a hundred and twenty stades from Elateia, which implies the existence of an inland route over the Cnemis above Agnanti (ἀγναντεύω means that which is seen from afar).

Plate 2.14. Tachtali/Ities. View from the North-west.

practically cut off by the sea near Gouvali and W-E communication is easier in Epicnemidian Locris not along the coast but inland, using the broad corridor between the Cnemis massif to the north and the Callidromus to the south. Consequently, the main route to Hyampolis would have started from Thermopylae, followed the Locrian coast to Thronium and then turned southwards up the Boagrius valley and, 2.5 kilometres to the northwest of present-day Komnina, would more or less follow the same route as the modern road to Rengini.[224] On the outskirts of Rengini, it would turn east towards the Vasilika Pass. After Palianifitsa, the road would turn northeast through a place called Tachtali, coming out in modern Agnanti to join the road from Agios Konstantinos/Daphnus along the left bank of the river Dipotamos. From Agnanti, it would go south to Hyampolis. The main settlements of Epicnemidian Locris east of Thronium, Palianifitsa, Velona and Tachtali, are found along this route.

224 The modern village had a population of 832 in 2001 census.

Leaving Karya going south, after 4.5–5 kilometres one comes to Trano Livadi beside Mt. Anvlani (788 m), and five hundred metres further on, a road off to the left. Take this road, which continues winding round the south side of Mt. Dasos (790 m) along a track that, although not asphalted, is easy to drive along. About three kilometres before Agnanti there is a place called Tachtali or Ities, southeast of the Dasos peak (Plate 2.14). According to the 1852 *Carta de la Grèce* there are some ancient ruins here. In fact, on the south side of the present road, on a low hill called Kambos that looks out over the whole of the valley and the Tachtali plain as far as the foothills of the Callidromus, there are abundant remains of pottery, especially late Roman and Byzantine but also Classical and Hellenistic. There is also sign of Bronze Age pottery, EH (I and III), MH and LH.[225]The site lies near two kilometres at southwest of Agnanti and occupies at least one hectare (38° 42′ 14″ N, 22° 51′14″ E) (see Figure 2.12). Close by, under some fig trees, is a pile of several ashlars of isodomic appearance which could have formed part of the settlement's walls. In Tachtali an LH cemetery that had been looted was also investigated.[226]

Although Tachtali belongs geographically to the Dipotamos valley, in our opinion, this settlement historically formed part of Epicnemidia. In fact Tachtali would have played a vital role in Locris as a whole: not only did it control the main W-E route which, as we have said, went from Naryca to Hyampolis through this area, but it defended the whole of southeast Epicnemidian Locris.[227] The settlement, of some size, was possibly fortified in the latter part of the Classical period and served the same purpose as Paliokastro Anavras in southwest Epicnemidia and thus protected the eastern flank of the region, at the height of the Dipotamos valley, from exposure to Phocian attack.[228] Tachtali/Ities may have been a *chorion* of Thronium perhaps not a *polis*, located in the eastern confines of Epicnemidian Locris.

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225 Cf. Dimaki in Chapter 9.

226 Papanagiotou 1971: 287; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in this volume.

227 Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1198.

228 As we said (cf. *supra*), although Lycophron (*Alex.*1140–1148) does not follow a geographical order, there are a number of Epicnemidian Locrian toponyms in his account, particularly relating to the territory near Naryca and the south of Epicnemidian Locris. Perhaps Phalories was a small place that is not mentioned by Strabo and which could be located between Scarpheia and Naryca, in the region's hinterland. Phalories would, furthermore, have been inhabited in Lycophron's time, between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third.

6. *Allangi/Voulomeni Petra*

Pottery
H, R

References
Pritchett 5.173; Adam 2001: 385.

Situation and Description
Some 2.5 kilometres southeast of Rengini on the road from this village to the Vasilika Pass, there are some Roman remains just on the right of the road at a place called Allangi, which Pritchett (5.173) identified as baths belonging to a resting place or stop on the route from Thermopylae to Elateia.[229] There are also Hellenistic and Roman remains five hundred metres further north, in Voulomeni or Voulomeni Petra (see Figure 2.12).[230] They would probably have been part of the same establishment, which had an area of about thousand square metres and which, rather than a roadside inn or a rural *villa*, was probably a *chorion* that may have belonged to Thronium or Naryca.

7. *Palianifitsa, Kalyvia, Agios Ioannis Anifitsas, Anivitsa or Anivitza*

Inscriptions
IG IX 1^2 5: 2022, 2034, 2035

Pottery
A, C, H, R

References
Pritchett 5.174; Dakoronia 1992a: 202; Blackman 1998: 74; Adam 2001: 44–45, 385–386, 394–395; Fourteenth Ephorate topographical archive.

Situation and Description
Two or three kilometres from Allangi/Voulomeni Petra and six from Rengini, approximately a kilometre off the road to Vasilika, there is a notable hill rising to a height of between 300 and 400 metres in an area called Kalyvia or Palianifitsa (38° 42′ 29″ N, 22° 45′ 18″ E) (Figure 2.17, Plate 2.15). Just on the plain which stretches at the foot of the hill lies the church of Agios Ioannis. There are fragments of Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman pottery

229 The bath “include three cylinders which were part of the hypocaust system of the caldarium. The slopes to the right are filled with sherds of Roman date” (Pritchett 5.173.)
230 Adam 2001: 385.

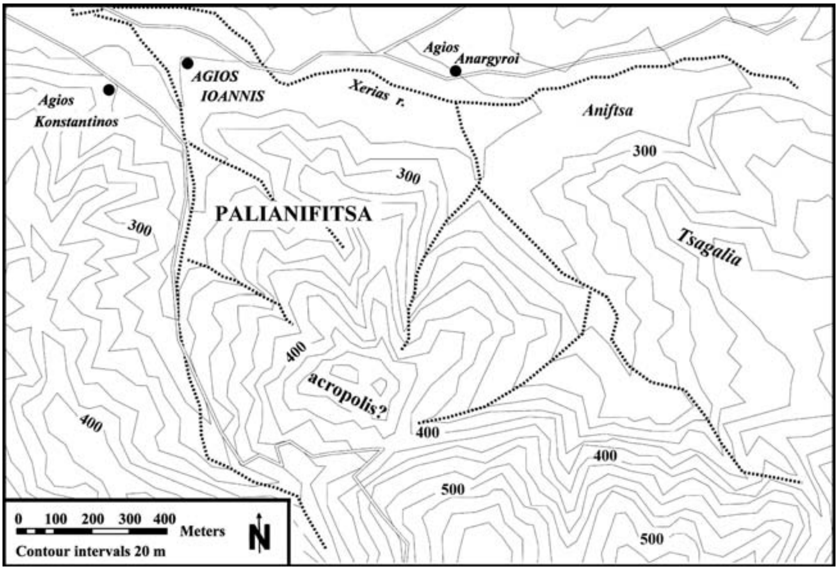

Figure 2.17. Agios Ioannis-Palianifitsa. Plan.

Plate 2.15. Palianifitsa. General view from the Church of Agios Ioannis.

Plate 2.16. Palianifitsa. Church of Agios Ioannis with ashlar isodomic blocks.

on the hill and at one end a series of undoubtedly ancient ashlars are set into the nearby church of Agios Ioannis and scattered around it.[231] Several of the architectural fragments such as columns may date back to the Palaeo-Christian era but the ashlars could be older and may have belonged to a temple or the fortifications of the settlement (Plate 2.16). Beside the hill, to the east, there is a small flat area called Anivitsa, Anivitza, Anifitsa or Palianifitsa, where there was a village, today abandoned, but a fountain and some ruins of the village can still be seen.[232] From this place, usually called Anivitza, come three tomb stones, copied by Lolling and published by Dittenberger (IG IX 1^2 5: 2022, 2034, 2035). Although they could have been brought from the Naryca necropolis, it is possible that these inscriptions come from the necropolis of a place of habitation situated in Palianifitsa. In the same area is a river called Dimosiorema, to the south, and another called Pisiorema or Pisorema, to the north. In Pisiorema/Pisorema excavations of

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231 Pritchett 5.174; Adam 2001: 394–395.
232 Adam 2001: 385, 386.

the Fourteenth Ephorate uncovered three pithoi from a fifth century BC necropolis[233] and another Classical cemetery has been also noted at Kalkanderi.[234] They both demonstrate that there was a settlement nearby in this period.

Identification

Palianifitsa would have been populated from at least the Archaic until the late Roman period, working the small plain of Anivitza and guarding the Passes that together we call Vasilika: Dimosiorema, the western Pass, and Tsakismeno Amaxi, the eastern Pass, and also the route that went from Naryca to Hyampolis through the hinterland of Epicnemidian Locris. The settlement would have been at least a *chorion* that may have belonged to Naryca or Thronium, the most important *polis* in the area, whose necropolis was situated in Anivitza, Pisorema and Kalkanderi but, given the fact that it was occupied so early and the possibility that it was fortified, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that Palianifitsa was a *polis*.

8. *Velona*

Pottery

C, H, R

References

Zachos 1997: 139; Archaeological Collection of Lamia.

Situation and Description

About 5.5 kilometres to the south of Karya going towards Tachtali there is a small rise between two gullies in an area known as Velona (38 ° 43′ 01″ N, 22° 48′13″ E, Plate 2.17). The hill rises to a height of between 560 and 600 metres, covers between one and two hectares and has fragments of Hellenistic and Roman pottery and probably also some dating to the Classical period (Figure 2.18). Some occasional finds could come from the settlement's necropolis.[235]

Velona overlooks the rolling countryside that extends to the south, called Kato Velona, which is watered by seasonal streams such as the Klimaki and the Tsagrai, and also the part of the inland W-E route through Epicnemidian Locris that goes from Naryca and Palianifitsa to Tachtali and Agnanti.

233 Blackman 1998: 74; Dakoronia 1992a: 201–202.

234 Fourteenth Ephorate topographical archive; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

235 Archaeological Collection of Lamia; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

Plate 2.17. Velona. General view from South with Mts. Amblani (left) and Trano Livadi (right) in background. The route to Karya is on the right.

Identification

It would, then, be a small settlement or *chorion,* belonging to Thronium, that worked the small area of land which could be used for growing crops and keeping animals that extended between Palianifitsa and Tachtali.

From the information available to us at present, there is no way of knowing the ancient name of Allangi/Voulomeni Petra, Palianifitsa, Velona or Tachtali with any degree of certainty. Perhaps they could include one or more still unidentified places such as Bessa, Calliarus, Phalories, etc.

9. *The Metamorphoseos tou Sotiros Monastery of Kamena Vourla*

References

Kolokythas 1998: 13–19

Pottery and Architectonic Remains

C, R, B

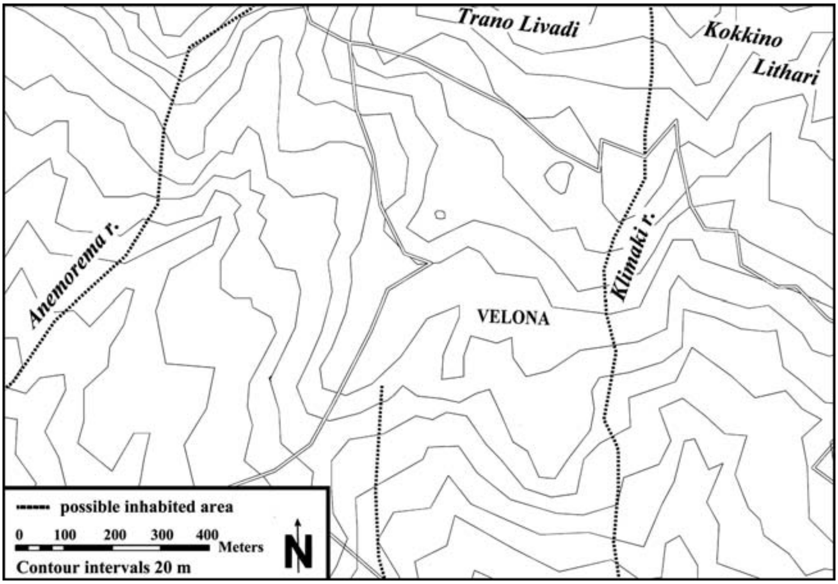

Figure 2.18. Velona.

Situation and Description

In the Monastery of Metamorphoseos or Metamorphosis tou Sotiros of Kamena Vourla (38° 46′16″ N, 22° 45′18″ E, Figure 2.12, Plate 2.18A), on a terrace at a height of 310 metres on the northwestern end of Mt. Cnemis, several isodomic ashlars in local grey limestone are set into the walls of the present hermitage, and other remains and columns are found in the neighbouring garden of the hermitage. Also, just at the entrance of the monastery, the monks have deposited a huge base with a diameter of 1.20 m and beside it a broken column of which nearly two metres remains (Plate 2.18B). They are both of white marble that did not originate in Eastern Locris and could perhaps date to the Roman period. According to local tradition there is an ancient temple dedicated to Artemis in the vicinity of the monastery. Although this material may have come from the ancient city and without ruling out that there may have been a fortification here too, it seems likely that the monastery was built on the site of an ancient sanctuary, perhaps constructed with ashlars of local stone to which marble columns were added, although we cannot be sure of the name of the divinity to which it was dedicated.

In addition to its religious function, the sanctuary may also have permitted visual communication between Thronium, Kamena Vourla, possi-

Plate 2.18. Kamena Vourla. (A) Metamorphosis tou Sotiros Monastery. (B) Unfluted column.

bly the site of Thronium's harbour, and Cnemides. Such visual control is only possible from an observation post located precisely on the site of the present Metamorphosis tou Sotiros Monastery. Also from the monastery the Lichades islands are perfectly visible and the cape of the same name in the most southwesterly point of Euboea.

The final spur of Mt. Cnemis in the east is Mount Blesia (926 m; 38° 43′52″ N, 22° 51′ 19″ E). On its summit is a possible tower, marked on the map published by Anavasi,[236] some three kilometres to the south of Agios Konstantinos and 2.5 kilometres to the northwest of Agnanti. The Blesia tower controlled the route that crossed the valley of the river Plisorema and which went from Agnanti to Cnemides, Kamena Vourla and Thronium, which is also the route taken by the road from Agnanti to Karya today. It is impossible to be sure when the tower was built, but the existence of a tower here was essential for visual communication between Cnemis and Tachtali, so it could date to the same period, that is, the end of the Classical era.

10. *Karya*

A tomb has been documented near the modern village of Karya (Figure 2.12), in an area known as Kontouri Platania.[237] It could be related with a nearby farmhouse or settlement of the historical times that has not yet been found.

Territory and Frontiers of Thronium

The territory of Thronium (ἡ τῶν Θρονιέων χώρα, cf. Polyb. 9.41.11) would have extended in the west as far as the river Liapatorema/Aphamius, where the small settlement in Trikorfo would be included in its territory; to the south it shared a boundary with Naryca, perhaps in the area south of modern Komnina (Mt. Megalo Rachi, 320 m), following the left bank of the Xerias/Boagrius, and to the east, depending of whether we consider Tachtali to be *polis* or not, it would go on to the valley of the Dipotamos which, depending on the period, fell within either Phocis or Opuntian Locris (see Figure 2.12, p. 134).

Thronium was, for Epicnemidian Locris, an extraordinarily large *polis*, which occupied near half the region (142.664 sq km, 45% of the whole Epicnemidian Locris, Table 2.6). As well as being large, its territory was flat and fertile in various parts and most of it, more than 47%, was under 400 metres high. It included the middle and lower parts of the river Boagrius, probably the most fertile part of the whole of Epicnemidian Locris, the

[236] *Anavasi*, Mt. Kalidhromo, 1/50.000 (2003).
[237] Papanagiotou 1971: 301–302.

narrow coastal strip at Kamena Vourla and near the whole of the eastern part of the region as far as the Dipotamos valley. Thronium had good cultivable land, especially on the banks of the Boagrius; the right bank of that river is the flattest area of the whole of Epicnemidia. To the south of Thronium there is another area, called Xylikiotiko, which refers to the abundance of wood on the Callidromus.

The site of Thronium occupied an important strategic position at the end of the Boagrius valley on the routes from Thermopylae to Phocis up the valley, passing Naryca and coming out in the Cephisus valley at Triteis, crossing the Fontana Pass or towards Elateia following the Vasilika Pass.[238] In fact, a good number of routes also met in Palaikastro Pikraki/Thronium. Following the coast eastwards, one leads to Kamena Vourla, which is 5.8 kilometres away, or a little more than an hour's march. Another, more difficult, passed the existing monastery of Metamorphoseos tou Sotiros, where there was an ancient sanctuary. Cnemides, on the peak of Mt. Gouvali, could also be reached from Thronium by another inland path towards Karya and then down to Bythysma; the area around this route is called Kynigos, or the hunter.[239] The city had its own harbour to the northeast, and was well connected by land with Scarpheia to the west and Cnemides by land and sea to the east.

Table 2.6. The territory of Thronium.

Settlements			
Palaiokastro ta marmara = Thronium (*polis*)			
Kamena Vourla (*kome* and harbour)			
Trikorfo/Trilofo (*kome* or *polis*)			
Tachtali/Ities (*kome* or *polis*)			
Allangi/Voulomeni Petra (*kome* or *villa*)			
Palianifitsa (*kome* or *polis*)			
Velona (*kome*)			
Others			
Tower on Mt. Blesia?			
Sanctuary in the Metamorphosis tou Sotiros Monastery			
Territory	Area (in sq km)	Perimeter (in km)	Percentage (%)
	142.664	59.98	44.42

[238] Pritchett 4.155; Buckler 1989: 31.
[239] See Sánchez-Moreno in this volume.

Height (in metres)	Area (in sq km)	Percentage (%)
0–200	34.958	24.50
201–400	33.760	23.66
401–600	41.506	29.10
601–800	28.623	20.06
801–1000	3.817	2.68

11. *Gouvali* = *Cnemides* (*Cnemis*)

Ancient Sources
Str. 9.4.4, 3.17, 4.1; Ps.-Scyl. *Per.* 61; Paus. 10.8.2; Plin. *NH.* 4.27; Mela 2.45; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.9; Eust. *Dionysii Periegesin.* 422.

Pottery
C, H, R

Neochori Area
LH?

References
Gell 1827: 234–236; Dodwell 2.64; Leake 2.176–177; Lolling (1878) [1989]: 792–793; Oldfather 1921: 908; 1926: 1140; Papanagiotou 1971: 293; Pritchett 4.151; 5.187–189; Nielsen 2004: number 381, p. 668; Der neue Pauly, s.v. Knemis.

Situation and Structural Remains
After passing Kamena Vourla where the Sea of the Locrians narrows between Cape Lithada, ancient Cenaeum, in Euboea and Cape Cnemis, which has the small lake of Vromolimni behind it, Gell (1827: 234–235) made out two towers that defended the pass and which he called "the Gates of Cnemis". Nearby were the town of Neochori and an oak grove known as Velania or Belanea. Dodwell (2.64) observed various plinths of regular masonry here, which he interpreted as belonging to a fort and a small city. Leake (2.177) also located Cnemis here, in the vicinity of Nikoraki (Neochori). Perhaps these writers refer to the settlement located at the summit of Mt. Gouvali, a promontory that projected from Mt. Cnemis (Plate 2.19). Thus Oldfather[240] situates ancient Cnemides on the other side of the Vromolimni or Sidiroporton Lake, on the site of the village of Nikoraki, on the top of Gouvali, and drew a plan of what he called the ancient fort of Cnemis (Cnemides).[241]

240 Oldfather 1921: 908; 1926: 1140.
241 Cf. Str. 9.4.4.

Plate 2.19. Gouvali / Cnemides General view from East with walls visible near the hilltop at the left.

Oldfather's plan depicted a large walled enclosure, which joined two smaller fortified enclosures, situated to the northwest and northeast respectively, and at least five towers and two gates (Figure 2.19–20). This high place, where shepherds bring their flocks to graze, is known as the Pelasgian fort on the Gouvali peak.

Coming from Agios Konstantinos and passing through the modern villages of Neochori and Asproneri, one comes to an ancient settlement with appreciable remains of walls on the peak known as Gouvali (rather than Touvali).[242] It can be reached from the west from Kamena Vourla, through an area called Bythysma, or from the east, from Asproneri, by crossing an

[242] The *Handbook of Greece*, published by the British Admiralty (London 1920), calls this hill Touvali.

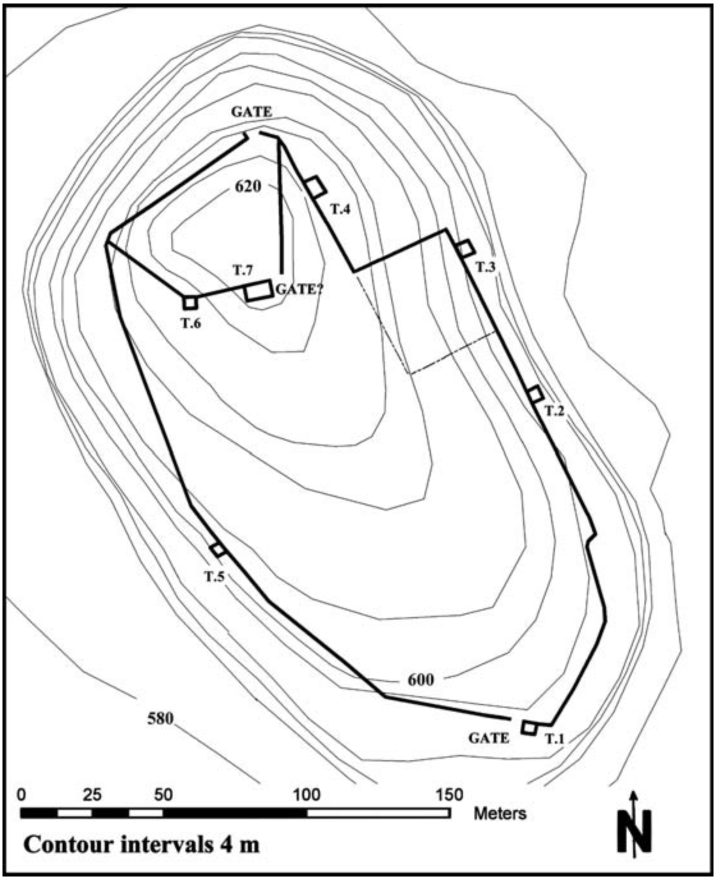

Figure 2.19. Gouvali / Cnemides after Oldfather.

area known as Triantafyllies.[243] The Gouvali is inaccessible from the north-east and difficult to reach from the east, northwest and west. Only in the south, where a small rise (585 m asl) leaves a gentle meadow, is there better access.

The fortress is built at a height of between 590 and 615 metres and several towers and possibly three gates can still be made out in the walls. It extends between 38° 46′ 11″ and 38° 46′ 23″ N and 22° 48′ 42″ and 38° 48′46″ E.

[243] Taking the national highway from Kamena Vourla in the direction of Agios Konstantinos, opposite Levendi's restaurant a grey gravel road goes off and up to the right. Some 300 m

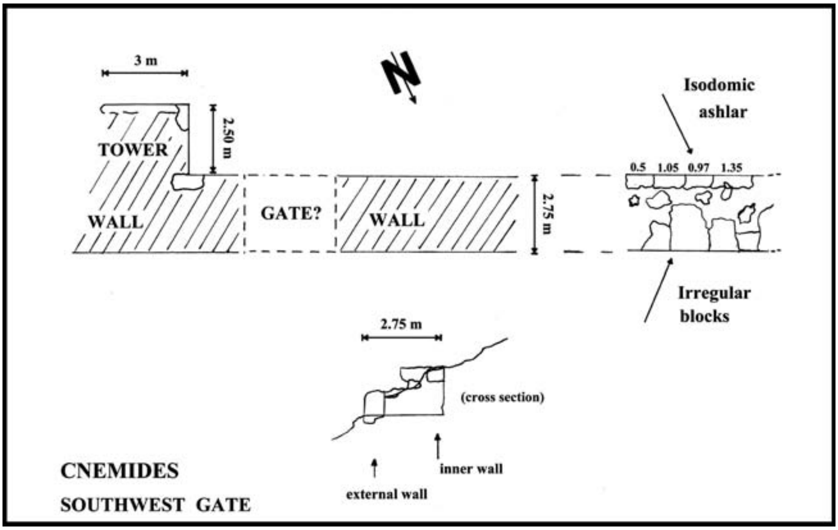

Figure 2.20. Gouvali / Cnemides. The southwest gate.

In total, the fortification perhaps covered an area of some five hundred (N–S) by two hundred metres (W–E) and between 1.6 and 1.8 hectares. A gully to the south separates it from Mt. Cnemis, whose summit is some 2.5 kilometres away. To the northwest, a second, smaller enclosure can still be seen and this must have been the acropolis (Plate 2.20A). The whole fortress was apparently built of the same type of masonry and was therefore probably built in the same period, perhaps the latter part of the fourth century or in the Hellenistic period. In any case, the wall is very poor condition and in many parts only a single course is left; the style is isodomic, the outer face consisting of very long, rectangular well-worked ashlars about fifty centimetres high by approximately one metre long (Plates 2.20B and 5.6 in Chapter 5). There is no *emplecton* but it does have a filling of small

along it becomes a street called Koimiseus Theotokos; continue along the street to a swing park and basketball court, where the road divides. Take the road on the right, going up, which takes you to Elaion street. A few metres further on this becomes Rhodion street. Several hundred metres on towards the mountain, there is a small blue sign to Karea Aerea/Vouno. Follow this for at least two kilometres until you come to the turn-off for Profitis Ilias, to the right beside a fence with a chapel at the entrance. Take this red dirt track and, some eight hundred metres further along you reach the foot of a torrent, right above which is the fortress of Cnemides.

Plate 2.20. Gouvali / Cnemides. (A): Ashlar walling in Tower 5. (B): Acropolis.

polygonal stones. The internal face is made from irregular blocks of granite. The towers are square and approximately three metres across. Nothing can be seen today of the second, northeastern, fortified enclosure that Oldfather sketched, nor of the northern gate of the acropolis.

There is abundant Hellenistic and Roman pottery in Cnemides, and also Classical black glaze. However, hardly any pottery was found in what might be the lower city (38° 46′ 11″ N; 22° 48′ 45″ E, 543 m asl), a small hollow outside the walls to the south of the Gouvali and other more southerly slopes (585 m) so habitation may have been restricted to the inside of the fortified area. Some tombs probably of the Classical/Hellenistic period have also been identified here and another probable LH cemetery has been documented at Neochori on the plain of Triantafyllies.[244] Although this plateau belongs geographically to the Dipotamos valley, in our opinion, Neochori could be associated with a settlement in the area, perhaps Cnemides, and historically formed part of Epicnemidia.

Identification

Strabo (9.4.4) says that Cnemides is a χωρίον ἐρυμνόν (stronghold or fortified place and not a *polis*) situated twenty stades by sea from Daphnus, which was towards the east, and the same distance from Thronium's harbour to the west. Significantly, as Pritchett says (4.151), the route between Daphnus and Cnemides was by sea and not by land, which suggests that it was difficult to reach Cnemides overland by a route which, as we shall see, probably did not follow the coastline. Strabo (9.4.4) adds that opposite was the Cenaeum Cape of Euboea, twenty stades from Cnemides by sea, and that three islands, the Lichades, were nearby, together with other islands that he omits. Epicnemidian Locris ended at Cnemides, and to the east was Phocis, to which Daphnus and the western side of the valley of the river Dipotamos belonged, a territory which would subsequently form part of Opuntian Locris when the whole area was recovered by the Locrians (Str. 9.3.1, 17). Cnemides is described in the Ps.-Scylax (*Per.* 61) as a *polis* belonging to the Phocians,[245] while according to Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.15.9) it is in Locris. Mela (2.45) also mentions Cnemis.[246]

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[244] Papanagiotou 1971: 293.

[245] See Nielsen 2004: 108.

[246] The basic problem arises from the fact that the fortress and the mountain had the same name (Cnemis), so it is practically impossible to know whether these authors are referring to the mountain or the settlement. Cnemis may also be the name of a promontory (Serv. *In Aen.* 3.399). An example of these difficulties is found in Mela's account, which includes Cnemis and a monument (that of the Lacedaemonians), a pass (Thermopylae) and

The site on the summit of Mt. Gouvali basically matches Strabo's description. It is a fortified settlement close to the coast, between Daphnus (next to modern Agios Konstantinos) to the east and Kamena Vourla and Thronium to the west. The site of the settlement is 2.5 kilometres from Lake Vromolimni in an area where there was a small harbour, perhaps to the west. It was easier to reach by sea than by land. The "Rock Altar" of Kamena Vourla, possibly Thronium's harbour, is about four-three kilometres (twenty stades) away, and beyond it, eight kilometres from Cnemis, is the city of ancient Thronium. The three Lichades islands, called today respectily Monolia, Agios Georgios and Strongili, and Cape Cenaeum in Euboea (modern Lithada) lie exactly opposite across the Diaulos Knimidos, the Channel that separates the mainland from the island of Euboea in this area. Cape Cenaeum is 3.5 kilometres from the site, measured in a straight line. The settlement on Gouvali is also close to Mt. Cnemis, some three kilometres away, so it may have been given the same name. Finally, Isiomata in Agios Konstantinos, the probable site of ancient Daphnus, some five kilometres to the east, is between twenty and thirty stades away and fits fairly well with Strabo's account, which gives distances in tens of stades. In any case, there can be little doubt that Cnemides is the ancient name of the fortified settlement which occupies the summit of the Gouvali and is the nearest to the northeastern border of Epicnemidia.

On the status of Cnemides we have various possibilities: a fortified place (Strabo) or even, if any of the accounts mentioned refers to it (Ps.-Scylax, Mela, Ptolemy), a *polis*. Oldfather (1922: 908) thought of it as a *polis*. For Pritchett (5.188–189) Cnemides was a stronghold and not a *polis*. However, its appreciable size suggests that it was more than a simple fortress and the surrounding territory was sufficient to sustain a small settlement and the existence of a small *polis* here is certainly very possible.

If the Ps.-Scylax is correct, at some point in its history Cnemides was occupied by the Phocians, which could have been when the Phocians conquered Epicnemidian Locris during the Third Sacred War (c. 352–346). It would have been recovered by Epicnemidian Locrians in 346 and perhaps this was when it was fortified.

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six settlements: Opoeis/Opus, Scarpheia, Alope, Anthedon, Larymna and Aulis. Perhaps this author is referring to the mountain, which was better known in Antiquity or that he confused the mountain with the settlement (cf. Flensted-Jensen and Hansen 1996: 140–142).

12. *Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia = Cnemides' Harbour?*

Ancient Sources
Str. 9.4.4

References
Papanagiotou 1971: 292–293

Situation, Structural Remains and Identification
As we have seen, Strabo (9.4.4) gives the distances by sea between Daphnus and Cnemides, and between Cnemides and Thronium's harbour. This information, together with the difficulty of crossing Mt. Gouvali and Cape Cnemis overland, would imply that communication between these three places was by sea and that Cnemides therefore had a harbour. This was obviously not the settlement on top of Gouvali, but a landing stage on the coast on one side of the mountain and Lake Vromolimni or the other.

Passing Lake Vromolimni on the road from Agios Konstantinos, between kilometric points 172 and 173, as Papanagiotou (1971: 292–293) claims, some ashlars can be observed that have been semi-submerged by the sea on the western side of the Gouvali and are largely covered by the present highway (38° 47′ 5″ N, 22° 48′57″ E). These ashlars are black, hence the name Mavrolithia or Mavralitharia by which the area is known, have an isodomic appearance and could perhaps form part of an ancient quay or some kind of building (Figures 2.16 and 2.21 and Plates 2.21A–B).

The distance between Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia and Thronium's possible harbour at Kamena Vourla, about three kilometres, agrees with Strabo's twenty stades. Moreover, settlements with a main centre in a high place and a harbour some distance away are very common in Greece and examples in Eastern Locris are Thronium, probably Scarpheia, and Palaikastro Livanates/Cynus, whose harbour was at Pyrgos.[247] Cnemides could follow the same pattern, with a larger fortified settlement on the summit and a small landing stage in Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia, also fortified, in an area that was less exposed to the currents of the Euboean Channel (and the Phocian threat) than the eastern side of Gouvali. In short, we can accept, on the basis of Strabo's account, that there was a small harbour in the area and, as our knowledge stands at the moment, the only place it could have been is Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia.[248]

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247 Dakoronia 1993a: 126; 1996b: 1168, 1171.
248 See Arjona in this volume.

Plate 2.21. Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia. (A): View from the West. (B): Irregular blocks.

Territory and Frontiers of Cnemides

The border between Epicnemidia in the territory of Cnemides and Opuntian Locris must have run along the southeast of the Triantafyllies plain if not across the actual summit of Gouvali. To the south the border would have started in the Mt. Boklona and from here it must have continued to the Mt. Mavrolongos to the North of modern village of Karya. The western border with Thronium would been between Kamena Vourla and the site of Cnemides (Figure 2.12, p. 134).

Cnemides has two miniscule coastal plains, to the west Sykitsa, 1.8 kilometres W-E and 1.6 N–S, and to the east Triantafyllies, 1.4 E–W and 1.5 N–S. It was possibly a small *polis* with c. 18 sq km and about 5 % of Epicnemidian Locris. More than 40 % of its territory was below 400 metres, a 15 % of it was between 401 and 600 metres, so could still be used for agriculture and pasture, with 44 % over 601, wooded and uncultivated (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7. The territory of Cnemides.

Settlements			
Gouvali = Cnemides (*polis*?)			
Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia (harbour)			
Territory	Area (in sq km)	Perimeter (in km)	Percentage (%)
	17.976	18.10	5.597
Height (in metres)	Area (in sq km)		Percentage (%)
0–200	5.535		30.79
201–400	1.887		10.50
401–600	2.818		15.68
601–800	6.106		33.97
801–1000	1.703		9.47

Cnemides defended the northeast frontier and kept watch on the sea traffic between Cape Cnemis and Cape Cenaeum, on the island of Euboea, through the Lichades islands, in a narrow area called Diaulos Knimidos. From the south of Cnemides one can go westwards in the direction of Kamena Vourla or Thronium, or eastwards towards Daphnus. It controlled the inland route to modern Karya and the valley of the Dipotamos through the Steni Pass.

13. *Palaiokastro/Paliokastra or Paleokastras Renginiou or Katafias = Naryca (Naryx)*[249]

Ancient Sources

Diod. 14.82.7–9; 16.38.3–5; Lyc. *Alex.* 1148; Str. 9.4.2; Verg. *Aen.* 3.399; Plin. *NH.* 4.27;[250] Steph. Byz. s.v. Νᾶρυξ; Suda s.v. Νᾶρυξ.

Inscriptions

IG IX 1^2 3: 706 (late third century BC); *SEG* 3.425–426; *SEG* 51.641 (138 AD); Pappadakis 1920/1: 142; 1923: 143; Pritchett 4.156 ff.; Dakoronia 1993a: 117; Jaillard 2000: 143–144; Pasquier 2000: 90; Adam 2001: numbers 15–17, 21, pp. 114–115; Pasquier and Knoepfler 2006: 1281–1313; Knoepfler 2006: 1–34; Jones 2006: 151–162; Roger 2007: number 35, p. 96; Kounouklas and Summa 2011: 203–206.

Pottery

MH, LH, G?, A, C, H, R, B

References

Leake 2.186–187; Ross 1851: I.86; Vischer 1857: 633; Bursian 1862: 1.190; Lolling (1878) [1989]: 802; Girard 1881: 7, 12, 25, 31; Cloché 1915: 102–104; Pappadakis 1920/1: 141–143; Karouzos 1926: 10, 12; Oldfather 1935: 1772–1775; Philippson and Kirsten 1950–1959: I^2, 344–345, 718; Ioannidou and Karetsou 1972: 330–331; Pritchett 4.129, 132–134, 157–159; 5.168–171; Dakoronia 1988a: 224–225; 1992a: 201–202; Buckler 1989: 96; Pantos 1990: 180; Zachos 1997: 156; Blackman 1998: 74; Adam 2001: 51–52, 114–115; Buckler 2003: 84; Nielsen 2004: number 384, p. 669; Der neue Pauly s.v. Naryka.

Situation and Description

Paliokastra is situated some 3.5 kilometres to the northwest of the modern town of Rengini and is separated from it by Mt. Palianikolas, behind the ravine formed by the river Katafiorema. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Karouzos[251] reported the existence in Palaiokastro Renginiou, known locally as Katafias, of Classical pottery and roof tiles, ashlars and tombs and the find of part of a temple floor. Pappadakis[252] found an

[249] Naryx only appears in Steph. Byz. s.v. Νᾶρυξ. Naryca is the common name of the *polis*, cf. *IG* IX 1^2 3: 706 A1: ἡ Ναρύκα (late third century BC).

[250] Wrongly situated on the Locrian coast.

[251] Karouzos 1926: 10, 12.

[252] Pappadakis 1920/1: 142 (= *SEG* 3.425) and 1923: 143; Dakoronia 1993a: 117; Oldfather 1935: 1774 in Palaiokastro Renginiou.

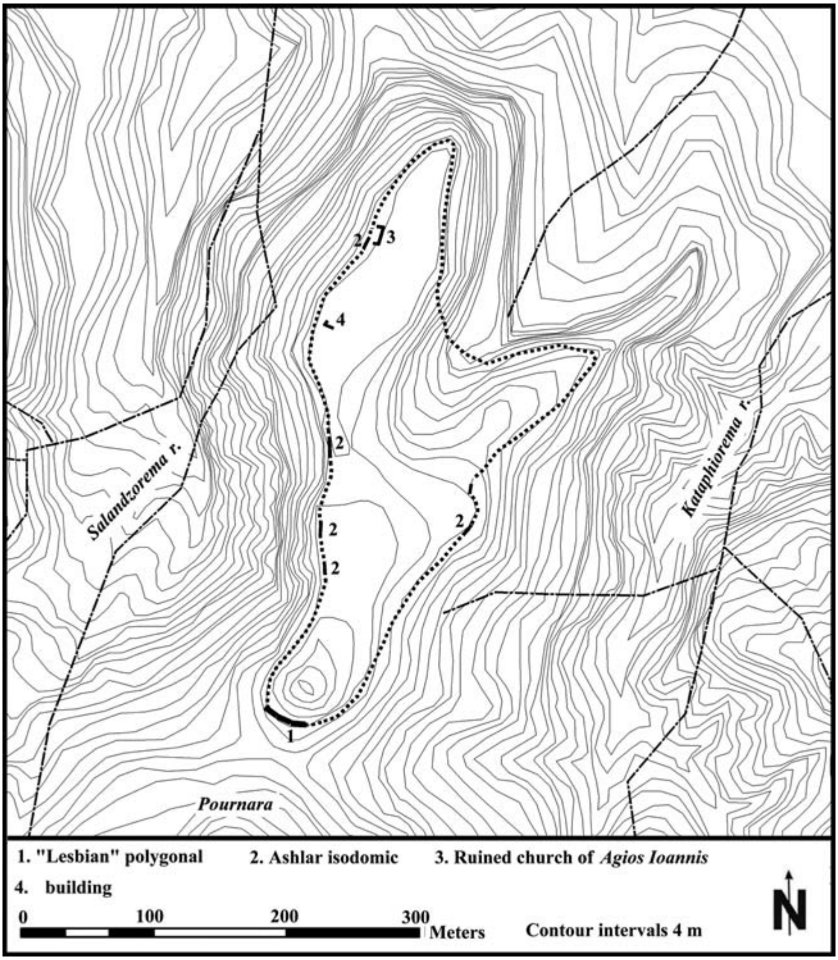

Figure 2.21. Paliokastra Renginiou/ Naryca. Plan.

inscription pertaining to the *polis* of Naryca (SEG 3.425) in the church of Agios Ioannis in Paliokastra Renginiou or Palaiokastron Renginiou (today usually called Paliokastra Renginiou). Pritchett (4.157–158) reached Paliokastra by driving four kilometres from Rengini along an asphalt road. In Paliokastra he found the acropolis and traces of its walls, the remains of an ancient church, a semicircular space on the hillside, which he interpreted as a theatre, and to the northwest of this a wall of isodomic masonry, part of which still had five courses. He also found Classical and Hellenistic pottery and also burnished ware and Grey Minyan ware and several fragments from

Plate 2.22. Naryca. General view from Southeast. View of the acropolis with "Lesbian" polygonal walling at the top of the hill.

rims and bases of small cups which are probably Late Helladic.[253] Buckler (1989: 31) also described the situation of Paliokastra on a narrow peak, which projected towards the north and occupied an important strategic position in the Boagrius valley because it guarded several routes, one of which went to Elateia.

Paliokastra occupies a steep-sided hill between the rivers Katafiorema to the east and Sourlatzorema to the west (Figure 2.21). They join just to the north of the city to form the river of Agios Ioannis, which flows on to Komnina and to the nearby chain of Megali Rachi. The top of the hill is fairly flat and extends from south to north between a height of 323 and 309 metres and between 38° 43′ 34″ and 38° 43′ 21″ N and 22° 41′ 29″ and 22° 41′ 31″ E. The acropolis is built on the south of the hill, at a height of some 320–325 metres and preserves traces of a Lesbian style polygonal wall (Plate 2.22

253 Pritchett 5.167.

Plate 2.23. Naryca. The ancient inhabited site from the North with the acropolis to the South.

and 5.1A–B in Chapter 5); the lower city would have extended northwards along the gentle slope that descends to approximately 309 metres (Plate 2.23). Paliokastra would have occupied approximately five hundred metres north-south and a hundred to two hundred east-west. The site occupies 4 hectares but to judge by the ruined church on the summit (38° 43′ 29″ N, 22°, 41′ 29″ E; 313 metres, Plate 1.5B in Chapter 1), possibly the one that Pritchett saw, the settlement has lost some of its terrain through erosion: while some traces of the church's walls and mosaics remain, part of it has fallen down the hill. Similarly, what was thought to be a theatre has in fact been produced by the collapse of the ancient hillside.

The walls of the acropolis are very poorly preserved, but it can be seen that the wall was made from polygonal blocks of various sizes in the "Lesbian" style, which would suggest that it dates to the Archaic period (perhaps in the sixth century or in the early fifth century), so they are, for the moment, the oldest remains we know of in Epicnemidian Locris. Close to the "theatre", Pritchett found part of a wall that appears in the photograph to be isodomic, today it is no longer visible, and which might have formed part of the wall around the lower city. Other isodomic ashlars can be seen scattered

about the edges of the hill (Plate 5.10 in Chapter 5). There would thus have been at least two periods of fortification, a first stage in the sixth century or early fifth century in the acropolis with a polygonal Lesbian wall and a second, with an isodomic wall, which would have surrounded the whole city and that can perhaps be dated between the middle and the last third of the fourth century. As well as the two walls, polygonal "Lesbian" around the acropolis and isodomic around the lower city, it is possible to observe walls of buildings and pottery fragments, including Minyan ware, dating to the MH, LH (mottle and burnished) and Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. The presence of the "Lesbian" wall would also suggest Archaic occupation.

To the north, in the valley, is the church of Agios Ioannis (38° 43′ 44″ N, 22° 41′ 38″ E; 185 metres high), in an area whose pottery remains would correspond, according to Pritchett, to the lower city of Naryca. However, our survey showed that the density of pottery is very low and the difference in height in relation with Naryca so great (there is a drop of 179 metres in height) that it is difficult to imagine that there was any urban continuity here. The Paliokastra settlement probably only occupied the part of the hill over 300 metres.

Scattered graves of different types and periods have been noted especially in the area to the south of the acropolis, at Mnimata Pournaras (LH?), Pournara (from Classical to the Early Christian period) and Diaskelo (from the first to third century AD). Occasional Geometric finds demonstrate that Paliokastra was inhabited during this period.[254]

Finally, the city is seven kilometres from Scarpheia, to the northwest, and approximately eight from Mendenitsa to the southeast and, to the south, a little more than 2.5 km from the head of the Fontana Pass. From Naryca a route went south to the Fontana Pass and Phocian Triteis in the Cephisus valley, and another southeast to Elateia, in Phocis, through the Vasilika Pass. Another route also went westwards, linking Naryca with Mendenitsa.[255]

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[254] Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

[255] On the Callidromus Passes, see Pritchett 4.128–132; McInerney 1999: 334–336; Buckler 1989: 34–44, 54, 96–97; 2003: 84, 408, 425–427; and Sánchez-Moreno in this volume. On the location of the Phocian cities on the border with Epicnemidian Locris, with the corresponding sources and bibliography, *vid.*: Drymaea (McInerney 1999: 272; Oulhen 2004: 416 number 178; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 30–41); Teithronium (McInerney 1999: 273–274; Oulhen 2004: 426, number 194; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 71–77); Triteis (McInerney 1999: 281–283; Oulhen 2004: 427, number 196); Elateia (Zachos 1997; Zachos 2013; McInerney 1999: 287; Oulhen 2004: 416–417, number 180; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 106); Hyampolis, Abae and the sanctuary in

Identification and History

Thanks to the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service and epigraphic finds we know that Paliokastra Renginiou is the site of the ancient *polis* of Naryca. Thus in the inscription found in the church of Agios Ioannis in Palaiokastra Renginiou (*SEG* 3.425) the *boule* and the *demos* of Naryca are honouring the emperor Hadrian, which also proves its status as a *polis*. Another inscription, which preserves a letter from Hadrian to Naryca dated 137/8 AD, also confirms its existence as a *polis* (lin. 8–9).[256] *IG* IX 1^2 3: 706 A1 expressly describes it as a *polis* in the same way that Diodorus (16.38.5) and Lycophron (*Alex.* 1148) speak of Ναρύκειον ἄστυ.

A settlement existed in Naryca in the Bronze Age (MH and LH) and continued to be inhabited after the end of the Bronze Age in the Geometric period. Naryca or Naryx would have been also inhabited in the sixth century, which was when the "Lesbian" wall of the acropolis was probably built. According to Greek legend, Naryca was the birthplace of Aias, son of Oïleus,[257] who would lead the Locrians in the expedition against Troy. But apart from this, virtually no mention is made of Naryca by any ancient authors.[258] In 394 there was a battle between the Boeotians, who were returning from Heracleia Trachinia and Thermopylae, and the Phocians under the Lacedaemonian commander Alcisthenes near the city (Diod. 14.82.7). In 352/1 it was captured by the Phocians led by Phayllus (Diod. 16.38.3–5); all this proves its important strategic position between the Thermopylae Pass and the Cephisus valley in Phocis to which it is possible to gain access via the immediate Fontana Pass. In the same year the city was destroyed, but was immediately rebuilt, since it was inhabited in the third century. It must have remained inhabited in the Roman period up to the beginning of the Byzantine period in the sixth century.

Kalapodi (McInerney 1999: 288–292; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 107–138 and Oulhen 2004: 408–409, number 169: [Abae], number 182, 418–419 [Hyampolis]).

256 Musée du Louvre. Bronze. H. 90 cm. W.50 cm. *SEG* 51.641; Jaillard 2000: 143–144; Pasquier 2000: 90; Pasquier and Knoepfler 2006: 1281–1313; Knoepfler 2006: 1–34; Jones 2006: 151–162. "Provenance unknown" in Roger 2007: number 35, p. 96. See also Zachos in Chapter 14.

257 Str. 9.4.4; Diod. 14.82.8; Verg. *Aen.* 3.339; Ovid. *Met.* 8.132; 14.468; 15.705; on Aias: *Od.* 4.449–511; Tz. *Ad Lyc.* 365, 387, 389, 402; Eust. *Comm. ad. Hom. Il.*2.532; Paus. 10.19.5; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.20–21; Str. 9.4.2; although Eur. *IA* 263–264 suggests Thronium cf. Katsonopoulou 1990: 22.

258 Strabo (9.4.2) for example cites it as Aias' homeland but does not mention it later in his description of Epicnemidian Locris.

Although it has not been directly proven, it is possible that Aias was worshipped in Naryca, this being his birthplace. Based on the naming of Locris Aeantis in *IG* IX 1^2 3: 706 the possible worship of Athena has also been suggested.[259]

14. *The Kastraki Fortress*

To the southwest of the modern town of Kallidromo, in the region of Xylikoi and in the narrow and steep-sided valley at the head of the river Liapatorema in the Callidromus chain, there is an elongated mountain called Kastraki to the west of the valley (Plate 2.24). On the southern part of the mountain, at a height of around 820 metres, on a small flat peak, is a fortification that occupies an area of approximately a thousand square metres. The walls are of polygonal rubble without mortar and the surface pottery is undatable (Plate 5.2 in Chapter 5).[260] Kastraki played an important role in controlling the Callidromus Passes and was in a line of site with the Stefani fortress to the west, which protected the Kleisoura Pass, and the Skopia tower (720 m), to the east, which guarded the Fontana Pass. It is possible that Kastraki also guarded the frontier between the Locrian *poleis* of Naryca and Mendenitsa (or Scarpheia), which must have passed through this area from north to south marking the border between Locris and Phocis. Today Kastraki also occupies a border position between the modern towns of Kallidromo, Rengini and Xylikoi.[261]

On top of Mt. Skopia/Vigla (756 m) to the north of the modern village of Modi, are the remains of a tower. The bottom is built of polygonal rubble and the top of mortar. The tower is reached from the south side of the hill, and here there are pottery sherds that appear to date to the Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine periods, so the tower was probably built at the end of the Classical period and remained in use during later periods. The

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[259] Oldfather 1935: 1775 but see Lerat 1952: II.157. Regarding the Locrian maidens who were to be sent each year to Ilium due to Aias' rape of Cassandra see: *IG* IX 1^2 3: 706; *SEG* 28.503; *SEG* 32.558; Magnetto 1997: 158–164 number 25; Ager 1996: 57–59 number 11 (the first quarter of the third century); *the Suda* 1.2417; 5.3852; 5.1015; 20.908; 20.2162; 80.2918; 80.3092; Hughes 1991: 166–184. It is possible that this practice was abandoned at some point, perhaps during the Third Sacred War and was restored in the Hellenistic era. Although Ager (1996: 57–59) ascribes the decision to Antigonus I Monophthalmus (306–301), in line with Magnetto (1997: 161–162), it seems more likely to date back to the reign of Antigonus II Gonatas (276–239).

[260] Dasios 1992: p. 17, number 17. Cf. McInerney 1999: 337.

[261] Adam 2001: 127–128.

Plate 2.24. The hill of Kastraki. View from East.

tower kept watch over the Fontana pass and was in visual communication with Kastraki. We do not know whether it belonged to Epicnemidian Locris or Phocis, but it seems clear that the frontier between the two regions was close to the line connecting Stefani, Kastraki and Skopia/ Vigla.[262]

There is no way of dating the polygonal rubble walls of Stefani, in the Kleisoura Pass, and Kastraki and the traces of pottery are not conclusive, but the relationship of both of them with Skopia/Vigla suggests they date to the same time, the fourth century, when a defensive system was created that was designed to protect the region as a whole.[263] In practice, the position of all these fortresses and towers in the northern part of the Callidromus chain would indicate that they were Locrian rather than Phocian fortifications.

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262 Dasios 1992: p. 22, number 22.
263 See Milán in this volume.

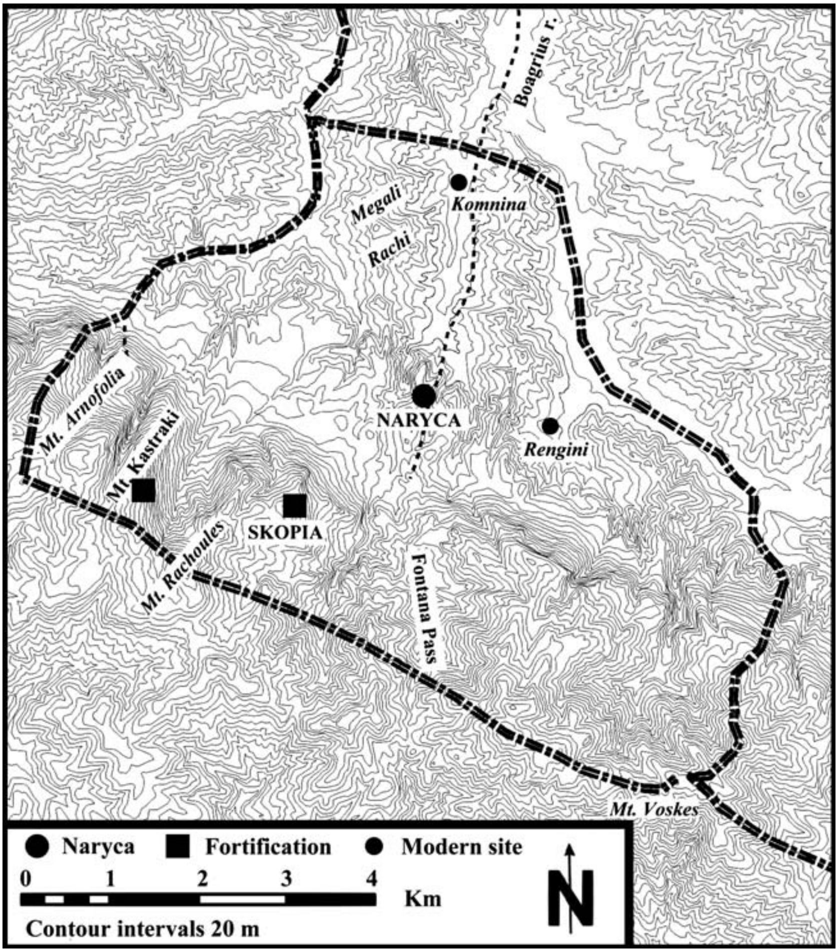

Figure 2.22. The territory of Naryca (Naryx).

Territory[264] *and Borders*

Naryca shared a western border with Mendenitsa (or with Scarpheia if Mendenitsa was not a *polis*), along the right bank of the river Liapatorema and Mount Katsoules (374 m) and the territory of Thronium would have been to the north and east (Figure 2.22). It was a frontier *polis* with Pho-

[264] The specific name of the territory is unknown, but Nielsen 2004: 669, suggests, on the basis of Diod. 14.82.8, that it had the same name as the city.

cis to the south, on the line of Mounts Skopia (750 m), Kotroni (713 m) and Zygos (860 m), and controlled the route through the Boagrius valley from Thermopylae and Thronium to Phocis, either through the Fontana Pass, as far as Triteis, or through the Vasilika, to reach Elateia. Another road led to Mendenitsa in the west through the foothills of the Callidromus. To the north and south of Naryca the valley opened out on either side of the Boagrius to form a fertile plateau, that of Rengini, which served the ancient *polis*.

Naryca occupied about 36 sq km, and accounted for rather more than 11 % of Epicnemidian Locris. It was a medium-sized *polis* with more than 48 % of its territory below 400 metres, lower than normal in Epicnemidian Locris, and 20 % of it was between 401 and 600 metres, so could still be used for agriculture and pasture, with 22 % over 601, wooded and uncultivated. The largest and most fertile part of its territory was formed by the Komnina and Rengini plateaus, which extended to east and west of the city respectively (Table 2.8).

Table 2.8. The territory of Naryca.

Settlements			
Paliokastra Renginiou = Naryca (*Polis*)			
Others			
Fortress in Kastraki			
Tower in Skopia/Vigla			
Territory	Area (in sq km)	Perimeter (in km)	Percentage (%)
	36.034	25.6	11.22
Height (in metres)	Area (in sq km)		Percentage (%)
0–200	5.172		14.35
201–400	15.314		42.50
401–600	7.296		20.25
601–800	6.598		18.31
801–1000	1.654		4.59

3. Settlement Development

From the Neolithic to the LH

We know of only one Neolithic settlement in all of Epicnemidian Locris, in Trikorfo which may have been abandoned during the Late Neolithic.[265] A

[265] A similar situation may be observed in Agios Ioannis Theologos, the former Halae,

further six or seven sites seem to have arisen in the Bronze Age or at least have revealed materials and/or graves from this period; these being Tachtali, Alponus, Cnemides/Neochori, Naryca, Pournarotsouba near Thronium, Kastri Agnantis/Kritharia and Zeli (Gvela/Kvela and Agios Georgios),[266] the latter two in the Dipotamos valley. Except for Alponus, whose southern territory is very abrupt and whose coastline does not appear to have undergone much change until the end of the Classical Period, and Cnemides the population seems to have tended towards settling in the interior of the valleys as in the case of Naryca or of the Dipotamos basin. From this it may perhaps be inferred that in the Bronze Age the principal rivers in the region, the Boagrius or the Potamia, lacked an alluvial plain or delta capable of sustaining a settlement; and thus the natural communication route between the coast and the Cephisus valley from the start of the second millennium BC, would have principally been by means of the Fontana Pass, in the centre of the Callidromus, which would explain the early occupation of Naryca which controlled the pass.

Tachtali appears to have already been populated in EH while Alponus and Naryca may have emerged in the MH. Kastri Agnantis/Kritharia (LH IIIA–LH IIIC) and Zeli (LH IIB–LH IIIC) in the Dipotamos valley, and perhaps Cnemides/Neochori and Pournarotsouba near Thronium may date back to the Late Hellenic. This chronology may signal a sustained demographic growth throughout the Bronze Age culminating in the LH.

From Geometric to Hellenistic Period

No settlements are known from the Submycenaean or Protogeometric periods, except the cemeteries of Agios Dimitrios, next to the modern towns of Kainourgio and Kamena Vourla, less than two kilometres northwest to Thronium, and Isiomata/Daphnus, Kastri Agnantis and Agios Georgios Zeliou in the Dipotamos valley.[267] In the Late Geometric period another necropolis is known in Fournos in Anavra. It may be possible that Alponus and Naryca subsisted in this period. In fact, both existed in the Archaic period. In the subsequent phase, in the Archaic period, Thronium and Scarpheia, which

in Opuntian Locris, where a Neolithic population existed in the extreme southwest of the acropolis, in the so-called Area F. Occupied since the Early Neolithic, the site was abandoned in the Late Neolithic I (Coleman *et alii* 1992: 265–289).

266 See Pappakonstantinou and Zachou in Chapter 3; Dimaki in Chapter 9; Livieratou 2009: 959.

267 SM/PG: Agios Dimitrios, Isiomata, Agnanti and Zeli. G: Agios Dimitrios, Isiomata, Naryca, Fournos Anavras, Agios Georgios in Zeli and perhaps Alponus.

probably emerged in this period, and probably also Palianifitsa meaning that the settlements in the Archaic period would have been about numbered between five and seven.[268]

This rather sparse information may hint at the existence of a settlement between LH and Submycenaean periods[269] with a slight decline culminating in the MPG.[270] The population would probably have begun to recover at the end of the Geometric period and this first phase of demographic growth would have culminated in the Archaic period, especially in the sixth century.[271] This would mean that some of the rivers in Epicnemidian Locris would have already developed alluvial deltas capable of housing new settlements from the end of the Bronze Age. Above all, however, from the end of the Geometric period the parameters of the population underwent some changes in relation to the Bronze Age, in which a series of central sites were created which constituted the structural base of the Epicnemidian population throughout a whole millennium. Thus, a system of occupation of territory allowing economic and political cohesion in the region would have begun to develop. This still only refers to, except in the dubious case of Palianifitsa, possibly a *chorion*, places on the first level, which formed the *asty* of each *polis*, meaning that there may also have been a process of concentration of the population in central areas, which is the origin of the configuration of the *polis* in the region, a phenomenon which can also be observed in neighbouring regions.[272] This hypothesis is supported by the probable absence of secondary settlements in the *chora* and the possible disappearance in this period of some settlements, such as Agios Georgios in Zeli, which had not come to be constructed as *poleis*. This demographic

268 Alponus, Scarpheia, Thronium, Naryca, Palianifitsa, Daphnus and Agios Georgios in Zeli.

269 In Opuntian Locris there was a pronounced reduction in the population from the LH III C culminating in the Protogeometric where the number of known settlements falls from seven or nine to only two, a decrease which seems to have been quite sharp (Fossey 1990: 99, 105, 129). Likewise in Eastern Phocis the decrease was sudden and pronounced, perhaps during the transition of the LH III B to the LH III C, where the number of known settlements fell from seven or eight to one and a maximum of three (Fossey 1986: 94–95). This reduction slowed at the end of the Geometric when the number of known settlements began to rise (Fossey 1986: 95, 1990, 107).

270 In Agios Ioannis Theologos/Halae the Archaic stratum sits directly upon the Neolithic and there was no occupation during the Bronze Age (Coleman 1992: 273).

271 See Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1197–1198 and in Chapters 10 and 11 in this volume about the Geometric and Archaic periods in Epicnemidian Locris.

272 The Archaic period was characterized in Central Greece by a demographic growth culminating in the sixth century (Fossey 1990: 108, 112 [Opuntian Locris]; 1986: 95–96 [Phocis]).

growth and process of concentration of the population seems to have particularly affected the longitudinal valleys in central and western Epicnemidia and the outlet of the Dipotamos valley, while the east of the region seems to have remained for the large part uninhabited. The polygonal walls of Naryca may indicate not only a growth in human potential but could also point to the economic development of the Epicnemidian *poleis*, taking into account that it was a relatively small *polis* in relation to Scarpheia and Thronium. Possibly all of the Archaic poleis were already fortified by the sixth century, at least their acropoleis.

Throughout the Classical period the demographic growth which characterized the Archaic period seems to have continued. In the later part of the Classical era and the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the Epicnemidian Locris had probably reached its maximum population in all Antiquity with a similar number of settlements to the present day.[273] At this time it is probable that Roumelio/Nicaea, Paliokastro Anavras, Trikorfo, Profitis Ilias in Karavydia, Mendenitsa, Allangi/Voulomeni Petra, Velona, Cnemides and Tachtali emerged and Agios Konstantinos, Kastri Agnantis and Agios Georgios in Zeli in the Dipotamos valley as well, the last three in the Hellenistic period, which practically triples the number of settlements known from earlier periods. Therefore there is an increase from the five or seven settlements in the Archaic period to eighteen sites in the later part of the Classical era and the beginning of the Hellenistic time.[274] The occupation seems to have affected all of Epicnemidia and the Dipotamos valley, on every possible site, which indicates a significant and reasonably intense occupation of the *chora* and the necessity to exploit the furthermost parts of the territory.[275] This growth effected all possible settlement categories, *asty* from the different *poleis* (for example Roumelio/Nicaea and possibly Mendenitsa and perhaps Cnemides) as well as *choria* (Trikorfo, Velona, Kastri Agnantis, Allangi/Voulomeni Petra, Tachtali, Agios Georgios in Zeli).

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273 In Central Greece during the Classical era there was an indubitable period of demographic growth. This meant that by the end of the period, in the fourth century, many regions, for example Boeotia, Phocis and Opuntian Locris, had reached their maximum population in all Antiquity, with the addition also of secondary centres (Fossey 1990: 112–113, 135, 161; 1986: 96).

274 The settlements of the fourth and third centuries BC would have been Alponus, Roumelio/Nicaea, Paliokastro Anavras, Scarpheia, Profitis Ilias in Karavydia, Mendenitsa, Trikorfo, Thronium, Paleokastras Renginiou/Naryca, Allangi/Voulomeni petra, Velona, Palianifitsa, Cnemides, Tachtali and Daphnus and perhaps Kastri Agnantis y Agios Georgios in Zeli in the Dipotamos valley, *vid.* Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1198–1200.

275 Cf. similarly Fossey, 1990: 129–132 for Opuntian Locris.

The principal sites in the east and centre of Epicnemidia were completed by inland Mendenitsa and Nicaea and Trikorfo on the coast, and thus, various centres were created which were largely involved in the exploitation of the eastern part of Epicnemidia (Velona, Cnemides and Tachtali) and probably the inner part of the Dipotamos valley (Kastri Agnantis and Agios Georgios in Zeli). Several ports must also have been operating during this period such as that of Kamena Vourla, Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia in Cnemides and Agios Konstantinos in Daphnus. There may also have been a port on the coast of Scarpheia.[276]

Finally, as we shall see, a complex defence system was probably designed in the later part of the Classical era, comprising the fortification of the cities under the *asty* of each *polis* and the construction of towers and forts in the *chora* with the aim to visually cover and defend the entire region. In the aftermath of the destruction of the Third Sacred War, the population seems to have recovered rapidly and continued to grow throughout the third century, during which the population of Epicnemidia seems to have reached its peak.

From the Second Century BC to the Sixth Century AD

Strabo, who wrote in the first century BC, presents a general image of Eastern Locris and of Epicnemidia in particular as uninhabited. In effect, although we are unable to locate many sites with certainty, in his time Tarphe, Bessa, Augeiae and Daphnus were depopulated. This decrease could have been a consequence of a prolonged period of conflict extending from the final quarter of the third century to the destruction of Sulla (86 BC) with confrontations between Macedonians, Romans, Aetolians, Seleucids, Pergamenes and Achaeans making Epicnemidian Locris a recurring battlefield.

The decline in population would have begun to slow by the end of the first century AD and begun to rise as of the second or third century AD. From then on until the beginning of the Byzantine era the region experienced a second period of demographic expansion and economic growth. As a result, all of the sites known in the Hellenistic and Classical periods would have been maintained or recuperated between the second and fourth centuries AD. In spite of the occasional attack by the barbarians, such as the Heruli in the third century AD, this recuperation was based on peaceful conditions and a progressive extension, from the end of the fourth century BC and

276 See Arjona in this volume.

the beginning of the Hellenistic period, of the littoral plain which favoured the demographic growth of this period. In consequence, as well as this demographic growth, one of the characteristics of the period would be the change in settlement patterns determined by the gradual displacement of the population to the coastal plain.

The population began to be newly affected by Gothic incursions at the beginning of the sixth century, of which it could recover. However, the Slavic invasions at the end of the sixth century AD and in the seventh century AD provoked important destruction and, probably, the definitive abandonment of many settlements.[277]

4. Settlement Organization and *Poleis*

In all analysis of the landscape and the distribution of settlements in Epicnemidian Locris, as with other regions in ancient Greece, numerous formidable difficulties must be confronted. Firstly there is the number of settlements. We can never be sure to be aware of them all and this, along with the discovery of new sites, means that we are obliged to modify our conclusions. Another problem arises from the limited archaeological excavations forcing us to study surface ceramics, meaning that we are often unable to certify whether a particular site was inhabited during a concrete period. A third problem concerns the identification of a particular site as an *asty* of a *polis* or a mere *chorion* which alters the political units we may establish and which also appear to have changed over the centuries. In fact, we risk overlooking possible states and their territories or wrongly assigning a territory to a *polis*. Certainly in an area as small as Epicnemidian Locris the majority of settlements should correspond to the *asty* of a *polis*. In order to establish which *poleis* existed, basically between the end of the Classical times and the beginning of the Hellenistic period, we have identified them using their ancient names coupled with the provision of a fortified area. Although it is never definitive and fortified *choria* did exist, in the majority of cases the presence of a fortified area indicates the *asty* of a *polis*, as commonly occurs in Boeotia and Phocis.[278]

Taking all this into account there could have been between five and twelve *poleis* in the region with a margin for error, therefore, close to 100%.

277 With a large incursion in AD 578, cf. Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2001: 49–50, 62; Sythiakaki 2002: 116–117.

278 Rousset 1999: 39–47.

We believe that Alponus, Nicaea, Paliokastro Anavras, Scarpheia, Mendenitsa, Naryca, Thronium and Cnemides could be *poleis* and then Trikorfo, Velona, Karavydia/Profitis Ilias, Palianifitsa, Allangi/Voulomeni Petra and Tachtali would be *choria*. In the Dipotamos valley Daphnus was a *polis* and Agnanti and Zeli were *choria*. Once the *poleis* have been established a final problem arises with the definition of the borders between *poleis*. In order to trace the frontiers of the Epicnemidian *poleis* information from various different sources must be used such as ancient texts and historical topography, orography, the course of the rivers, especially if they were canalized and with abrupt drops, the peaks of the mountains, towers, fortresses, etc.; the information obtained from the *nearest neighbour model*, developed in the field of Spatial archaeology, and areas of visibility. These last cases suppose that the limits of a settlement lie within the visual range of its territory and thus, logically, what cannot be seen from an area may not belong to it. In spite of all this it is important to recognise that the borders which we delineate between *poleis* and the parts of a region are always hypothetical and may have changed over time. Ancient historians and archaeologists would have had to renounce trying to explain everything from the outset and understand that the limits if their knowledge, owing to a desperate lack of information, were always near, waiting in the next paragraph, in the next idea. It is against this curse which we fight every day. For the most part rather than with solid facts we work with a field of possibilities and we may only aspire to go a little further in the hope that we will soon be surpassed by the improved means and methods in the future.

Firstly, Ancient Epicnemidian Locris was a mountainous region (Table 2.9). The lowest parts of the region, those with an altitude of between 0 and 400 metres, accounted for barely 50% of the total (50.04), while 24% of it was between 401 and 600 metres and the area over 601 metres, which we can consider perhaps mountain, accounts for 25%. This situation can be compared with the today's eparchy, in which more than 70% of the territory is below 400 metres (70.45%), 15% is between 401 and 600 and 14% is over 601 metres.[279] In the case of ancient Boeotia, 77% of its total area was between 0 and 400 metres, 10% between 401 and 600 metres and less than 10% is over 601 metres.[280] As we have seen,[281] another feature of the relief is the steep mountainsides, which rose from sea level to a height of

279 Kotoulas 2002: 10.
280 Pascual 1996: 116; 2009: 1211.
281 González *et alii* in this volume.

500–600 metres, almost always with gradients of more than 14°. Considering the region's small size, its relief displays a high degree of complexity, and in the course ten kilometres, a couple of hours' walk, one would pass from the high wooded mountains to the valleys and the coast.

Table 2.9. Epicnemidian Locris: Hypsometry.

	Epicnemidian Locris		Eparchia Lokrida	Boeotia
Altitude (meters)	Area (in sq km)	Percentage (%)	Percentage (%)	Percentage (%)
0–200	85.10	26.50	35.67	44.23
201–400	75.60	23.54	34.78	34.80
401–600	77.59	24.16	15.36	10.30
601–800	54.43	16.95	5.93	4.62
801–1000	17.18	5.35	4.08	2.89
1001–1200	9.44	2.94	0.70	1.76
>1201	1.80	0.56	2.80	0.55

As can be also seen in the following Table (2.10), in relation to altitude we can define three types of settlement.

Table 2.10. Epicnemidian Locris: Settlement and height.

Settlement	Altitude (in metres asl)
Alponus	20–30
Nicaea	40–50
Trikorfo	75–85
Scarpheia	80–130
Thronium	100–250
Allangi/Voulomeni Petra	180–200
Naryca	310–325
Palianifitsa	300–400
Tachtali	440–460
Mendenitsa	530–570
Karavydia/Profitis Ilias	450–470
Anavra	500–600
Velona	560–600
Cnemides	590–615

a) Coastal sites such as Alponus and Nicaea, today situated at 20–50 metres asl, which were very small owing to the limited expansion of the littoral plain in Antiquity.

b) Settlements situated at the heads of valleys, near the coast, with an intermediate location, usually with a port closely at their disposal and at about 80–200 metres in altitude. This would have been an ideal environment for living in Epicnemidia as proven by the fact that the two most important *poleis* in Epicnemidian Locris, Scarpheia and Thronium, and Daphnus in the Dipotamos valley are to be found here.
c) Finally, there are the inland settlements at a high altitude between approximately 300 and 600 metres in altitude and which may represent the medium-sized Epicnemidian settlement.[282]

There are scarcely any sites between 200 and 400 metres, in the centre of the longitudinal valleys, constituting the characteristic pattern of other regions like, for example, in Boeotia where the majority of settlements are located at around 200 metres in altitude and at above 400 metres there are barely any settlements.[283] This implies that the areas between 200 and 400 metres of altitude are border sites in which, in addition, the narrowings and canalisings leave little room for cultivation.

The valleys had a dense network of streams and a central, fast-flowing river that was subject to pronounced seasonal variations and given to torrential flooding, probably only the Spercheius, the Boagrius[284] and the Dipotamos were perennial, which gradually deposited sediments at the river mouth, opening into a fan-shaped delta. Sometimes the river would run through a gorge, or one of its banks was very sheer, as in the case of the Latzorema and Liapatorema rivers, and marked the frontier between two *poleis*; in others, such as the Platanias, it left a small area that could be cultivated, but more often than not valleys were very narrow along much of their course. Hence, as well as a small alluvial delta at the river's mouth, there was usually a cultivable plateau at the head of the valley. Thus it was not a large and continuous coastal plain, then non-existent, that dictated the landscape and settlement of Locris but the micro-regions created by the lower and upper reaches of the valleys. From at least the Late Geometric or Early Archaic period the deltas provided the ideal environment for human life in Epicnemidia. The alluvial delta created a small, useable expanse that

282 Pascual 2009a: 1212.
283 Pascual 1997: 205–206.
284 Strabo (9.4.4) states that the Boagrius flowed only in winter and on occasions could be crossed on foot and other times states that it was two *pletra* wide (near 30 m). In any case it seems difficult that it would have dried up.

could be farmed, the coast supplied fish and the foothills of the mountains could be extensively exploited. In addition to these small coastal plains, there were some hills capable of sustaining easily defendable settlements watered with perennial springs, such as the Scarpheia and Thronium in Epicnemidian Locris and Daphnus in the Dipotamos valley. The southern parts of the valleys, with some fertile land, such as the Paliokastro Anavras, Mendenitsa or Naryca, were also suitable for human settlement, and were important areas for stock raising, hunting and exploiting other forestry resources. Consequently, the features essential for understanding the habitat in much of Epicnemidia are the delta at the river's mouth, in the north, and the plateau at the head of the valley, in the south, and the same pattern is almost always seen: *polis*/settlement at the river mouth, *polis*/settlement at the head of the valley, although the settlement close to the river delta is usually more important than that at the head of the valleys. The area along the coast, to the north of the Cnemis chain, left only a sandy beach a few metres wide in modern Kamena Vourla and two miniscule plains on either side of Mt. Gouvali. To the south of the Cnemis, the transverse valleys had an undulating and hilly landscape where the settlements, smaller and less significant than those of the longitudinal valleys, were sited on the banks of the river.

An essential element, as we shall see,[285] was the position of settlements beside main routes, over which they kept watch. In fact, these small valleys did not only determine the pattern of settlement, but also communications between the various settlements. The inhabitants of settlements situated on or near the coast could travel W-E overland, for example from Alponus to Thronium, or perhaps reach each other more easily by sea, but the axis of Epicnemidian communications in the west and centre of the region was not W-E but rather N-S along the longitudinal valleys that linked the settlements situated at the mouth and head of each valley and which extended to the Cephisus valley through the Passes of the Callidromus chain.[286]

On the other hand, no settlements were situated directly on the plain or next to a river and few were located on the mountainside or the hills bordering the plain. A higher altitude than the plain was preferred. Obviously the majority of the land was set aside for cultivation and a perennial flow of water was sought, but the main and perhaps most important reason was

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285 *Vid.* Sánchez-Moreno in this volume.

286 Cf. Str. 9.3.4: the passes which, from Thessaly crossed Phocis and Locris are narrow, reasonably far apart and guarded by the cities in closest proximity rendering it necessary to conquer them in order to control the Passes. See also Domínguez Monedero 2009: 1200–1201.

probably associated with the visual control of the area and defensive possibilities.[287]

The settlements evidently had little cultivable land. As we said earlier, the whole of Epicnemidian Locris, with 321 sq km, was similar in size to the *polis* of Sicyon in the Peloponnese. However, there were a good number of *poleis* in the region at various stages in its history for the size the territory, at least five (Alponus, Nicaea, Scarpheia, Thronium and Naryca), and possibly as many as eight (if we add to these the settlements located at Cnemides, Paliokastro Anavras and Mendenitsa), ten (with Palianifitsa and Tachtali) or twelve (Trikorfo and Karavydia). In summary, at least half and perhaps even two thirds or more of the settlements known in Epicnemidian Locris constituted the *asty* of a *polis* given that in such small territories it is not possible to find a large number of *choria*.[288] If we have at least eight *poleis*, this gives us an average of 40 sq km *per polis* and suggests they were mostly very small for Greek *poleis*, smaller than many in Phocis[289] and similar in size to the smallest in Boeotia.[290] To them we can add the small settlements (*choria*) that did not constitute a *polis*, which were especially prevalent in the east of the region and of which we know at least six (Velona, Palianifitsa, Tachtali, Trikorfo, Karavydia and Allangi/Voulomeni Petra), we have fourteen settlements in total for the region, without counting possible ports, so the average area of cultivable land belonging to each settlement would be still smaller, approximately 23 sq km.

To deepen our knowledge of the size and distribution of the Epicnemidian settlements we can apply the models developed in the field of Spatial Archaeology to Epicnemidian Locris, in particular the *nearest neighbour model* (see Figure 2.23).[291] The *nearest neighbour model* is based on the idea that the distribution of settlements within a territory is not a matter of chance but the result of a series of causes and parameters which can be known. Therefore, it would be possible to mark around the central site of a *polis* a theoretical circular territory, identical between one and another. The model considers all land as being homogenous making it necessary to

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287 *Idem* in Opuntian Locris (cf. Fossey 1990: 144).

288 *Idem* for the whole of Eastern Locris (Nielsen 2004: 666).

289 Phocis has an area of 1,568 sq km. and twenty-two *poleis* with an average of 70 sq km each.

290 Chaeroneia (57 sq km), Hysiae (51 sq km.) and Acraephnium (47 sq km.) cf. Pascual 1996: 125, n. 33 and 126.

291 Cf. in general Hodder and Orton 1976: 27–112, and for other Greek regions: Helly 1984: 218 and 1992: 77; Decourt 1992: 23–25; Pascual 1996: 118–119.

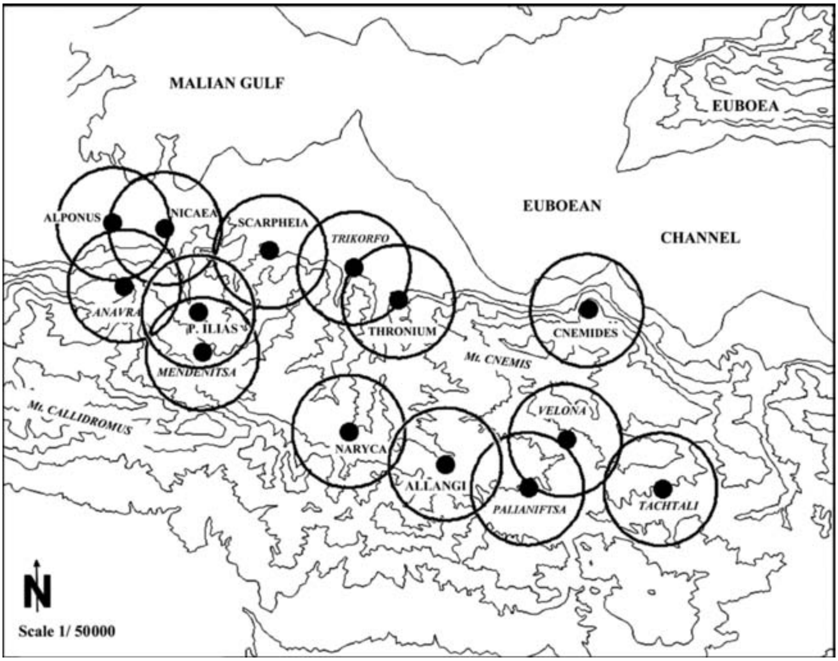

Figure 2.23. The *nearest neighbour model*. Map.

modify and adapt in accordance with reality.[292] Clearly the model has the drawback that the currently unknown settlements which could change the structure are left aside. In spite of all this its application can provide us with substantial information.

The distance between the settlements in Epicnemidian Locris is of some four kilometres (3.7), the average being approximately 2 and cultivated land could have an area of about 11/12 sq km and a perimeter of some 12 km (Table 2.11). This area would also correspond to local market expansion and the c. 2 km distance indicates that a half-hour walk from their home would practically be the furthest that a Locrian landworker would have to travel daily to reach the land where he laboured.[293]

292 Regarding this model cf. Decourt and Darmezin 1999: 81–86.
293 Pascual 2009a: 1212–1213.

Table 2.11. The *nearest neighbour model* (distances between settlements).

Site	Nearest Neighbour	Distance*	Alternatives*
Alponus	Nicaea	2.5	Anavra 3
Nicaea	Alponus	2.5	Anavra 3 Scarpheia 4.8
Anavra	Alponus	3.0	Mendenitsa 4.5
Scarpheia	Trikorfo	4.5	Nicaea 5.0 Mendenitsa 5.5 Thronium 6
Mendenitsa	Karavydia/ Profitis Ilias	2.0	Nicaea 6 Alponus 7 Naryca 7.5
Karavydia/Profitis Ilias	Mendenitsa	2.0	Anavra 4.5
Trikorfo	Thronium	2.5	Scarpheia 4.5
Thronium	Trikorfo	2.5	Scarpheia 6 Mendenitsa 9
Naryca	Allangi/ Voulomeni petra	3.0	Thronium 6
Tachtali	Velona	5.5	Daphnus 5.5
Cnemides	Daphnus	6.0	Thronium 8.5 Tachtali 9
Allangi/Voulomeni petra	Naryca	3.0	Palianifitsa 4
Palianifitsa	Velona	4.0	Tachtali 6 Elateia 6
Velona	Palianifitsa	4.0	Tachtali 5.4

* in km; D = 3.7 km; D/2 = 1.9 km; A = 11.4 sq km; P = 11.6 km

The model also clearly establishes the border of Epicnemidia on the Callidromus massif, it concentrates the smallest *poleis* in the region to the west, in area of Alponus, Anavra and Nicaea, whose average distance apart is less than two kilometres and suggests that Mendenitsa, Velona, Tachtali and Palianifitsa had considerable land to cultivate. Likewise, Cnemides may have had land for cultivation on the coastal plain on both sides of the settlement.

We can join this information with the measurements we have carried out, always hypothetical, of the area and perimeters of the Epicnemidian *poleis* which are summarised in the following Table (2.12):

Table 2.12. Epicnemidian *poleis*: Area and Perimeter.

Polis	Perimeter (in km)	Area (in sq km)
Alponus	16.856	12.370
Nicaea	14.808	10.646
Scarpheia	26.149	33.039
Anavra	26.006	33.553
Mendenitsa	26.665	34.994
Naryca	26.561	36.034
Cnemides	18.088	17.976
Thronium	59.876	142.664

All this allows us to classify the Epicnemidian *poleis* into three different categories:[294]

a) Alponus, Nicaea and Cnemides, which are very small *poleis* of 10–18 sq km in area, situated on or near the coast.
b) The medium-sized *poleis* with an area of around 33–36 sq km. These include Scarpheia, Anavra, Mendenitsa and Naryca. Except for Scarpheia they are all very homogenous inland *poleis*. In general it could be said that the inland *poleis* in Epicnemidian Locris needed, given its rough terrain, three times as much land as a coastal *polis* in order to achieve some degree of self-sufficiency. The importance of Scarpheia would lie in part in its extensive area and in part in the flatness of its terrain. Scarpheia would have been favoured for its annexation to Mendenitsa and the development of a port in the northeast in the modern-day village of Molos. Daphnus in the Dipotamos valley would have an area of around 55 sq km.
c) Thronium forms a category on its own, in accordance with its important in the Classical era. It is the largest *polis* and occupies a third or even half of the total area of the region.

In the small *poleis* it would be difficult to find a secondary settlement and the land tended to be directly exploited from the centre. In the medium-sized *poleis* it would also be difficult to find secondary settlements and these would have been concentrated in the most extreme points and would have been especially ports. Only in the case of Thronium and Daphnus in the Dipotamos valley and perhaps Scarpheia do we find secondary settlements.

294 Pascual 2009a: 1213–1214.

A relationship can be established between the altitude and the territory of each *polis*. In Boeotia which was a particularly flat region, the area between 0–400 m in altitude accounted for 70 % of the territory of a *polis*, the area in the lower mountains (401–600 m) accounted for 15 % while the remaining 15 % was composed of mountainous terrain (601–1600 m).[295] In Epicnemidian Locris (*vid.* Table 2.13) the area between 0–400 m accounted for 63 % of the territory of a *polis*, the area between 401–600 m accounted for 15 % while the remaining 22 % was composed of mountainous terrain (601–1600 m). The region's relatively high altitude probably meant that even fairly high areas were cultivated, between 401 and 600 metres, and forestry resources were exploited to a greater extent than in other parts of Greece.

Table 2.13. Epicnemidian Locris: Altitude *per polis*.

Altitude *per polis* (in %)	0–200 m	201–400 m	401–600 m	601–800 m	801–1000 m	>1001 m
Alponus	81.65	10.31	6.81	1.23	—	—
Nicaea	92.61	7.39	—	—	—	—
Anavra	7.48	17.69	13.41	13.90	21.95	25.57
Scarpheia	72.35	25.34	2.31	—	—	—
Mendenitsa	2.77	39.18	28.11	19.31	8.82	1.81
Thronium	24.50	23.66	29.10	20.06	2.68	—
Cnemides	30.79	10.50	15.68	33.97	9.47	—
Naryca	14.35	42.50	20.25	18.31	4.59	—
Total	40.80	22.07	14.48	13.34	5.94	3.42

Certainly Epicnemidian Locrians mainly cultivated barley[296] and a certain surplus of wine was produced in the region, which allowed for the small-scale production of hand-crafted wine amphorae. Both things were reflected in numismatic coinage,[297] but, in any case, the Epicnemidian Locrians had to augment arable farming with a large number of other activities and must have given considerable importance, more than in other parts of ancient Greece, to raising livestock, hunting, fishing, gathering and exploiting forestry resources, which in turn encouraged erosion and the silting up of the river deltas.

[295] Pascual 1997: 127.

[296] In accordance with Plutarch (*Mor.* 292 B), there was a magistrate in Opus, the barley selector, who was responsible for setting aside the barley to be offered to the gods. As in all of Greece, more barley was grown than wheat due to the clear risks involved with the cultivation of the latter which needed better quality soil and higher annual rainfall.

[297] It is possible that it was the Euboeans who bought and distributed Locrian wine.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DIPOTAMOS VALLEY AND THE "PHOCIAN CORRIDOR"

Maria-Foteini Papakonstantinou* and George Zachos**

1. Introduction

To the east of modern Kamena Vourla, between Mt. Cnemis in the west and Mt. Xerovouni in the east, is the valley of the River Dipotamos (Figure 3.1). It is true that the whole of this area belonged, at one time or another, either to Phocis or Opuntian Locris and not Epicnemidian Locris and that the eastern part of the valley has also been studied by J.M. Fossey (1990). However, we feel it should be included, since no study has yet been published on the western part, referred to by Fossey as the "Phocian Corridor", which was allegedly carved out by the Phocians to gain access to the Euboean Gulf. It will also link our studies with those already published on the whole of Eastern Locris and Phocis.

At the end of the Cnemis chain, in the basin of the River Dipotamos, we once again find the same steep valleys that characterise the landscape of western and central Epicnemidia.[1] The Dipotamos valley, with an approximate area of about 160 sq km, lies between the western slopes of Mt. Cnemis to the north and the Sfingion chain to the south, which reaches a maximum height with the Varva peak (831 m asl), and Mts. Agnanti/Profitis Ilias and Golemi/Profitis Ilias,[2] Agriades and Chlomon. The River Dipotamos rises in the northern foothills of the Sfingion chain and flows some kilometres from west to east before joining the Dafnorema, hence the name Dipotamos (Two

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1 Fossey 1990: 7.

2 There are two mountains in the area called Profitis Ilias, one on the left bank of the river near the modern town of Agnanti (in Epicnemidian Locris) and the other on the right bank near the modern town of Golemi (in Opuntian Locris). To distinguish between them we shall refer to the one in Epicnemidia as Agnanti/Profitis Ilias and the one in Opuntian Locris as Golemi/Profitis Ilias.

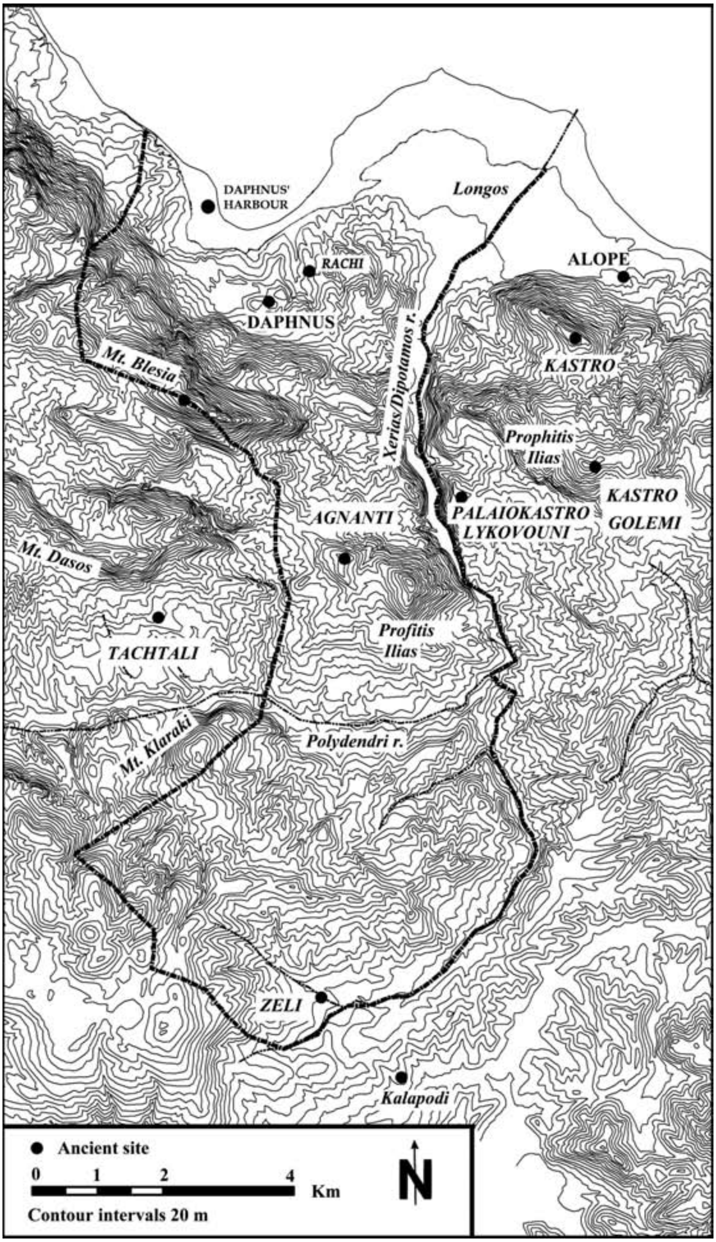

Figure 3.1. Map of the Dipotamos valley. Excavations have been carried out at Daphnus and its harbour, Agnanti, Zeli and Rachi Vathyrematos-Dichalorematos.

Rivers) by which it is known. Just at the confluence of the two rivers, the Dipotamos turns northwards and, skirting Mt. Agnanti/Profitis Ilias (on the Epicnemidian Locris side), it passes between the foothills of Mt. Cnemis (known in the area as Astrapokama) and Golemi/Profitis Ilias and, a few kilometres before it reaches the Euboean Gulf, the valley opens out to form the Daphnus plain (today Longos).

The Dipotamos valley links the Euboean Gulf and Daphnus with Hyampolis, Abae and the sanctuary of Apollo (Kalapodi). It also provides access to Epicnemidian Locris, either through the Steni Pass in the direction of Cnemis or via Tachtali, towards Naryx and the Boagrius valley.

This valley can be divided into three main areas: the south, between the confluence of the Dipotamos and the Dafnorema up to the frontier with ancient Phocis, near the modern town of Zeli, where there are LH II, LH III and possibly Sub-Mycenaean, Protogeometric, Archaic, Hellenistic and Byzantine materials. The centre of the valley extends northwards from the confluence of the two rivers near the modern village of Agnanti, where there are two Bronze Age sites and also some Classical, Hellenistic and Roman remains. Both Agnanti and Zeli are sustained by their respective plains. Finally, in the north is the small alluvial plain of Longos. On the west of the plain, between Mt. Cnemis and the sea, is the contemporary town of Agios Konstantinos, where Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman and Early Christian architectural remains have been excavated and should be identified with the ancient harbour of Daphnus, at least from the Roman period onwards. About 1.7 kilometres to the southeast of this town is a place called Isiomata, which is probably the site of ancient Daphnus. The main part of Daphnus' territory probably consisted of the western part of the Longos plain while Opuntian Locris and the *polis* of Alope extended to the right bank of the river on the other side. Later, as we have said, when this area had been recovered by the Locrians, the "Phocian Corridor" became part of the Opuntian Locris.

To sum up, the western part of the Dipotamos valley includes four ancient settlements: Isiomata = Daphnus, Agios Konstantinos = Daphnus harbour, Agnanti and Zeli. Of these, possibly Daphnus was a *polis* and perhaps its harbour in the Roman or Late Roman period, as the epigraphical evidence would seem to suggest.

2. The "Phocian Corridor"

Strabo's statement that Daphnus was at one time a Phocian city,[3] has been used to support the existence of a corridor from Eastern Locris to the coast of Locris, a strip of land under Phocian control.[4] However, the original text is corrupted in this paragraph, and also in the specific sentence, and the phrase "σχίσαι, ὥστε" (= split so) has been added by the editor in a lacuna of several letters. This addition was based on other passages of Strabo,[5] in which the geographer merely mentions the position of the city between Epicnemidian and Opuntian Locris.[6] Daphnus is simply the vantage point from which Strabo observes Locris.[7] Therefore the addition is not safe at all. But even if we assume that it is correct, it is commonly believed that Strabo's description of Greece in books 8–10 was not based on first-hand experience but on information from other sources, which he sometimes misinterprets.[8] In particular, for the coastal cities of Locris he used a *periplus*, which was probably that of Ps.-Scylax, as P. Fabre has shown.[9] It is unlikely, in terms of geopolitical practice, that the Phocians were able to hold a rather narrow strip of land between two hostile populations—the Epicnemidians and the Hypocnemidians—for any length of time. Strabo, if he did indeed intend to write what the emendator has inserted, would simply have misunderstood the passage of Ps-Scylax.[10] However, this is not to dispute that Daphnus, not alone but together with part of Eastern Locris, was in Phocian hands; besides, we believe, that the passage of Ps.-Scylax should be interpreted in a similar way, since after Alope, he begins the description of Phocis by mentioning the cities of the Epicnemidian Locris.[11]

When, however, could this have happened? J. McInerney[12] associates Strabo's reference with Phocian control of Epicnemidian Locris in the sixth

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3 Str. 9.3.17.

4 Fossey 1990: 7, 11; cf. Schober 1924: 26–27.

5 Apparat. Crit.

6 Str. 9.3.1, 4.1.

7 Clarke 1999: 206.

8 Cf. Baladie 1980: 301–320, on Strabo's misunderstandings concerning the Peloponnese.

9 Fabre 1965: 362–364; On Strabo's interest in periplus writers, Clarke 1999: 197–205.

10 A typical example of such a misunderstanding is the use of Strabo's reference (9.4.6) by Eustathius of Thessalonica in his commentary on the Iliad (Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.532).

11 Ps.-Scyl. *Per.* 60–61.

12 McInerney 1999: 80, 85 n. 95.

century BC and certainly his assumption should not be rejected out of hand. However, as we will see, it seems more reasonable to assume that Ps.-Scylax was referring to events closer to his own times.

P. Fabre suggests two possible periods of time: a) in the times of the Corinthian War or b) during Third Sacred War.

Regarding the first period, P. Fabre suggests that Epicnemidian Locris was occupied by the Phocians in the aftermath of the battle in Coroneia, when the Spartan Gylis invaded Locris in support of the Phocians against the Locrians. However, the assumed seizure of Epicnemidian Locris by the Phocians, which is not mentioned by the ancient sources, would have been virtually impossible to achieve after Gylis' invasion, which was in any case unsuccessful, since the Spartan general was killed by the Locrians.[13] So it seems more likely that Daphnus (and also Cnemides and Thronium mentioned by Ps.-Scylax) came under the control of the Phocians during the Third Sacred War,[14] at the time when the Phocians occupied a succession of Locrian cities[15] (Alponus, Nicaea, Thronium) and their mercenaries controlled the whole of Epicnemidian territory.[16]

The successive occupations of Epicnemidian cities during the Third Sacred War are indicative of Phocian desire to control the route from their region to Thermopylae and gain access to the Euboean Gulf. After the defeat of the Phocians and the end of the war Daphnus returned to Opuntian hands.

Pliny also called Daphnus a Phocian city.[17] He may have drawn the information from Strabo (if his work was ever published)[18] or Ps.-Scylax. Besides, the passages of Pliny concerning Phocis and Locris are quite problematic due to the intervention of transcribers.[19] This is more than apparent in the specific passage in question, since Larissa is referred to as a Phocian city, due to the confusion between the Phocian Elateia and the Elateia in Thessaly.

13 X. *Hell.* 4. 3. 21–23.
14 Fossey 1986: 141, 182.
15 Aeschin. 2.132–133; 138.
16 Philippson 1901: 2148–2149; Schober 1924: 26–27; Fossey 1990: 141; Zachos 2003b: 118.
17 Plin. *NH.* 4.27.
18 Syme 1995: 357; Clarke 1999: 194.
19 Fossey 1986: 158–159 and *Addendum.*

3. The Sites

1. *Isiomata = Daphnus*

Ancient Sources
Ps.-Skylax *Per.* 61; Str. 1.3.20; 9.3.1, 3.17, 4.1, 4.3; Schol. *in Il.* 2.517b (Erbse); Schol. *in Eurip. Orest.* 1094; Plin. *NH.* 4.27; Herodian. 1.88, 32; 242,9; 269,39; 2.855,36; Steph. Byz. s.v. Δαφνοῦς.

Pottery
PG, G, A, C, H, ER

References
Leake 1835 (republ. 1967): 2.176; Ross 1851: 2.135–136; Vischer 1875: 634–635; Bursian 1862: 156, 165, 188; Philippson 1901: 2148–2149; Beloch 1911: 439–442; Oldfather 1918: 326–327; Schober 1924: 26–27; Oldfather 1926a: 1139–1140; Philippson and Kirsten 1950: 327, 346–348; Bruce 1967: 118–119; Papanagiotou 1971: 280–285; Fossey 1986: 158–159; Pritchett 4.149–151; Lolling 1989: 791–795; Fossey 1990: 169, 175; Adam 2001 (republ. 2003): 27–28; Papakonstantinou (forthcoming a-d, f); 2009; 2010.

Situation
The valley of the River Dipotamos opens out a few kilometres before it reaches the coast to form what is now the Longos plain, so called after the modern settlement built on it (fig. 3.1). The plain can be divided into two main parts: that to the east of the river, where the coastal plain extends to ancient Alope, located at Kastro Melidoni in Opuntian Locris; and the other to the west where a small fertile area becomes narrower towards the west as it approaches the sea from the northern slopes of Mt. Cnemis. It is here we find the Agios Konstantinos bay and the modern town of the same name.[20]

Taking the road inland from the modern coastal resort of Agios Konstantinos, towards Agnanti around the north-eastern side of Mt. Cnemis, after less than two kilometres one comes to a place called Isiomata, southeast of Agios Konstantinos. To the south of the road, on the hillside of Mt. Cnemis, the Fourteenth Ephorate excavations have uncovered part of an ancient settlement dating from the Protogeometric to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period.

Just opposite, to the north of the road, in a strategic position for keeping watch over the mountain, coastal and seafaring routes, there is a high hill

[20] With a population of 3,081 in the 2001 census.

Plate 3.1. The rocky hillock at Isiomata which was first identified by Oldfather as the acropolis of Daphnus.

with a plateau. The side overlooking the sea is very steep, but the hill is accessible from the south. Classical/Hellenistic pottery has been found there and also scattered blocks, obviously the remains of a fortification wall protecting the naturally fortified hillock (Plate 3.1).

Identification

The identification of Daphnus has necessarily been based to the combination of ancient sources and surface material due to the lack of epigraphic evidence.

The first person to observe ruins, which he thought were those of ancient Daphnus, was Ross who, in 1844,[21] found some ancient remains in the church of Agios Konstantinos to the east of what was then known as the village of Vorlovos (situated on the upper slopes west of Agios Konstantinos, near the country church of Agia Paraskevi).

[21] Ross 1851: 2.135–136.

Oldfather,[22] on the other hand, recorded remains on a hill which he referred to as Arkaderi, and also ashlars and towers on another rocky hill with a diameter of about seventy-five metres at Isiomata. He identifies the hill at Arkaderi with a small fortress and the one at Isiomata with the acropolis of Daphnus, both intended for guarding the city's harbour. He did not find the antiquities marked on the British map at Vorlovos or the abundant remains on the French map of the inner part of the bay.

Philippson and Kirsten[23] located Daphnus near the coastal village and the monastery of Agios Konstantinos (today the main church), on a rocky hill back from the coast.

According to Pritchett,[24] when he visited Agios Konstantinos, nobody had heard of the place name Arkaderi but there was a site with abundant remains on a low hill on the other side of an oil factory, southeast of a road that marks the eastern boundary of Agios Konstantinos, where Classical, black glaze and Hellenistic pottery was found. Indeed, even when we tried to locate Arkaderi spelling the toponym as given by Oldfather, the natives did not recognise it—either because it had changed over time as it was passed on or because Oldfather had slightly changed it—but instead they suggested the place name Arkoudara or Arkoudaraina, which may refer to Oldfather's Arkaderi. Arkoudaraina is located on the upper slopes of Mt. Cnemis, southeast of Agios Konstantinos, near the country church of Agios Dimitrios, at the point where the road from Isiomata turns south towards Agnanti. In this location archaeological evidence such as some architectural remains and pottery of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods has been identified in the course of the official surveys carried out by the Fourteenth Ephorate of Antiquities. It may be Oldfather's Arkaderi.

As we cannot safely identify the place where remains were found by Ross, Oldfather is considered the first to clearly describe the hill south-east of Agios Konstantinos and attributes it to the acropolis of Daphnus. The Fourteenth Ephorate's research was immediately faced by the absence of surface material, obviously due to various geological factors such as erosion, even in the Asclepieion area.

Daphnus lies between the borders of Epicnemidian Locris with Opuntian Locris (Str. 9.3.1, 4.1), twenty stades by sea from Cnemis, between Cynus and Alope in Opuntian Locris, to the east, and Cnemis in Epicnemidia, to

22 Oldfather 1926: 1139–1140.
23 Philippson and Kirsten 1950: II.135–136.
24 Pritchett 4.149–151.

the west (Str. 9.4.3–4). According to Strabo, at some point before the first century BC. Daphnus, on the Euboean Gulf, was occupied by the Phocians and subsequently fell into the hands of the Opuntian Locrians (9.3.17). In Strabo's day (9.4.3) it was in ruins and only its harbour was used. The plain of Daphnus is also mentioned in relation to an earthquake known to Demetrius of Callatis (Str. 1.3.20).

In short, Daphnus was a *polis* situated on the coast of the Euboean Gulf or close to it, between Cnemis, in Epicnemidian Locris, to the west and Alope, in Opuntian Locris, on the edge of the Longos plain, to the east. It had its own harbour, which continued to be used after Daphnus was razed to the ground. It had a fertile plain which bore the same name as the city. At some point in its history Daphnus belonged to Phocis and the area was subsequently taken over by the Opuntian Locrians.

The position of Isiomata matches the information given by the ancient authors, especially Strabo. The site is some four kilometres, twenty stades, from Cnemis, the first place one reaches from the eastern end of Epicnemidia. It is also less than a kilometre from the coast, on the bay of Agios Konstantinos, which offers good protection to shipping and where, as we shall see, there may have been a small harbour. To the east, Isiomata is four kilometres from the modern town of Longos. A little further on, some seven kilometres away, are the ruins of the church known as the Basilica of Daphnousion of the Locrians,[25] which has kept the name of the ancient city.[26] Immediately to the south of the church is Kastro Melidoni/Alope, which is in effect the nearest Opuntian *polis*. To the W-NW, on the right and left bank of the River Dipotamos, extends the now fertile plain of Longos, which must be the modern name for the Daphnus plain.

The Excavations at Isiomata

The rescue excavations at Isiomata, above the modern town of Agios Konstantinos, conducted in 2005–2007 during the construction of the Patras-Athens-Thessalonica-Evzonoi highway (P.A.TH.E.) focused on eight sectors

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[25] Chapter 14.

[26] John Fossey's assertion (1990: 92) that Daphnus extended its control to the region of Alope / Melidoni after it was abandoned in the Late Hellenistic-Imperial period is simply a misunderstanding of the bibliography. Koder and Hild (1976: 142) called the region of Melidoni Daphnousia after the Early Christian Church of Daphnousion, although this name was attributed to the church in the early twentieth century by the excavator A. Orlandos (1929a; 1929b) since the region belonged to the modern (post-Turkish) Municipality of Daphnousia. (On the post-Turkish Municipality, Chouliarakis [1973–1974]: part 1: 216, pl. 8; part 2: 269, pl. 17).

Plate 3.2. The Late Classical/Early Hellenistic farmhouse of Sector B at Isiomata (Daphnus).

(A, B, Γ, Δ, E, ΣT, Z, H) and brought to light significant parts of the ancient *asty* of Daphnus and its cemeteries.[27] These finds offer the first proper, though fragmentary, picture of the ancient city, which can be correlated with the ancient sources.

Sector A: Farmhouse of Late Classical-Early Hellenistic date and scanty residential remains of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine period (Plate 3.2).

Sector B: Retaining walls, residential architectural remains, part of a water pipe associated with a well, fortification circuit of Late Classical date. Tile-covered graves and a burial pithos.

[27] On the cemeteries of Daphnus, Papakonstantinou and Karantzali, Chapter 4; Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming c; Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming d.

Sector Γ: Residential architectural remains dating from Sub-Protogeometric to Early Classical period. Parts of two apsidal buildings of Geometric date and a third dated to Late Archaic-Early Classical times.

Sector Δ: Architectural remains of different construction phases and periods attributed to a sanctuary, dating from the Late Geometric to Early Hellenistic period. A semi-circular enclosure and a rectangular construction where many miniature vases were found were also excavated.

Sector E: A group burial consisting of 25 human skeletons, and a small animal burial, both dated to Classical times. In the surrounding area scanty architectural remains in cavities in the virgin soil full of burnt layers suggest the earlier use of the space during the Geometric period for smelting activities (Plate 4.15 of Chapter four).

Sector ΣΤ: Rectangular building complex interpreted as a sanctuary of Asclepius[28] (Plate 3.3). It consists of two different buildings, A and B (*enkoimeterion* = sleeping place for incubation, *abaton*, *loutron*), and the temple of the god. A monumental rectangular altar, an *eschara* full of ashes and seven pits (*bothroi*) were found in the open part of the sanctuary. Material from sacrifice and ritual activity was found in the pits and in a thick layer to the east of the altar. Among the finds, a bronze snake figurine, bronze bracelets with snake-headed edges (Plate 3.4), ritual vases and inscribed sherds bearing the name of the god confirm the attribution.

The use of the area as an open-air shrine goes back to the late sixth century (Plate 3.5) and continued until the end of the fifth century BC, when Building B was erected. Building A was constructed by the mid-fourth century. Finally, in the Early Hellenistic Period, a small temple in antis was added to Building A. The sanctuary was destroyed at the end of the second century/beginning of the first century BC. Fine pottery, two numismatic hoards containing issues of Macedonian Kings, Aetolia, Sicyon, Chalcis, Thespiae, Phocis, Locris, Dyrrachium, metal artefacts and sculpture (votive stelae depicting healing scenes, statuettes of children) came to light, indicating the importance of the sanctuary.

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28 Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming c; Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming d; Papakonstantinou forthcoming f; Papakonstantinou 2009; Papakonstantinou 2010.

Plate 3.3. The Asclepieion during the construction of the Patras-Athens-Thessalonica-Evzonoi highway (P.A.TH.E.)

Plate 3.4. Bronze bracelet with snake-headed terminals from the Asclepieion of Daphnus.

Plate 3.5. Miniature cups (kotyliskes) from the Asclepieion (sixth century BC).

Sector Z: Architectural remains dated to the Late Roman/Early Christian period were located about 1 km to the west of Daphnus.

Sector H: Two groups of late Classical tile-covered graves and a horse burial were excavated to the south of the fortified hill of Daphnus.

The Foundation of Daphnus—The Legendary Rivalry between Locrians and Phocians

The lack of EH-LH finds in the area allows us to correlate the earlier period of occupation in Daphnus (Sub-Protogeometric/Geometric period, sectors Γ, Δ, E) with the suggestion that the Locrian nation was formed during this period.[29] This assumption is quite relevant to the ethnological processes that started at the same time amongst the neighbouring Phocians, who would claim Daphnus in the following period.

According to the scholiast of the Homeric poems, Ornytus, the father of the hero Phocus, eponymous hero of the Phocians, aided the people of Hyampolis in a war against the Locrians.[30] A scholiast of Euripides adds they were fighting for control of Daphnus.[31] Strabo says that the tomb of Schedius, one of the Phocian kings in Troy, was said to be here.[32]

The legendary tradition described above could relate to the war between Phocians and Thessalians in the sixth century, when the Phocians constructed the Phocian wall in Thermopylae and controlled Epicnemidian Locris.[33] The Phocians' national legend originated in this period; in it their

29 Dakoronia 2003a: 343.
30 Schol. *in Il.* 2.517b (Erbse).
31 Schol. *in Eur. Orest.* 1094.
32 Str. 9.3.17.
33 Hdt. 7.176; Ellinger 1993: 208.

legendary kings, Schedius and Epistrophus, the sons of Iphitus and grandsons of the Aeginetian Phocus, played a central role. In addition, they had good reason to occupy Daphnus, since it was a port connected by road to their major city, Elateia.[34]

With Daphnus under their control, the Phocians were able not only to prevent invasions by the Thessalians and had access to the Euboean Gulf, but could also expand their cultural influence and enforce their national rights, which served to justify their expansion into Eastern Locris. Typically there was another tomb of Iphitus' sons in Anticyra,[35] although they were kings of Panopeus. By establishing the tombs of their Homeric kings on the seas to which they had access (Euboean, Corinthian) the Phocians defined their territory and promoted their rights in the East and West.[36] It is no coincidence that, according to Pausanias, during this particular "period" of Aeginetian Phocus the name Phocis spread from Orchomenus to Scarpheia.[37]

It is not certain whether the foundation of the sanctuary as an open-air shrine in the late sixth century BC was related to Phocian cultural influence in any way, or was the Locrian reaction to it. However, their rivalry in Archaic times was the main reason for choosing different sides in the Peloponnesian War.

We can assume that Phocian control did not continue in the Classical period, to judge from the close co-operation of the Eastern Locrians (Epicnemidians and Hypocnemidians) that led to the city flourishing, as evidenced by the finds at Isiomata.

The Importance of Asclepius' Cult in Daphnus

The cult of Asclepius in Daphnus is apparently related to Central Greece's version of the legend concerning the god's birth that was spread by national groups migrating from Thessaly to the region of Locris, Phocis and Boeotia, where it acquired its final form. The transmission of the Thessalian legend and the integration with the legendary elements of the new region started in Geometric times and was completed in the Late Archaic period;[38] this was the period of the legendary rivalry between Locrians and Phocians

34 Zachos 2003a: 306, 308.
35 Paus. 10.36.10.
36 Cf. McInerney 1999: 138–139.
37 Paus. 2.29.3–4; Zachos 2003a: 308.
38 Zachos 2003a: 300–303.

for the control of Daphnus, the foundation of the city and the earlier activity in the sanctuary (sixth century BC).

Finally, it is no coincidence that Asclepius' cult is widespread in Ozolian Locris and particularly in Amphissa,[39] and also in the colony of the Eastern Locrians, Naupactus,[40] founded in early fifth century BC.[41]

The Sanctuary of Asclepius in Classical and Hellenistic Times

An attempt to monumentalise the shrine with the construction of Building B (*enkoimeterion*, *abaton*, *loutron*) may have started at the end of the fifth century. This work, possibly interrupted by the Corinthian and the Third Sacred War, continued from the middle to the end of the fourth century. In this period a monumental altar was constructed over one of the *bothroi*, Building A (*katagogeion* = for the consumption of common meals) and a small temple in antis with *prodomos* and *sekos* were founded.[42] This large scale reorganization of the sanctuary may be related to the end of the Phocian domination and the return of Daphnus to Locrian hands. At the same time Epicnemidians and Hypocnemidians/Opuntians issued coins and a confederacy of the Eastern Locrians was established. The issuing of coinage is evidence that Locris could afford to finance the reorganisation of the sanctuary's buildings. The decrease of activity in the sanctuary as the third century advanced may be related to the geopolitical status of Locris from 279 BC onwards, when it came under Aetolian, Boeotian or Macedonian domination.[43]

The destruction and abandonment of the sanctuary and the city is dated to the late second or early first century BC and may be the subject of Strabo's reference to Daphnus being in ruins and only its harbour being used. It could also have occurred during the first Mithridatic war. According to Plutarch, Sulla destroyed Halae in Opuntian Locris after his victory on the Orchomenus battlefield (86 BC) because it was used to get supplies to his enemies. However, it is not certain that Daphnus shared the same fate, since there is no evidence relating to the city's role during the war, so it

39 *IG* IX 1^2 3:752–755.

40 *IG* IX 1^2 3:612–623; according to Pausanias (10.38.13) the sanctuary was founded around 300 BC. Edelstein 1945: I. T717, II.247; in general on Asclepius' cult in Central Greece, Reithmüller 2005: I.79–80, 108–118; II.246–281.

41 *IG* IX 1^2 3:718; Tod *GHI* I, 31–36, no. 24; Graham 1971: 45–58; Fornara 1983: 46–49 no. 47; Beck 1999.

42 Papakonstantinou 2010.

43 Chapter 13.

cannot be ruled out that the sanctuary and the city were destroyed by the Mithridatic troops.[44] The sanctuary appears to have been abandoned even before it was destroyed, and it has been argued that the construction of a small wall that sealed the entrance of the temple was an attempt to prevent the desecration of the site after it was abandoned or before the impending calamity. The disaster was violent, since fragments of the altar's *krateutes* were found several metres away from their original position.[45]

The port, as will be discussed below, took in the population when the city was abandoned.

Earthquakes in Classical and Hellenistic Times: The Evidence Provided by Excavation

The earthquakes that according to the ancient sources struck the city are a significant chapter in Daphnus' history. Recent excavations have brought to light considerable evidence that can be associated with them.

The excavations at Isiomata reveal traces of seismic activity (deformations of walls, disintegrating soil layers and cracks in the rock mass of the slope). These traces may be related to Thucydides' reference to a series of earthquakes that struck southeast Sterea Hellas in 427/6 BC[46] causing considerable damage in many cities of the region.[47] The "tsunamis" that followed the earthquakes and flooded the coastal zone are an indication of their violence.[48] This earthquake may have been associated with the reorganization of Asclepius' sanctuary and the construction of Building B (*enkoimeterion*, *abaton*, *loutron*).[49]

Thucydides' reference is usually associated with the information provided by Demetrius of Callatis, mentioned by Strabo, about an earthquake followed by a triple tsunami that struck the cities of the Euboean and Malian Gulf, and also the plain of Daphnus. Indeed, in Scarpheia there were about 1,700 victims.[50] However, it has been argued that Demetrius' information is not about the earthquake of 427/6 BC but a seismic event that occurred in his own times.[51]

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44 Chapter 14.

45 Papakonstantinou 2010.

46 Cf. also Th. 3.87. 4, 89.2–5; Gomme 1966: 389–392, *ad. loc.* Fossey 1990: 183–184.

47 Stiros and Dakoronia 1989: 431–432; Daverio Rocchi 1998: 320–321, 325–326; Buck and Stewart 2000: 33–44.

48 Waldherr 1997: 45, 121 ff.; Papazachos and Papazachou 1989: 222.

49 Papakonstantinou forthcoming f.

50 Str. 1.3.20 (= Demetrius of Callatis *FGrH* 85 F6); Aujac 1994: 228–230.

51 Béquignon 1937a: 70–73; Papaioannou, Papadopoulos and Pavlides 2004.

To be precise, an earthquake is mentioned in a letter send by the Dorian city of Cytinium to the people of the Lycian Xanthus.[52] The earthquake demolished the walls of the Dorian and Phocian cities and gave Antigonus III Doson the opportunity to gain control of these two regions. It is unlikely that such an earthquake would have left both Eastern Locris and Daphnus intact.

The earthquake was dated by G. Daverio Rocchi to 229–227 BC and, in her view, it was the cause of the ebbing tide mentioned by Polybius as having left the ships of Antigonus III stranded on in the shore of Larymna.[53] B. Meissner, on the other hand, believed it to be the earthquake that struck Rhodes in 227 BC and, according to the Megalopolitan historian, was felt in Continental Greece as well.[54] However, although the receding tide was certainly caused by the earthquake, Polybius refers to the ebbing in Larymna bay and the seismic activity in Rhodes without connecting these two events. Besides, in order to destroy the walls of the Phocian and Dorian cities, the epicentre of the earthquake must have been close by, probably in the fissure of Atalanti. Also, if the ebb tide in Larymna bay and the earthquake referred to in the inscription were connected, the sea should have returned in the form of a tsunami as it did in the 427/6 BC and AD 551 earthquakes that produced similar disasters in Locris.[55] On the contrary, in the case of Larymna, a Boeotian army arrived after the ebb but decided not to attack Antigonus, and then the sea returned allowing the Macedonian fleet to sail away. Thus this event was nothing more than what Polybius calls "a strange ebb tide", possibly due to the characteristic phenomena of the Euboean Gulf (cf. Euripus phenomenon), which was not familiar to the Macedonians. However, the meaning of the passage is quite clear: because of this event Antigonus failed to control the area and sailed away to Asia. So there is definitely no connection between this episode, the destruction of the cities' walls and the occupation of the region by Antigonus.

The earthquake, therefore, would have occurred in 224 BC when the Macedonian king descended from Macedonia to the Peloponnese and took control of Thermopylae. Maybe Doson occupied Eastern Locris in these

52 Bousquet 1988; Walbank 1989; Le Bohec 1993: 159–161; Scholten 1987: 316–321.

53 Daverio Rocchi, 1998: 321–323. On the incident in Larymna, Polyb. 20.5.7–11.

54 Diod. 26. 8; Polyb. 5.88.1–3; Meissner 1998: 254–256; Papazachos and Papazachou 1989: 225.

55 Chapters 12 and 14; Papazachos and Papazachou 1989: 221–222, 229–230.

years as well, but not for long,[56] since the Locrians appear on the Aetolian side in the battle of Sellasia (222 BC).[57]

Deformations observed in the walls of the farmhouse excavated in Sector A may have been caused by this particular earthquake.

2. *Agios Konstantinos = the Harbour of Daphnus*

Inscriptions
IG IX 1, 288–289 = *IG* XII 9, 1237, cf. *IG* IX 1^2, 5, p. 100

Sources
Str. 9.4.3

References
Philippaki, Symeonoglou and Pharaklas 1967: 246; Lazaridis 1969: 219; Lazaridis 1970: 265–267; Papanagiotou 1971: 283–284; Lazaridis 1972: 391; Pritchett 4. 149–151; Fossey 1990: 169, 175; Sythiakaki 2002: 117; Papakonstantinou and Kounouklas *AD* forthcoming; Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g; Kakavas *AD* forthcoming; Papageorgiou *AD* forthcoming; Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming h.

Pottery
H, R, LR, EC, B

Situation
The importance of Daphnus was strongly related to its strategic position at a point where the land corridor leading from the Cephisus valley to the Euboean Gulf reaches the sea (Figure 3.1). The Phocians' geopolitical interest in the Euboean Gulf outlet (see above) further increased its importance. At this particular point the bay of the modern town of Agios Konstantinos offers a privileged natural shelter for mooring, which would not have been neglected in Antiquity. This is attested by the ancient sources as well as by archaeological finds.

Identification
Strabo (9.4.3.) situates the harbour of Daphnus at a distance of about ninety stades from Cynus and one hundred and twenty from Elateia. Rescue excavations in both the centre and the suburbs of the town have brought to light architectural remains of the Hellenistic, Late Roman, Early Christian and

56 Cf. Zachos 1997; Zachos 2013: 93–95.
57 Chapter 13.

Byzantine periods and graves of the Classical, Roman and later periods, indicating the significance of the area during these periods.

After the site at Isiomata was abandoned in the Early Roman period, Daphnus was not inhabited again.[58] However, archaeological finds suggest that the coastal city was not only inhabited, but obviously flourishing, at least during the Late Roman, Early Christian and Byzantine periods.

The Excavations at Agios Konstantinos

Building complexes dating to these periods have been identified and partially excavated at three different locations in the modern town. In the main square, under the foundation of the church of Agios Konstantinos and Eleni, there are the remains of a baths complex of the Late Roman-Early Christian period that was used until the Middle Byzantine period. In the same area, the remains of a Palaeo-Christian Basilica are reported and mosaics with pictorial (Late Roman) or geometric (Early Christian) decoration have been found.[59] Important buildings (Th. & E. Karras plot in Megalou Alexandrou and Euvoikou Str.; Chr. & M. Papastamatis plot in the area of Agios Ioannis)[60] and residential areas containing luxurious houses with mosaics,[61] stoas and peristylia[62] testify to the prosperity of the city and groups of graves (Chapter 4, plates 16, 17, 20, 21 and 22)[63] indicate the distribution of the necropoleis and also the perimeter of the settlement. Last but not least, the location of these discoveries, very close to the modern coastline, indicates that the ancient coastline was at a considerable distance from the foot of Mt. Cnemis, at least from the Early Hellenistic period onwards.

Roman and Late Roman finds removed from the church of Agios Konstantinos are also reported. At the south gate of the church, a statue base bearing two inscriptions (*IG* IX 1, 288–289) has been re-used as a doorstep.[64] The first inscription concerns a statue dedicated by boule and demos in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) and Caesar Geta (AD 211–212) and the second refers to a statue of Gordian (AD 238–244), erected by

58 Until the Early Christian (excavation sector Z) and Byzantine period (excavation sector A at Isiomata).

59 Philippaki, Symeonoglou and Pharaklas 1967: 246; Lazaridis 1969: 219; Lazaridis 1970: 265–267; Papanagiotou 1971: 283; Lazaridis 1972: 391; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987: II.169 n. 222; Sythiakaki 2002: 117; Kakavas *AD* forthcoming.

60 Papageorgiou *AD* forthcoming; Papakonstantinou and Kounouklas *AD* forthcoming.

61 Papakonstantinou and Kounouklas *AD* forthcoming.

62 Papageorgiou *AD* forthcoming.

63 Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali, Chapter 4.

64 Papanagiotou 1971: 283–284.

the *polis* of Histiaea, an Euboean city across the Gulf opposite Agios Konstantinos. Also, a funeral column decorated with two busts,[65] possibly of Late Roman date, has been removed and is now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Atalanti.

Evidence of pre-Roman settlement is limited and this may be due to various factors. If the starting point of our approach is that Daphnus, for the above reasons, undoubtedly had a harbour, its exact location should be determined by the configuration of the coast; logically it would have been situated in the heart of the bay, like the modern port of Agios Konstantinos. But what happened to this harbour over the time, or, at least, where are the earlier remains of the coastal settlement before the Early Roman period?

The only pre-Roman structural evidence in the town are the remains of a well-preserved Early Hellenistic building, probably of industrial use (Plate 3.6), in the centre of the modern town[66] (Agiou Georgiou and 25th of March streets). Displaced destruction layers mixed with abundant pottery and movable finds in the area surrounding the building reflect the depositional activity of the many streams that flow down Mt. Cnemis and carry the alluvial sediments to the coast.[67] In addition, this coast is sporadically subjected to devastating high-energy events associated with tsunamis. These have recurred over time and are known from the historical sources and from a morphological analysis of the shore of this Aegean coast (see above and Chapter 1).

The Hellenistic building discovered, if it was not an isolated construction, would probably suggest the inhabitation of the area of the modern town and port of Agios Konstantinos from at least the Early Hellenistic period onwards, and this would be the favoured location for the harbour of Daphnus. Archaeological strata of Classical (before the earthquake and the tsunami of 427/26 BC) and pre-Classical date may well have been buried and lie at deeper levels or even further south, closer to the foothills of Mt. Cnemis, following the ancient coastline of the period. Finally, it is obvious that any attempt to locate port facilities in the area of an alluvial fan would be pointless.

65 Papanagiotou 1971: 284, pl. 168.

66 Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming h. The floor level of the building was 2.00 m. below street level and 5.30 m. below sea level, which indicates the maximum sea level at this period.

67 The need to address this phenomenon, which still occurs today, led to the construction of the drainage (Flow Control Dam), which revealed the structure.

Plate 3.6. Early Hellenistic building probably for industrial use at Agios Konstantinos (the harbour of Daphnus).

3. *The Excavations at Rachi Vathyrematos—Dichalorematos*

At Rachi (Figure 3.1), on a ridge between Vathyrema and Dichalorema, about two kilometres east of the ancient city of Daphnus, a farmhouse or outpost for keeping watch over the mountain passes and the coastal zone was excavated during the construction of the new highway. Two building phases of the Late Hellenistic period were brought to light.[68]

4. *Agnanti*

Pottery
LH IIIA–C, SM, PG, H, R

References
Spyropoulos 1970a; Papanagiotou 1971: 285–287; 2007: 27–41; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 263; Leekley and Efstratiou 1980: 119.

Situation
There are two sites near the modern town of Agnanti.[69] At Agnanti/Profitis Ilias, a steep hill one kilometre to the northeast of the modern village, there are traces of dry-built fortification walls as well as coarse and Roman pottery.[70] Also a Mycenaean sword found here is reported.[71] At Kritharia, on a hillside just on the southwest edge of the village, several chamber tombs belonging to a necropolis dating to between the LH III A and the Proto-Geometric (including at least LH III A, LH III C, Sub-Mycenaean and Proto-Geometric) have been excavated.[72] Architectural remains and pottery of the Hellenistic and Roman periods are also reported from two locations, in the northeast (Triantafyllou plot, where there are also architectural remains) and to the south of the village (near Sykamnies).

Identification
From the information available to us at present, the site cannot be identified with an ancient name. It is a small site, probably a *chorion* of Daphnus that cultivated the plain of the same name around it, known as Agnanti, and kept watch over the exit of the Steni Pass and Tachtali to the west,

68 Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming b.
69 329 inhabitants in the 2001 census.
70 Papanagiotou 1971: 285; Dimaki, Chapter 9.
71 Papanagiotou 2007: 29–30; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali, Chapter 4; Dimaki, Chapter 9.
72 Spyropoulos 1970: 235–237; Papanagiotou 1971: 285–287, pl. 170; Papanagiotou 2007:29–30.

two routes into Epicnemidian Locris. From Agnanti the traveller could go south to Hyampolis and north to Daphnus.

5. *Zeli*

Inscriptions
IG IX 1^2 5: 1942

Pottery
LH II–LH IIIC, SM, PG, A, H, B

References
Dakoronia 1977a: 104; 1978b: 139; 1979: 186; 1980: 240–242; 1985a: 171–173; 1986: 68; 1987a: 234; 1999: 181–186 notes 5–6; Lampropoulou 1982: 189; Catling 1986: 41–42; 1988: 35; 1989: 49; Jeffery 1990: 107; French 1991: 47; 1994: 50; Tomlinson 1996: 24; Blackman 1997: 63; 1998: 74.

Situation
The modern town of Zeli lies to the south of the confluence of the Dipotamos and the Dafnorema Rivers.[73] On a low hill known as Agios Georgios, 1.5 kilometres to the south-southeast of the village, a Late Bronze Age necropolis was excavated beside the road to Kalapodi. Twenty-nine chamber tombs have been documented with finds of vases of various shapes such as piriform and stirrup jars, kylikes, cups, alabastra, askoi in the shape of birds, terracotta figurines, steatite buttons, agate and vitreous paste beads and lentoids decorated with animal designs (Chapter 4, plates 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). Their chronology extends from LH II to the LH III C period with evidence of reuse during the Proto-Geometric and Hellenistic periods. Close to the area where the Mycenaean cemetery was excavated, a Hellenistic tomb was discovered, containing a mass burial of four skeletons in situ and the bones of nine secondary burials. Four circular cavities had been carved into the soft rock on the north side of the grave. These were found to contain animal bones and Byzantine sherds. Another Late Helladic necropolis with eight plundered rock-cut chamber tombs was excavated at Kvela, 1 km to the northeast of the village, on the road leading to Tachtali.[74]

A tombstone from the outskirts of Zeli, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century, provides evidence of Archaic occupation.[75]

73 910 inhabitants in the 2001 census.
74 Papakonstantinou and Karantzali, Chapter 4; Dimaki, Chapter 9.
75 *IG* IX 1^2 5: 1942: a tombstone of conglomeratic limestone, or porous, which was used as

Identification

As in the case of Agnanti, this is a small settlement which farmed the Zeli plain, and guarded the route to Hyampolis, which is impossible to identify on the basis of our knowledge at present. Rescue excavations in the surrounding area and accidental finds suggest that it was inhabited from at least the Late Helladic II to Byzantine times throughout the Protogeometric, Archaic and Hellenistic periods. Both settlements, at Agnanti and Zeli, were probably *choria* of Daphnus' territory. Furthermore, if the sanctuaries at Kalapodi and Elateia (Athena Cranaia) could be interpreted as border-land Phocian sanctuaries,[76] the population of Zeli could be attributed to a border Locrian settlement on the southernmost edge of Locris.

Territory and Frontiers of Daphnus

The eastern frontier of Daphnus would have been the left bank of the River Dipotamos, with the right bank forming part of Opuntian Locris. To the north its territory ended at the Euboean Gulf, to the south it shared a border with the Phocian *polis* of Abae, to which the sanctuary at Kalapodi belonged, according to a recent interpretation, to the west with Epicnemidian Locris, where it would have come close to Cnemis and Tachtali, and to south-west to the Phocian Elateia.[77]

The territory of Daphnus includes a polis at Isiomata, the harbour at Agios Konstantinos and the choria of Zeli and Agnanti.[78] Its most fertile areas would have been the plains of Zeli and Agnanti and the western part of the Longos / Daphnus plain. It had easy access to the south by a road along the west of the Dipotamos valley to Hyampolis, passing through contemporary villages Zeli and Agnanti.

the cover of a tomb, was unearthed by some labourers on a mountainside near Zeli at a place called *es tà pásana dendra*. Cf. Jeffery 1990: 107 for dating.

[76] Kalapodi: Ellinger 1993: 36–38; Elateia: Zachos 2003–2004: 211; Zachos and Dimaki 2006: esp. 877.

[77] Zachos 2003–2004: 210, 212, pl. 42.

[78] The tower of Mt. Blesia probably belonged to Epicnemidia or Daphnus and was built to guard Epicnemidian Locris.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NECROPOLEIS OF EPICNEMIDIAN LOCRIS AND DIPOTAMOS VALLEY

Maria-Foteini Papakonstantinou* and Efi Karantzali*

1. Introduction

Generally speaking, the study of necropoleis provides us with information on life expectancy, living standards, cultural affinities, social organisation and burial customs that can be discussed and lead to interesting conclusions. Cemeteries should be treated as a mirror of life when abundant funerary material is available, and even when data are limited, as in the case of the necropoleis of the area studied.

The region of the Epicnemidian Locrians (Figure 4.1) extended west and south of Mt. Cnemis and north and east from of Mt. Callidromus. To the west lay Malis, Oetaea and Aenis, to the south Doris and Phocis, to the east Opuntian Locris and to the north, the Malian and Euboean Gulfs.[1]

The western part of Epicnemidia was a mountainous region between Mt. Oeta and the River Latzorema, with Mt. Callidromus to the south. In this area three ancient settlements (probably *poleis*) have been located at Psylopyrgos (ancient Alponus), Roumelio-Platanakos (ancient Nicaea) and Paliokastro Anavras.

Psylopyrgos was a coastal fortified hill of strategic importance, which probably formed part of the Thermopylae defensive system. It lies to the north of the Athens-Lamia national highway, close to the East Gate of the Thermopylae Pass. It has been inhabited from the Middle Helladic period to Early Byzantine times and has been convincingly identified with the ancient small *polis* of Alponus (Alpenus). Alponus had a port, worshiped

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[1] For the ancient topography of all the sites mentioned below see Pascual, Chapter 2, and Papakonstaninou and Zachos, Chapter 3 in this volume.

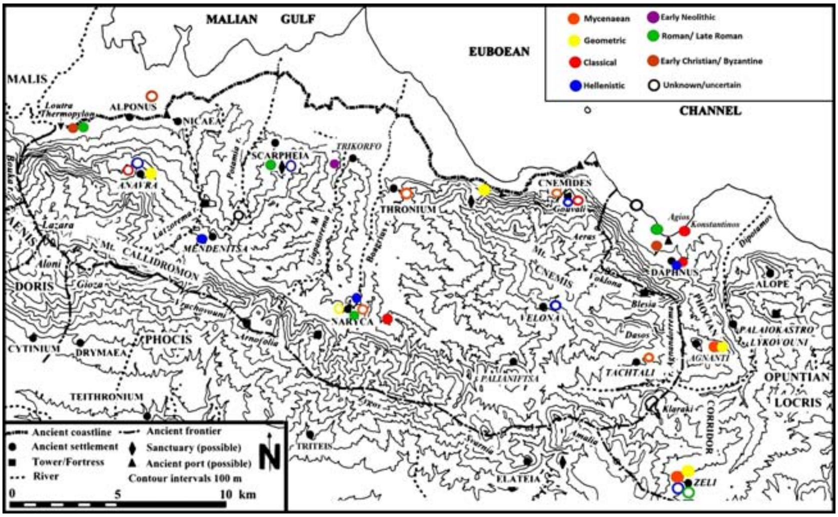

Figure 4.1. Map of the Necropoleis of Epicnemidian Locris and Dipotamos valley.

Demeter Thesmophoriae and probably Heracles at the Melampygus Rock. The Anopaea path also led to the city.

About two kilometres to the east and three kilometres from the East Gate of Thermopylae, the site Roumelio/Platanakos has been identified with the *polis* of Nicaea. This was a port city in a defensive position that guarded the Thermopylae Pass, and was founded in Classical times; it flourished during the Hellenistic period and was also inhabited in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

To the south, at a strategic position on the plateau of Anavra, there is an ancient site whose name has not yet been identified with any certainty. At the site of Palaiokastro, a fortified acropolis with the best-preserved wall in the whole Epicnemidian Locris is sited on a high crest. Palaiokastro was either a *polis* or a fortified settlement during the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

There is, so far, no evidence of cemeteries associated with the cities of Alponus and Nicaea. However, at Paliokastro Anavras, part of a Late Geometric cemetery has been excavated and tombs dating to Classical and Hellenistic periods are also reported, showing that the site was inhabited during these periods.

Further East, in the valleys of Mendenitsa, Potamia and Aivlassiorema, are the ancient towns of Scarpheia and Mendenitsa (probably ancient Augeae) and the remains of two fortresses, one at Profitis Ilias/Karavydia

and another at Stefani, dating to the Classical/Hellenistic times. Scarpheia is situated south-southeast of the modern town of Molos at a place called Trochala, not far from the village of Agios Charalambos. It was an important city in Epicnemidian Locris, the second after Thronium until the end of the Hellenistic period. The architectural surface remains and pottery sherds indicate that the place was inhabited from at least the Archaic to the Late Roman period. Plundered tombs and tombstones are reported, possibly from a Hellenistic cemetery, while only Late Roman tombs have been excavated, indicating that the Roman necropolis extended to the south-southwest and southeast of modern Molos.

The ancient town located at modern Mendenitsa, a mountainous crossroad where many routes met, was a *polis* or *kome* from the Classical to the end of Hellenistic period. This is evidenced by black glaze pottery in the area and walls of isodomic masonry at the Medieval fortress. The necropolis of Mendenitsa was situated outside the fortification wall, probably to the south, and occupies part of the plan of the modern village.

In the central part of the country, on the right bank of the River Boagrius, Thronium, the most important city of Epicnemidian Locris, was located at the site Palaiokastro eis ta marmara/Bzika/Pikraki. Architectural remains of the city dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods have recently been excavated but no burial places or tombs associated with the ancient city have been identified. The investigation of an important cemetery of the Protogeometric and Geometric period near Agios Dimitrios/Kamena Vourla indicates the presence of a Geometric settlement in the area. The closest city to this necropolis is Thronium, but the distance between them does not support their direct association.

About 2.5 km to the west of Thronium, on the eastern slope of a low hill on the left bank of the River Boagrius, the remains of an Early Neolithic settlement were excavated during the construction of the new railway line. An important find was a cremation burial in a bowl dated to this period. Further west, higher up the same hill, excavations brought to light the architectural remains of a *villa rustica* dated to the late second/mid-third century AD. The site is probably associated with ancient Tarphe/Pharygae.

Palaiokastra Renginiou is situated in the Boagrius valley, to the south of Thronium, in a position of strategic importance, 3.5 km to the northeast of the modern village of Rengini. The ancient *polis* of Naryx has been identified here, thanks to an inscription.[2] At Palaiokastra lie the Archaic remains of the

2 *SEG* 3.425; Pappadakis 1920/1: 142; 1923: 143; Pritchett 4.156 ff.; Dakoronia 1993a: 117.

earliest fortified acropolis of Epicnemidian Locris, as well as fortification walls and the foundation walls of buildings dating to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Pottery sherds, dated mainly to historical but also to prehistoric times, indicate the continuous occupation of the site from at least the Middle Helladic to the Late Roman period. Scattered graves of different types and periods from the Classical (fifth century BC) to the Early Christian period (fifth century AD) have been excavated to the south-southwest and southeast of the acropolis on the Palaiokastra hill, as well as to the southeast of the village, after clandestine digs and public works had revealed the sites of various necropoleis in the area. Moreover, occasional Geometric finds demonstrate that the site was inhabited during this period.

At Cnemides, Gouvali (or Vouvali), Velona and Tachtali there were settlements and fortresses dating to historical times (from Classical to Roman times). Cnemides is mentioned as a fortified settlement; together with Tachtali and the tower on Mt. Blesia, it defended the northeast and southeast of Epicnemidian Locris. Tombs are reported at Cnemides/Gouvali and also at Neochori. Destroyed tombs are also noted in the region of Velona.

Daphnus was a Locrian city on the border between Epicnemidian and Opuntian Locris. It was situated at the eastern edge of the northern slopes of Mt. Cnemis overlooking the bay of Agios Konstantinos. Recent excavations have brought to light the remains of structures and burials belonging to the ancient city. The finds allow the necropoleis to be dated to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Some other groups of graves of the Late Classical, Roman and Early Christian periods have also been found in the adjacent coastal area of Agios Konstantinos. Further south-southwest in the valley, important Mycenaean cemeteries, sometimes used until the Protogeometric, have been excavated at Agnanti and Zeli (Agios Georgios and Kvela).

2. The Cemeteries of the Prehistoric Period

Our knowledge on the prehistoric cemeteries in Epicnemidian Locris and Dipotamos valley is poor, mainly because of the lack of excavations. The earliest burial find in the whole region, as well as the rest of modern Phthiotis, is a cremation pot burial of the Early Neolithic period (Figure 4.1, purple) found at Trikorfo Renginiou, near Thronium.[3] There is no evidence to

[3] Dimaki *AD* forthcoming; Froussou 2006: p. 645, pl. 7.

indicate the presence of any Early and Middle Bronze Age cemeteries. However, Mycenaean chamber tombs are recorded at some sites, most of which have been opened and plundered (Figure 4.1, orange). Since no excavations have been carried out at any of these sites, the dating of these tombs remains uncertain. This is the case of some plundered rock-cut chamber tombs of Mycenaean type reported at Mnimata Pournaras (Adam 2001: 44) near Rengini Palaiokastra, the ancient fortified acropolis and city of Naryx. Destroyed rock-cut chamber tombs of Mycenaean type are also noted at Pournarotsouba (Karanaseika-Bakataseika) near the ancient city of Thronium (Adam 2001: 34). The excavations by the Fourteenth Ephorate at Thronium have not uncovered any prehistoric material. A probable cemetery location of rock-cut chamber tombs of Mycenaean type is reported at Cnemides, a coastal site in southeast Epicnemidian Locris, at the modern area Asproneri, near the national highway (Papanagiotou 1971: 293).

A plundered Mycenaean cemetery is also known at Tachtali, approximately 2 km southwest of Agnanti, near the western bank of the Agnantorema torrent (Papanagiotou 1971: 287). Occupation during prehistoric and historical periods is also recorded at Kastri, probably indicating the existence of a settlement that would have been associated the cemetery.

Apart from this very scattered evidence of Mycenaean cemeteries in Epicnemidian Locris, which has not been confirmed by excavation, an important Mycenaean cemetery was uncovered in excavations by the Ninth Ephorate of Thebes in the Dipotamos valley. This is the site of Agnanti, which is 4.5 km to the south-southeast of Daphnus, on Mt. Cnemis, in the inner part and at the southern end of the valley. Near the village, at a place called Kritharia, a cemetery (five tombs) was discovered, which is significant because it was used throughout the Mycenaean (LHIIIA, fourteenth century BC), Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods (eleventh–tenth centuries BC). The rock-cut chamber tombs were elliptical or trapezoidal in plan with long sloping dromos. The secondary burials were accumulated mainly on the northern side of the chambers. The majority of the vases date to the LHIIIC. The predominant shape is the stirrup jar of the LHIIIC period. Other Mycenaean vases, such as alabastra, pyxides, piriform jars, jugs, kraters, are all dated to the LHIIIA and LHIIIB–IIIC periods. A painted amphora of Sub-Mycenaean/Protogeometric type is amongst the later burials. The finds include bronze personal items, such as pins, fibulae, rings, a bone pin, steatite conical and biconical “spindle-whorls” of the usual Mycenaean type and a simple gold ring (Spyropoulos 1970: 235–237). Occasional finds from the same region, such as a bronze Mycenaean sword with an

engraved spiral motif, demonstrate the importance of the site during the Mycenaean period (Papanagiotou 1971: 285–287).

Deeper in the Dipotamos valley, the activity of the Fourteenth Ephorate brought to light important Mycenaean cemeteries at Agios Georgios and Kvela Zeliou.

The excavated part of the cemetery at Agios Georgios Zeliou consists of twenty-nine rock-cut chamber tombs, which are located mainly on the northern slope of the hill of Agios Georgios.[4] The chambers are of square, elliptical, horseshoe and irregular rectangular shapes. The stomion of the entrance is apsidal or arched towards the top and sealed with a dry-built wall. There is one example with a saddle type ceiling (Lampropoulou 1982: 189). The dromoi vary in size and the entrances of most of them face north. Only six tombs were uncovered on the southern slope of the hill, with the entrance facing south. Most of the tombs had been disturbed and plundered. The undisturbed ones contained vases dated from LHII–IIIA to LHIIIB–C, such as piriform jars, thelastra, jugs, juglets, many alabastra of various types and sizes (Plate 4.1), stirrup jars, bird-shaped askoi (Plate 4.2), deep bowls, kylikes, cups, anthropomorphic (type Φ and Ψ, Plate 4.3) and zoomorphic figurines (a horse's head, birds) and beads made of various materials (steatite, glass-paste, agate), seals and steatite "spindle-whorls". One chamber had an elliptical niche cut in the south side. In the niche, the remains of probably the first inhumations were discovered, namely three spherical one-handled alabastra (LHII), a spherical grey ware alabastron and steatite "spindle-whorls" (Dakoronia 1980: 242).

The discovery of some objects of a later date, such as a large bronze ring, a small iron knife and a handmade plain jug in a plundered tomb, indicates that it was re-used during the Protogeometric period. This is a common custom in Locrian cemeteries (Elateia-Alonaki: Dakoronia 1988d: 229) as well as in cemeteries in the Spercheius valley (Bikiorema-Stavros: Dakoronia 1994: 233–242. Kompotades: Karantzali *AD* forthcoming c). One of the tombs on the northern side of the hill had also been reused, according to the finds, during the Hellenistic period (Dakoronia 1980: 242).

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4 Dakoronia 1977b: 104, pl. 67 α-γ; 1978b: 139; 1979: 186; 1982: 189; 1985a: 171; Lambropoulou 1982: 189.

Plate 4.1. Zeli. Agios Georgios, Tomb 2, Mycenaean alabastron (after *AD* 1977, pl. 67c).

Plate 4.2. Zeli, Agios Georgios, Tomb 19, Mycenaean askos (after *AD* 1979, pl. 62f).

Plate 4.3. Zeli, Agios Georgios, Tomb 2, Mycenaean figurine (after *AD* 1977, pl. 67b).

Another Mycenaean cemetery was discovered at Agios Georgios near the Zeli to Golemi provincial road (G. Georgiou plot). The twenty-seven rock-cut chamber tombs investigated were of square, rectangular trapezoidal or irregularly elliptical plan. The stomion of the entrance was square or rectangular, usually on the northern side of the chamber and sealed by a dry-built wall. The dromoi vary in size. Pits and niches had rarely been cut in the chambers and dromos. Most of the tombs had been disturbed and plundered, while those that were undisturbed were found to contain vases dated from LHIIIA2-LHIIIB to the end of LHIIIC or even to the Sub-Mycenaean period. Stirrup jars, various alabastra (Plate 4.4), piriform jars, pyxides, amphoriskoi, jugs and juglets, amphora, hydria, bronze tools, bronze toilette items, bronze fibulae, bronze spiral hair rings, bronze rings,

Plate 4.4. Zeli-Golemi (Georgiou plot) Tomb II, Mycenaean alabastron (after *AD* 1985, pl. 57a).

bone pins and needle, beads of various shapes and material (amber, glass-paste, cornelian, faience), many conical and biconical steatite "spindle-whorls", steatite, glass-paste and crystal seals were among the rich offerings. Additionally, one of the tombs contained hand-made vases, such as a jug and a cup, and many fragments of hand-made plain vases were collected in the disturbed context of plundered tombs and dromos.[5] The presence of Hellenistic and Roman sherds in some disturbed tombs indicates their re-use during these periods (Dakoronia 1980: 242).

At Kvela Zeliou, part of a disturbed and plundered Mycenaean cemetery was excavated.[6] Eight rock-cut chamber tombs of the usual Mycenaean type were uncovered. The chambers were irregularly trapezoidal and square in plan, carelessly worked. A pit containing secondary burials had been opened in the floor of one of the tombs. The burial gifts in the pit were a small piriform jar, four alabastra of various shapes and sizes, conical and biconical steatite "spindle-whorls" (Dakoronia 1986: 68). The stomion of the entrance was trapezoidal or irregularly apsidal, sealed with a dry-built wall. One example had small carelessly made apsidal decorative arrangements on the entrance façade (Dakoronia 1986: 68). The dromoi varied in size and most had their entrance facing east. Most of the tombs were found plundered and disturbed. The burial gifts were of the usual Mycenaean type, such as various alabastra, glass-paste beads, steatite "spindle-whorls" and an anthropomorphic Φ-type figurine.

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5 Dakoronia 1985c: 169–170; 1988b: 225–226; 1989b: 170–171; 1991: 193–194; 1992d: 207–208.
6 Dakoronia 1985a: 171, 173; 1986: 68; 1987a: 234.

The general features of the way space was used for burial purposes in Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley during the Bronze Age can be summarised as follows:

- The earliest burial find in the Epicnemidian Locris is a pot cremation burial of the Early Neolithic period found at Trikorfo Renginiou near Thronium.
- No evidence of burial constructions of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages has been revealed so far.
- Epicnemidian Mycenaean cemeteries have not been investigated. All we have are some reports unverified by excavation concerning three sites (Thronium, Naryx and Cnemides) in the central and eastern part of the area.
- The Dipotamos valley, where Mycenaean cemeteries have been excavated in various locations at Agnanti and Zeli, is better known.
- The tombs are chamber rock-cut with dromos, of the usual Mycenaean type.
- They were first used in the LHII/LHIIIA. Some of them continued to be used until the Protogeometric and occasionally up to the Roman period.
- The majority of the tombs had been opened and partially plundered. However, their excavation yielded rich grave goods of different kinds (vases, figurines, seals, jewellery etc.) which provide us with information on the cultural identity, social organisation, burial customs and contacts of the area's inhabitants during the Mycenaean period.

The Protogeometric and Geometric periods in Epicnemidian Locris, are mainly known from the excavations of the Fourteenth Ephorate (Figure 4.1, yellow). The first necropolis of the Geometric period to be excavated is at Fournos (or Fournoi), south and southwest of the acropolis of Paliokastro Anavras. Twenty-two rectangular slab-lined cist graves, containing skeletal remains and burial gifts were found. Some of the tombs were empty; others contained mostly bronze items, while only in one tomb was there a Late Geometric aryballos. During the Geometric period bronze objects were common offerings in Locrian necropoleis (Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009: 1026). The bronze objects were bowls with omphalos (*phialai mesomphalai*), a bird and a horse bronze figurines and bronze personal items, such as bracelets, finger rings, fibulae of Thessalian type (Plate 4.5), pins, spherical beads, paste beads etc. The tombs contained many large bronze rings of various sizes and types (Plate 4.6) which were used as pre-monetary units of exchange, frequent in the Geometric period. The presence of rings

Plate 4.5. Paliokastro Anavras, Fournos, Tomb 4. A bronze fibula (after *AD* 1977, pl. 67e).

Plate 4.6. Paliokastro Anavras, Fournos, Tomb 4. Bronze rings used as pre-monetary units of exchange (after *AD* 1977, pl. 67d).

of this kind in most of the tombs in the cemetery is regarded as the origin of this burial custom, which continued to historical times with the use coins instead.[7] The finds from disturbed tombs included a bronze seal, its handle in the form of a human head, a bronze double axe and an ornament of three adjacent rings surmounted by a stylized pony. The importance of the site during Geometric period is also indicated by other accidental finds, which are reported as originating generally from Anavra, with no additional details, dating to the Geometric period. They consist of a group of bronze animal figurines, four small horses and three bird figurines, each standing on a rectangular base.

Occasional finds from Rengini Palaiokastra region, the ancient city of Naryx, indicate that the area was inhabited during Geometric times. Special reference is made to a small bronze horse, which stands on a rectangular base and has an X-type incision. It belongs to the well-known type of schematic Geometric bronze figurines, and is similar to other horse figurines from Anavra (Ioannidou-Karetsou 1972: 330–331).

At the site of Agios Dimitrios, near the Athens to Lamia highway, at the foot of Mt. Cnemis, 2 km from Kamena Vourla, a cemetery of fifty cist and pit graves was discovered during public works in 2004–2005. The graves were in separate groups, sometimes in a circular arrangement, probably indicating, in combination with the piles of stones and the remains of an enclosure wall, the presence of tumuli or grave circles. In a possible tumulus or grave circle, within the abovementioned enclosure of small worked stones, thirteen graves were excavated. They were of cist (twenty five) (Plate 4.7) and pit type (three), while traces of cremation were found in two graves. The cremated burials are dated to the Late Protogeometric period. Children's graves in a circular arrangement were found in two separate groups, the first of six cist graves and the second of five cist graves and one pit grave. Isolated adult cist and pit graves were also found. Each grave contained an inhumation in contracted position and a double inhumation was only identified in one grave. Child burials were accompanied by one or two vases, a cup or skyphos, while bronze jewels were found inside a few of them. The adult graves contained a few vases and also bronze fibulae and pins in some of them (Plate 4.8). Iron artefacts were rare, consisting only of some small knives. Four pits were identified outside the grave circles, containing traces of burning and interpreted as funeral libation-sacrificial pits. Evidence of funeral ceremonies

[7] Dakoronia 1977b: 104–105, pl. 67 δ-ε; Catling 1986: 42; Dakoronia 1989a: 115–120; Dakoronia, Kotoulas, Balta, Sythiakaki and Tolias 2002.

Plate 4.7. Agios Dimitrios/Kamena Vourla. Geometric cist grave (after Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009).

was also provided by broken vases (cups, skyphoi, amphoroi, etc.) outside the graves. The repertory of vases is limited. Open shapes are frequent (cups, deep bowls or skyphoi: Plate 4.9–4.10) while the closed ones are mainly amphoriskoi, cut-away jugs, oinochoi and lekythoi (Plate 4.11–4.12). Pottery comes from local Locrian workshops, while Thessalian and Euboean influence is evident in the Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric production. Relations with Late Geometric Attic workshops are also attested. The first use of the cemetery is dated to the Late Protogeometric period. Successive uses are dated to Sub-Protogeometric III and Late Geometric periods, until 740/730 BC (Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009: 1029–1033). At the same site, tombs were uncovered in 1963–1964, also due to construction work on the national highway.[8]

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[8] Liagouras 1963: 144; Theocharis 1964: p. 242, pl. 285, 286a.

Plate 4.8. Agios Dimitrios/Kamena Vourla. Bronze pins from a woman's grave (after Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009).

Plate 4.9. Agios Dimitrios/Kamena Vourla. Geometric cup (after Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009).

Plate 4.10. Agios Dimitrios/Kamena Vourla. Geometric skyphos (after Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009).

Plate 4.11. Agios Dimitrios/Kamena Vourla. Geometric jug (after Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009).

Plate 4.12. Agios Dimitrios/Kamena Vourla. Geometric amphora (after Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009).

A new excavation season in 2009 during public works to build a flow-control dam revealed more groups of graves, which evidently belonged to the same cemetery. Eight tombs were investigated, some of which (two cist graves and a pithos burial) had been destroyed and were empty of finds. A better preserved pithos burial only contained the bones of a child. The small cist graves were constructed of four or six porous slabs, with two cover slabs. A pit grave was also covered by porous slabs and probably contained a child burial and a small cup. Another pit grave was edged with small stones, while a porous slab was placed at one of the narrow sides. The burial offerings were a cup, an amphora and a bronze spiral hair ring. The cist graves contained adult burials, one of them being that of a pregnant woman with a large number of offerings, such as cups, oinochoi, skyphoi, an iron pin, iron weapons, a dagger, a spear head and an arrow head. The unpublished material is dated by the excavator to the Protogeometric period (Sipsi *AD* forthcoming).

To sum up:

- Two cemeteries of the Geometric period within the limits of the Epicnemidian Locris have been systematically excavated; one in the west of the region, on the northern slopes of the Callidromus (Anavra) and the other to the northeast coast (Agios Dimitrios near Kainourgio/Kamena Vourla).
- Occasional finds from Palaiokastra Renginiou (Naryx) provide indirect evidence for the existence of Geometric tombs and thus that the area was inhabited.
- The graves were slab-lined cists and rock-cut pits. A pithos burial and cremation burials have also been found.
- The use of the necropolis at Kainourgio extends from the Sub-Protogeometric to the Late Geometric period. The cemetery at Anavra was used only in the Late Geometric.
- The offerings at Kainourgio were vases, jewellery and occasionally weapons, while at Anavra they consisted mainly of bronze objects.
- Secondary Protogeometric burials in Mycenaean rock-cut chamber tombs have been attested in the cemeteries of Agnanti and Agios Georgios Zeliou.

3. The Necropoleis of the Historical Periods: From the Classical to the Early Christian Period

From the Classical to the End of Hellenistic Period (*Figure 4.1, Red/Blue*)

Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries in Epicnemidian Locris were found as a result of a rescue excavation on private land and others that were undertaken during public works or after clandestine digs. Occasional finds provide additional information on the burial places in the region.

At the southern end of the Potamia valley, in the modern town of Mendenitsa, a rescue excavation on private land revealed a porous stone sarcophagus with a pedimental cover. The remains of seven inhumations were found inside the grave, which was used from the early to late phases of the Hellenistic period. The offerings were numerous unguentaria and lamps, as well as a deep monochrome bowl, a plain askos, a monochrome kantharos, a plain plate, two plain amphoriskoi, the cover of a pyxis with a head of Dionysus in relief (Plate 4.13) and a female figurine. In addition, a considerable number of metal objects were found, such as a bronze mirror, an

Plate 4.13. Mendenitsa. Cover of a pyxis with a hand of Dionysus in relief (after *AD* 1980, pl. 107a).

iron strigil, fragments of an iron knife and other small bronze finds and coins (Dakoronia 1988c: 246–247).

At the east end of the Potamia valley, the necropolis of ancient Scarpheia is situated at the northern end of the hill, where the architectural remains of the city are visible. No excavations have been carried out in the area, but some plundered tombs are reported near the modern cemetery of Molos, and some destroyed tombs of tile covered type to the west of the same hill are also mentioned. The tombs evidently belonged to different cemeteries which were used, probably during different chronological periods, in order to serve the burial needs of the ancient town of Scarpheia.

At the centre of Epicnemidian Locris and the upper part of the Boagrius River, at Palaiokastra Renginiou, the Classical and Hellenistic necropolis of Naryx was probably situated south-southwest of the acropolis, at Pournara. Here, tile covered and rock-cut chamber type tombs of these periods are reported and also grave stelae from Pournara and Palaiokastra.[9] A

[9] *SEG* 3.426, 427; Pappadakis 1920/21: 142–143; Blackman 1998: 74; Adam 2001: 114–115.

Plate 4.14. Palaiokastro Renginiou. Part of a Grave-Stele.

fragmentary grave stele, which was received by the Ephorate of Lamia (Plate 4.14), demonstrates the importance of the Hellenistic necropolis. Moreover, a small piece of a pedimental grave monument with the inscription *ΕΧΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΥΘΕΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ* is also mentioned, which lies near the church of the *Metamorphosis* (Transfiguration) (Adam 2001: 45, 49). Excavations in the region are rare and have so far exclusively followed clandestine digs. A rock-cut chamber tomb of trapezoidal shape has been investigated. It had a conical ceiling, aligned from north to south, with the entrance on the northern side and a short dromos with two steps. The tomb had been disturbed and plundered. Its construction is dated to the first half of third century BC and was used until the mid-second century BC. The funerary material consists of seven open-mouth jugs dating to the early second century BC, an unguentarium, three painted lamps of the third century BC and a cooking pot. Fragments of various Hellenistic figurines, including a small satyrus figurine, were found outside the tomb. A fragmentary skyphos with "west slope" decoration dating to the first half of the third century BC was uncovered at a dromos deposit (Dakoronia 1992a: 201–202).

At Pisorema, 4km east-southeast of Rengini village, near the place called Kalyvia or Palianifitsa, another cemetery site of the Classical period, which had been partially destroyed in the course of public works, was excavated. Three pithos burials, aligned east-west were investigated, as well as a child burial in a coarse ware amphora. The offerings are dated to the fifth century BC and consist of a deep bowl/kotylai of Corinthian type, a fragmentary banded jug and a small black painted lekythos decorated with a rosette (Dakoronia 1992a: 202).

Further east, at Cnemides, some plundered cist tombs, probably of the historical period (Papanagiotou 1971: 293), were identified in what is now the Asproneri region at the mountain site of Gouvali (or Vouvali).

Occasional finds were made in the course of agricultural work at Velona. It is said that these finds came from a destroyed grave of unknown type. Half a bronze mirror, an iron spearhead and fragmentary female figurines were sent to the Archaeological Collection of Lamia in 1970. Near the modern village of Karya, at Kontouri Platania, a grave of historical times was destroyed by a bulldozer during public works. The only burial finds preserved were a pair of bronze earrings and a bronze pin (Papanagiotou 1971: 301–302).

The recent investigation of the ancient city of Daphnus during construction work for the Patras-Athens-Thessalonica-Evzoni highway (P.A.TH.E.) has enriched archaeological research with abundant information and finds. The site lies to the south of Agios Konstantinos at Isiomata where, before the excavations, the only visible remains were the scattered blocks of a fortification wall on the hill to the south of the modern town. Structural remains dating from the Sub-Protogeometric to the Hellenistic period were uncovered in a large area extending for a total of about 550m (Sectors A–H). These included the sanctuary of Asclepius (Papakonstantinou 2009, 2010 and *AD* forthcoming d and forthcoming g), a small temple, houses and fortification walls of the Late Classical period. Tombs, mainly of the tile-covered type of the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic periods, were also found to the east of this area (Sector H) as well as among the structures in Sector B, where a Hellenistic pithos burial was also uncovered. The offerings were vases, bronze, iron and bone items, coins and a fragmentary clay figurine. A horse burial was identified at Sector H. Finally, a mass burial of the Classical period was excavated, which consisted of 25 skeletons and the skeletal remains of a small animal (Plate 4.15). The dead had been carelessly buried in a large elliptical fossae cut into the ground. Some of the skeletons were in an extended and others in a contracted position. Among the burial gifts there were lekythoi, aryballoi, oinochoi, bowls, skyphoi,

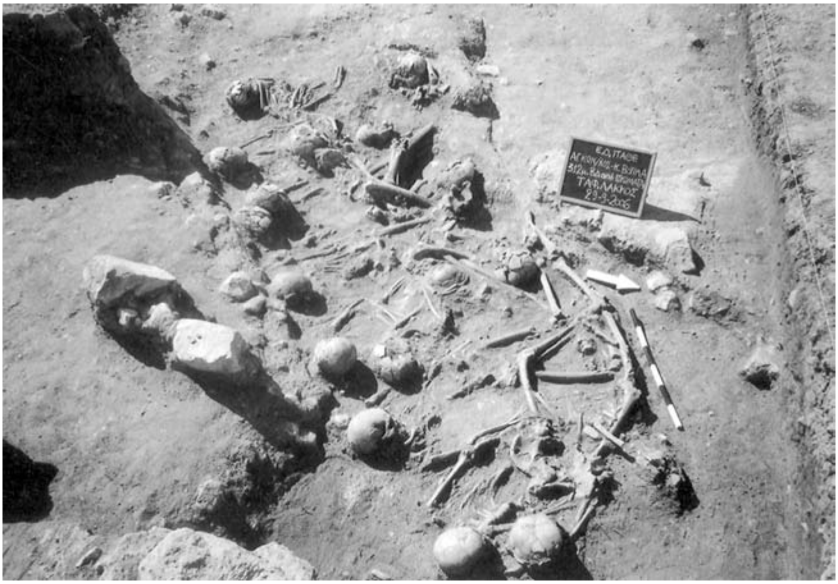

Plate 4.15. Agios Konstantinos/Ancient Daphnus. A mass burial.

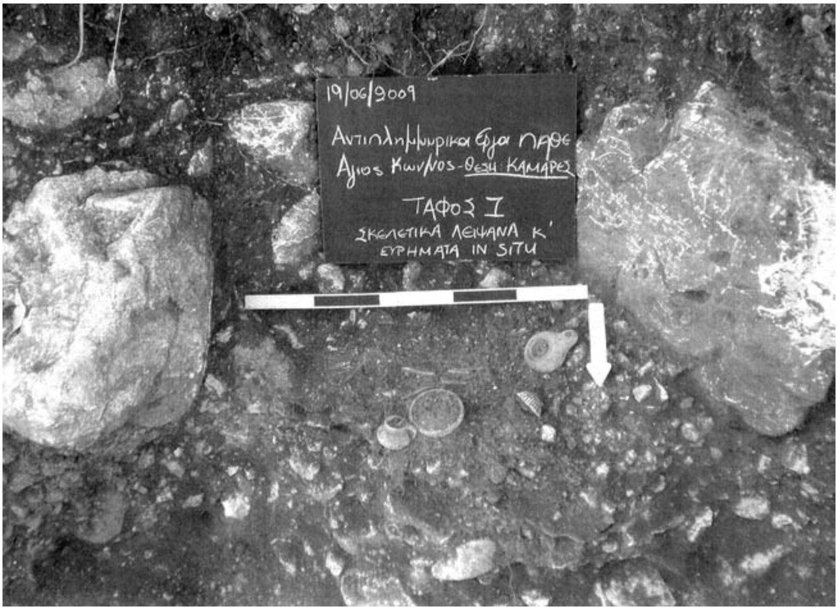

Plate 4.16. Agios Konstantinos/Ancient Daphnus. Kamares. Tomb I.

Plate 4.17. Agios Konstantinos/Ancient Daphnus. Kamares. Deep bowls and lamps.

amphoroi and bolsal vases. Fragmentary clay figurines were also found, as were various metal objects, such as bronze pins, large bronze rings, bronze strigils, iron small knives and bronze coins. A bronze helmet of Corinthian type probably accompanied an inhumation in this common grave (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming d).

At Kamares, south of the town of Agios Konstantinos, two tombs of tile-covered type (Plate 4.16), dated to the Late Classical period, were excavated. The funeral offerings were a "treasure" of bronze coins, lamps, small deep bowls (Plate 4.17) and a bronze implement (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g). This cemetery is probably associated with the inhabitants of the harbour of Daphnus.

At the southern end of the Dipotamos valley, at Agios Georgios Zeliou, very close to the area where the Mycenaean tombs were excavated, a common Hellenistic tomb has been uncovered. It was a rock-cut rectangular grave of 22.00 m × 4.00 m, with four skeletons *in situ* and the bones of nine more secondary burials. The finds, consisting of three open-mouthed one-handled vases and four jugs of different types and sizes, are dated to the Hellenistic period. Four circular cavities had been opened in the soft rock on the northern side of the grave; these contained animal bones and Byzantine sherds (Dakoronia 1980: 242).

To sum up, our knowledge on the necropoleis of Epicnemidian Locris during the Classical and Hellenistic periods is very fragmentary and limited.

The excavated tombs are individual cases which do not permit a generalized interpretation. The types of graves that have been attested are the sarcophagus, the rock-cut chamber tomb, the tile-covered grave and the pot burial. The picture of the necropoleis of Daphnus is slightly better, thanks to recent rescue excavations. The tile-covered grave is the predominant grave type in the area. The presence of common graves of the Classical (Daphnus) and Hellenistic periods (Zeli) should also be noted.

From Roman to Late Roman and Early Christian Periods (*Figure 4.1, Green/Brown*)

Roman graves are mentioned on the eastern slope of the Colonos hill at Thermopylae, where the last part of the battle of Thermopylae was fought in 480 BC (Marinatos 1951: 70). Moreover, a considerable number of Early Christian/Byzantine graves have also come to light on the slopes of Colonos. The tombs were either of the cist type or tile-covered type; some of them contained personal grave goods such as jewellery. These graves could be associated with temporary settlements in the region. Near Agia Triada and not far from the national Athens-Lamia highway, two tile-covered tombs (plates 4.18 and 4.19) were excavated (Krystallis plot), without datable material but which probably date to the Early Christian period (Karantzali *AD* forthcoming b).

Remains providing evidence of funerary activities dating to the Roman period have come to light during an excavation near the Molos-Agios Charalambos road. As stated above, the ancient town of Scarpheia is located south of the modern Molos cemetery. In this area, public works revealed an arched tomb of the Late Roman period. It was rectangular in plan, constructed from worked stone blocks, mud-bricks and a lime mortar, using the opus mixtum technique. The arched roof was also built with square mud-bricks and lime mortar. The floor was paved with square tiles. Niches that had been cut in the long sides of the tomb contained the skeletal remains of earlier burials. On the floor an intact inhumation was found accompanied by a plain juglet. A bronze coin and an iron rivet were also found inside the tomb (Dakoronia 1998: 395–396). The pottery collected from the area around and near the tomb can be dated from the Late Hellenistic to Early Byzantine period. A Roman grave was excavated after a clandestine dig west of the modern Molos cemetery (Pantopoulos plot). The grave, rectangular in plan, and its roof were built with mud-bricks and lime mortar. It was empty and only a bronze coin was recovered from the surrounding area (Dakoronia 1978a: 137). At Tragano, on the east bank of the Apalasorema

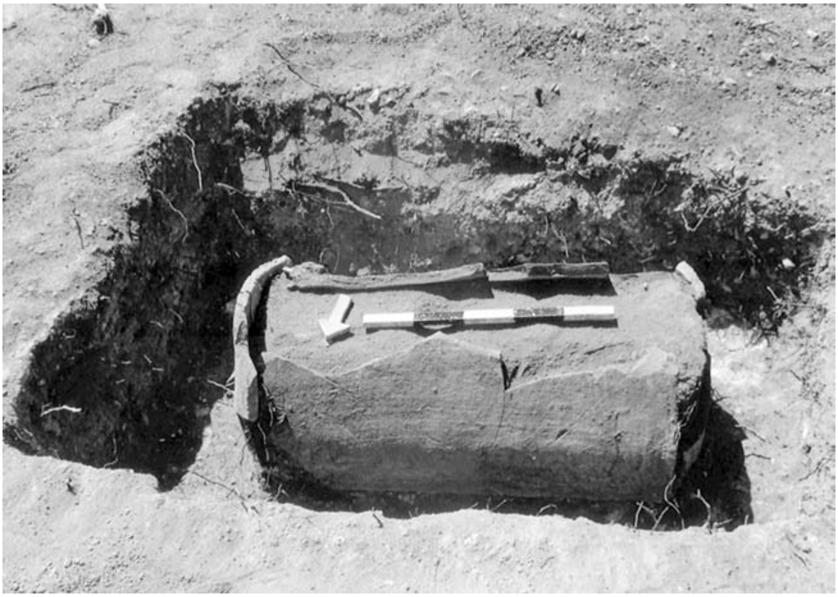

Plate 4.18. Agia Triada (Krystallis plot). A tile-covered tomb (A).

Plate 4.19. Agia Triada (Krystallis plot). A tile-covered tomb (B).

stream, an arched tomb of the Late Roman period was found, plundered and completely empty. The walls were built of worked stones covered with lime-mortar on the inside. The arched roof was built of square mud-bricks, medium sized stones and a lime mortar. A marble slab was used to seal the entrance of the tomb, and the floor was paved with square tiles. A rectangular bed was cut in the southern part of the tomb and a niche at the north eastern corner (Zachou and Papastathopoulou *AD* forthcoming).

At Diaskelo, southeast of the acropolis hill at Palaiokastra Renginiou, part of a cemetery was investigated. Ten tile-covered tombs came to light, with long Laconian-style tiles on the long sides and a square tile on each of the short sides. All the tombs were aligned east to west. The finds were extremely poor, mainly plain coarse ware sherds dated from the first to third centuries AD (Dakoronia 1988a: 224–225). In the same area, approximately 350 m south-southwest of the ancient acropolis of Palaiokastra Renginiou, a tomb dated to the Late Roman Period or the beginning of the Early Christian period was investigated. This is one more example of the usual arched type, well known in the area of ancient Scarpheia. It was rectangular in plan, constructed of worked stone blocks, mud-bricks and lime mortar, using the opus mixtum technique. The arched roof was made of square mud-bricks in a radial design, fixed with lime mortar. Abundant skeletal remains of multiple burials, but only a few pottery sherds, dating to the fifth century AD, were found in the grave.

In the centre and suburbs of the modern town of Agios Konstantinos, the site of the ancient harbour of Daphnus, various groups of graves and isolated tombs were investigated as a result of recent public works to construct a flow control dam. At Kapsoula, six tombs of tile-covered type were investigated, dated to the Roman period (Plate 4.20). The finds were three glass unguentaria of the first or second century AD (Plate 4.21), fragments of a glass vase and a bronze coin, while sherds of small vases were also found. The tombs contained the skeletal remains of one or more burials (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g).

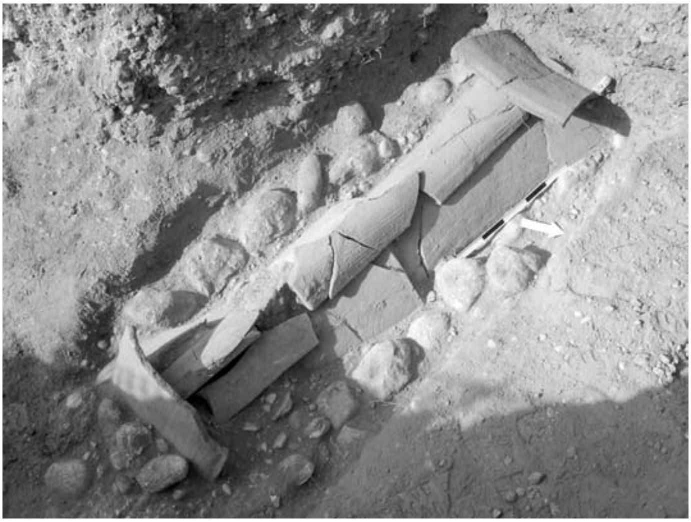

Plate 4.20. Agios Konstantinos/Ancient Daphnus. Kapsoula. Tomb II.

Plate 4.21. Agios Konstantinos/Ancient Daphnus. Kapsoula. Glass unguentaria.

Plate 4.22. Agios Konstantinos/Ancient Daphnus. Sykias torrent. Tomb II.

To the southeast of Agios Konstantinos, near the Sykias torrent, a group of five tombs were found, three of the tile-covered type (Plate 4.22), a pit grave and a burial in an amphora. They did not contain any funeral offerings, but child inhumations were found in four of them. The burials were probably associated with the nearby settlement of the Early Christian period (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g).

To sum up:

- The predominant grave types for the period are the tile-covered and the arched built chamber tombs.
- The available examples consist of individual tombs (Scarpheia, Palaiokastra Renginiou) or groups of from two to ten graves (Thermopylae, Agia Triada, Palaiokastra Renginiou and Agios Konstantinos).
- Most of the graves had been looted; some contained skeletal remains but usually no grave goods, evidently due to plundering.
- Three of the above burial sites are related to specific ancient cities (Scarpheia, Naryx, Daphnus), but the rest are isolated and cannot at present be identified.

Miscellaneous Tombs and Cemetery Sites Dating to Historical Times (Figure 4.1, Black)

Additional information for the existence of necropoleis in some parts of Epicnemidian Locris not mentioned in the bibliography has come from the topographical archive of the Fourteenth Ephorate. These burial places, which have not been confirmed by excavations, are described below. Some tombs that are difficult to date due to the lack of grave goods are also included.

At Paliokastro Anavras destroyed cist and tile-covered type graves, which were identified at different locations with abundant surface pottery and tiles (Makria Rachi, north/northeast of Anavra village, Agios Nikolaos, south of Anavra village), probably indicate the existence of cemeteries dating to historical times.

Near the contemporary cemetery southwest of Karavydia village and on the south side of the Karavydia-Mendenitsa road, a cist tomb built of square tiles on the sides and floor and covered with curved tiles has been excavated. It had been plundered and was almost empty (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming a).

A cemetery site lies probably at Kalkanderi, near the Kallidromo-Rengini road, to the north of the archaeological site of Agios Ioannis. There is abundant pottery dating from Archaic to Roman periods at the foot of the Agios Ioannis hill. The site is near the ancient settlement of Anifitsa or Palianifitsa.

Finally, north of the town of Agios Konstantinos, at Neochori, southeast of Triantafyllies and east of the Aeras site, three empty graves of the tile-covered type were excavated (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g).

4. The Necropoleis of Epicnemidian Locris and Dipotamos Valley: A Synthesis of Research Results and Some Remarks

The limited number of archaeological excavations within the region of Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley, as well as the high proportion of clandestine digs, forces us to base our efforts to outline the Epicnemidian necropoleis on surface finds and controversial evidence from plundered—and thus unsafely dated—tombs. Under these circumstances, we should avoid being overconfident in the available data, which may change as research progresses with the discovery of new finds, and we shall

close this chapter by limiting ourselves to some remarks and a critical synthesis of research results.

No prehistoric cemeteries before the Late Helladic period have been found. The discovery of an Early Neolithic cremation pot burial at Trikorfo Renginiou among the scattered remains of a settlement of that period is a unique find in the entire region of Epicnemidian Locris, not only in this area. To date, archaeological research has not revealed evidence of any Early and Middle Helladic burial construction, and information for Late Helladic Epicnemidian necropoleis is sparse and unverified. Looted tombs of the Mycenaean type are reported in the region of Thronium, Palaiokastra Renginiou/Naryx, Cnemides and possibly Tachtali. Thronium and Naryx (Palaiokastra Renginiou) were Homeric cities mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*, but none of the above tombs has ever been archaeologically investigated. Thus their dating, based exclusively on their architectural form, is considered arbitrary. However, the rich Late Helladic cemeteries of the inner Dipotamos valley at Agnanti and Zeli have been systematically excavated and safely dated. It seems possible that they were associated with Mycenaean settlements that flourished from at least the LHII–IIIA to the end of the LHIIIC or even the Sub-Mycenaean period in this fertile part of the valley.

Anavra is the only inhabited site testified in the western part of Epicnemidian Locris during Geometric times by the excavation of a considerable part of a Late Geometric cemetery at the location Fournos or Fournoi. The settlement should perhaps be sought on the nearby hill of Palaiokastron, and the rich bronze burial offerings suggest that it was important. In the central part of the region, the large Protogeometric/Geometric cemetery at Agios Dimitrios/Kainourgio, points towards a prosperous coastal settlement near Kamena Vourla, active from at least the Late Protogeometric through the Sub-Protogeometric III to the Late Geometric period. The re-use of some Mycenaean rock-cut chamber tombs in the Dipotamos valley during the period completes the picture of Geometric inhabitation in the area as a whole on the basis of the research to date.

The archaeological material from the necropoleis of Epicnemidian *poleis* and *komai* at Paliokastro Anavras, Scarpheia, Mendenitsa, Palaiokastra Renginiou/Naryx and Cnemides indicate that they were used during the Classical, Hellenistic and Late Roman periods, following the life circles of the adjacent settlements. However, excavation data provide secure evidence only for the Classical/Hellenistic necropoleis at Mendenitsa and Palaiokastra Renginiou/Naryx. Information on Palaiokastro Anavras, Scarpheia and Cnemides is uncertain and derives from surface material and unexcavated

or plundered tombs. Burial finds seem to suggest that Scarpheia and Naryx (Palaiokastra Renginiou) flourished during the Late Roman period. No burial places for this period have so far been identified at Nicaea or Alponus, the two coastal sites in the west, nor at Thronium in the central part of the region; rescue excavations have brought to light monumental architectural remains but the location of the necropoleis of the most important Epicnemidian city is unknown. The flourishing of Daphnus is attested by the discovery of structural remains and is also supported by the funerary material dating to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods that has been uncovered, and by the settlement of the adjacent coastal area, which is attested by material dating from the Late Classical to the Early Christian periods.

The practice of both cremation and inhumation has been noted in the area of study. Inhumation was by far the predominant practice. The rock-cut chamber tomb is the only known grave type during the Mycenaean period, while in Geometric times most of the graves were small cists or pits, sometimes containing cremation burials. Cremation has also been ascertained in a pot burial of the Early Neolithic period. In historical times the predominant grave type was tile-covered, and this continued to be the case until the Roman and the Early Christian period. Pithos burials, common also in Opuntian Locris in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, occur both in Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley. The sarcophagus and the rock-cut chamber tomb are each represented by a single specimen dating to the Hellenistic period. In the Late Roman and Early Christian periods arched tombs are common in the central part of the region. Finally, the evidence of the presence of tumuli or grave circles in the Geometric period, mass burials in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and horse burials in the Daphnus area are also worthy of note.

The evidence from Epicnemidian necropoleis and cemeteries of the Dipotamos valley is not abundant, however there are indications of varying living standards and social differentiation within local societies. The Mycenaean cemeteries of the Dipotamos valley with the rock-cut chamber tombs, as well as the rich Geometric necropolis at Anavra and the well-organized Geometric cemetery at Kainourgio, are witnesses of prosperity, economic development and commercial and cultural contacts with neighbouring or remote areas. A particularly rich tomb, which, according to the finds, contains a female burial, stands out from the other burials at Kainourgio. At Mendenitsa, on the other hand, a wealthy Hellenistic porous sarcophagus was found, evidently that of a distinguished member of society. Also at Palaiokastra Renginiou/Naryx, despite the plundering, considerable burial

offerings have been recovered. Finally, the carefully constructed arched graves at Scarpheia and Palaiokastra Renginiou/Naryx containing multiple burials also demonstrate well-organized and populous communities during the Late Roman and Early Christian periods. Future excavations will shed more light on this incomplete picture of the area.

5. Catalogue of Cemetery Sites of Epicnemidian Locris

(*In Geographical Order, from West to East*)

At the present stage of the archaeological research, data on the existence of burial grounds in the region of Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley derive mainly from the bibliography, excavation reports published (or to be published) in the volume "Chronika" of the Archaeologikon Deltion and official reports of surveys held in the topographical archive of the Fourteenth Ephorate. The material includes isolated graves, scattered material indicating their presence in the area where they were found or even necropoleis—isolated or associated with poleis or identified ancient settlements. In any case, evidence for burial use ranges from the Early Neolithic to the Early Christian period.

Necropoleis or groups of graves are known from Thermopylae (Colonos), Anavra (Fournos and Palaiokastro), Molos—ancient Scarpheia (near the modern cemetery), Rengini—ancient Naryx (Pournara, Diaskelo, Pisorema), Kainourgio Kamenon Vourlon (Agios Dimitrios) and Cnemides (Asproneri and Gouvali/Vouvali).

At other sites, such as Anavra (Makria Rachi and Agios Nikolaos), Agia Triada, Karavydia, Mendenitsa, Molos (Agios Charalambos and Tragano), Rengini (south-southwest of the acropolis) and Velona, isolated tombs have been located and some of them have been excavated. More important were the excavations of the two Geometric cemeteries at Agios Dimitrios Kainourgiou Kamenon Vourlon and Fournos Anavras, which yielded abundant movable finds and shed light for the first time on Geometric Epicnemidian Locris.

Four of the above necropoleis are safely associated with poleis, the one at Palaiokastro Anavras, at Molos (Scarpheia), at Mendenitsa (Augeiae?) and at Rengini (Naryx). The presence of cemeteries or even of isolated graves in other sites indicates the existence of unknown settlements in the area.

THERMOPYLAE—on Colonos hill. Roman graves have been excavated on the eastern slope of Colonos, where the last part of the battle of Thermopylae was fought in 480 BC. A considerable number of Byzantine graves have also been excavated around the slopes of the hill. The tombs were either of

the cist or tile-covered type and some of them contained grave goods, such as jewellery (Marinatos 1951: 70).

ANAVRA. The acropolis of a *polis* or fortified settlement of Classical/ Hellenistic period is situated on a high crest at Palaiokastro.

Location: Fournos or Fournoi, southwest of the village of Anavra. Twenty-two rectangular rock-cut pit graves were excavated. Some were empty, others contained mainly bronze items and a Late Geometric aryballos was found in one tomb.

Four small bronze horses and three bird figurines dating to the Geometric period, each standing on a rectangular base, were accidental finds mainly originating in Anavra.[10]

Location: Palaiokastro. Plundered tombs were found to the south–southwest of the acropolis of Palaiokastro Anavras. The graves may date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods during the occupation of the ancient acropolis and the city at Palaiokastro (Topographical archive of the Fourteenth Ephorate).

Location: Makria Rachi, north-northeast of Anavra village. A plundered tomb of tile-covered type was found, which probably indicates the presence of a cemetery in the area (Topographical archive of Fourteenth Ephorate).

Location: Agios Nikolaos, south of Anavra village. A cist tomb was identified in an area covered with abundant surface pottery and roof-tile fragments (Topographical archive of the Fourteenth Ephorate).

AGIA TRIADA—near the national Lamia-Athens road. Two tile-covered tombs, probably of the Early Christian period, were excavated at the Krystalis plot (Karantzali *AD* forthcoming b).

KARAVYDIA—near the modern cemetery, southwest of the village of Karavydia, on the south side of the Karavydia-Mendenitsa road. A tile-covered tomb without any grave goods has been excavated (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming a).

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[10] Dakoronia 1977a: 104–105, pl. 67 δ-ε; Dakoronia, Kotoulas, Balta, Sythiakaki and Tolias 2002.

MENDENITSA. In the modern village, a porous stone sarcophagus was found during construction work on a new house. The remains of seven inhumations were found in the grave, which had been used from the early to the late phases of the Hellenistic period (Dakoronia 1988c: 246–247).

MOLOS. The remains of the ancient city of Scarpheia are situated on a hill, south of the modern village.

Location: At the northern edge of the hill of ancient Scarpheia, near the contemporary cemetery of Molos, some plundered tombs are visible on the ground. To the west of the same hill, some destroyed tile-covered tombs are located in an area with abundant surface pottery. They are evidently associated with various cemeteries of the ancient town of Scarpheia (Topographical archive of the Fourteenth Ephorate).

Location: West of the modern cemetery of Molos. A Roman grave was excavated after a clandestine dig (Pantopoulos plot). The grave, rectangular in plan, and its roof, were constructed of mud-bricks held together with lime mortar. It was empty and only a bronze coin was recovered from the surrounding area (Dakoronia 1978a: 137).

Location: Near the Molos-Agios Charalambos road. Public works in the area revealed an arched tomb of Late Roman period, rectangular in plan and constructed using the opus mixtum technique. Niches had been cut in the long sides of the tomb and these contained the skeletal remains of earlier burials. An intact inhumation and some grave goods were found on the floor (Dakoronia 1998: 395–396).

Location: Tragano. On the east bank of the Apalasorema stream, a plundered arched tomb of the Late Roman period was investigated. It was built of hewn stones covered with lime mortar on the inner surface (Zachou and Papastathopoulou *AD* forthcoming).

RENGINI—location: Palaiokastra. An ancient fortified acropolis and city identified by an inscription as the ancient city of Naryx.

Location: Mnimata Pournaras some plundered rock-cut chamber tombs of Mycenaean type are reported (Adam 2001: 44).

Occasional finds from the area of Rengini indicate that the site was inhabited during Geometric times. Special reference is made to a small bronze horse (H: 0.08 m, L: 0.11 m), standing on a rectangular base with an X-type incision. The bronze horse belongs to the well-known type of schematic Geometric bronze figurines and is similar to other horse figurines from Anavra (Ioannidou-Karetsou 1972: 330–331).

Location: Pisorema, 4 km east-southeast of the village of Rengini a Classical cemetery was identified. It had been disturbed during public works and so has been partly excavated. Three pithos burials and a child burial in a coarse ware plain amphora were investigated. The grave goods date to fifth century BC (Dakoronia 1992a: 202).

Location: Palaiokastra-Pournara, approximately 350 m south-southwest of the ancient acropolis, two tombs were investigated. The first, dated to the Late Roman period or beginning of the Early Christian period, was of the arched type, rectangular in plan and constructed using the opus mixtum technique. The second tomb was a plundered rock-cut chamber tomb, trapezoidal in plan and with a conical roof. It was built in the first half of third century BC and continued to be used until the mid-second century BC (Dakoronia 1992a: 201–202). Fragmentary grave stelae were brought to the Archaeological Service of Lamia. A piece of a small pedimental grave monument with the inscription ΕΧΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΥΘΕΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ is also mentioned, which lies near the church of *Metamorphosis* (Transfiguration) (Adam 2001: 45, 49).

Location: Diaskelo. Southeast of the Palaiokastra hill, part of a cemetery was investigated. Ten tile-covered tombs aligned from east to west came to light. The grave goods were extremely poor, consisting mainly of plain coarse ware sherds dated from the first to third century AD (Dakoronia 1988a: 224–225).

RENGINI— location: Trikorfo/Trilofo. On the eastern slope of a low hill on the west bank of the Boagrius River, at a distance of about 2.5 km from Thronium, the remains of an Early Neolithic settlement were excavated. An important find was a cremation burial in a bowl dated to this period.[11] Further west, higher up the same hill, excavations by the Fourteenth Ephorate

[11] Dimaki *AD* forthcoming; Froussou 2006: pp. 641–656, pl. 7.

brought to light the architectural remains of a *villa rustica* dated to the late second/mid-third century AD.[12] The possible identification of the site with ancient Tarphe-Pharygae is proposed by J. Pascual in this volume.

KALLIDROMO—location: Kalkanderi, near the road from Kallidromo to Rengini. A cemetery probably lies to the north of the archaeological site of Agios Ioannis (Fourteenth Ephorate topographical archive).

THRONIUM—location Pournarotsouba (Karanaseika-Bakataseika). Rock-cut chamber tombs are reported (Adam 2001: 34).

KAINOURGIO— location: Agios Dimitrios, near the Athens-Lamia highway, at the foot of Mt. Cnemis, 2 km from Kamena Vourla. Rescue excavations during the construction of the highway in 2004–2005 brought to light three groups of graves. Tombs were uncovered at the same site in 1963–1964, also due to construction work on the national highway.[13] The distribution of the graves indicates an extensive necropolis, which was possibly associated with a thriving settlement. Fifty graves were uncovered, most of them containing child burials. They were arranged in separate groups, which may relate to tumuli or grave circles. The majority of the graves were small cists. Pits were also found, some of them containing cremation burials. The necropolis was used for more than a hundred years, from c. 850 to 740/30 BC, with signs of use in the Late Protogeometric and at the end of Late Geometric (Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009: 1029–1033).

A new excavation season in 2009, due to public works for the construction of a flow control dam, revealed one more group of graves, evidently belonging to the same cemetery. Nine tombs of different types dated to the Protogeometric period were investigated, some of them (two cist graves and a pithos burial) that had been destroyed and were empty. A better preserved pithos burial contained only a few bones of a child burial. The cist graves contained adult burials, one of them of a pregnant woman with a large number of grave goods (Sipsi *AD* forthcoming).

CNEMIDES— location: Aspronerі. Evidence of rock-cut tombs of Mycenaean type was revealed in the area, near the national highway.

12 Papastathopoulou 2007: 143–153; Papastathopoulou forthcoming.
13 Liagouras 1963: 144; Theocharis 1964: p. 242, pl. 285, 286a.

At Gouvali (or Vouvali), some plundered cist tombs, probably of the Classical/Hellenistic period, were identified (Papanagiotou 1971: 293).

VELONA. Occasional finds, probably coming from a destroyed grave, were uncovered during agricultural work. Half a bronze mirror, an iron spearhead and fragmentary female figurines were sent to the Archaeological Collection of Lamia.

Near the modern village of Karya, at the location Kontouri Platania, a grave of historical times was destroyed by a bulldozer during public works. The only finds recovered were a pair of bronze earrings and a bronze pin (Papanagiotou 1971: 301–302).

6. Catalogue of Cemetery Sites of Dipotamos Valley

(*In Geographical Order, from North to South*)

The necropoleis of the Dipotamos valley are concentrated in four sites (Agios Konstantinos, Agnanti, Tachtali and Zeli). Three of them have been archaeologically investigated and have produced important finds. Agios Konstantinos and the adjacent area have recently been the object of intensive research during the construction works for the Patras-Athens-Thessalonica-Evzoni highway (P.A.TH.E.). Apart from the necropoleis of Daphnus at Isiomata, small groups of graves of different types and periods from Late Classical to Early Christian times have been located in the area around three sites. Daphnus is the only ancient city associated with a cemetery in the whole of the Dipotamos valley. The excavation of extensive parts of Mycenaean cemeteries of rock-cut chamber tombs in the centre (Agnanti) and deeper in the Dipotamos valley (Zeli), is a discovery of special importance for the region.

AGIOS KONSTANTINOS—location: Isiomata. Recent excavations by the Fourteenth Ephorate have brought to light remains of the ancient city of Daphnus dating from the Sub-Protogeometric to the Hellenistic period (Papakonstantinou forthcoming f). A mass burial of the Classical period, a horse burial and tombs, mainly of the tile-covered type of the Late Classical—Early Hellenistic period, were found at the eastern part of the excavated area, as well as among the architectural remains, where a Hellenistic pithos burial was also uncovered (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming d).

AGIOS KONSTANTINOS. Public works for the construction of a flow control dam revealed various groups of graves and isolated tombs in several parts of the modern town and its suburbs.

Location: Kapsoula. Six tombs of the tile-covered type were investigated, dated to the Roman period (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g).

Location: near the Sykias torrent. Southwest of the modern town, a group of five tombs were found: three of the tile-covered type, a pit grave and a pot burial. They were empty of funeral offerings, while four of them contained child inhumations. These burials are probably associated with the nearby settlement of the Early Christian period (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g).

Location: Kamares, to the south of the town. Two tile-covered tombs were excavated, and dated on the basis of the finds to the Late Classical period (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g).

NEOCHORI—location: southeast of Triantafyllies and east of *Aeras* area. Three empty graves of the tile-covered type were excavated (Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming g).

AGNANTI—location: Kritharia. Part of a cemetery of rock-cut chamber tombs was discovered (five tombs), significant for its continuing use from the Mycenaean (LHIIIA, fourteenth century BC) to the Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric period (eleventh-tenth century BC). The majority of the Mycenaean vases are dated to the LHIIIC (Spyropoulos 1970: 235–237). Occasional finds from the same region, such as a bronze Mycenaean sword with an engraved spiral motif, demonstrate the importance of the site during the Mycenaean period.

Evidence of occupation during prehistoric and historical periods was revealed at *Kastri*, indicating the existence of an important settlement, with which the abovementioned cemetery was probably associated (Papanagiotou 1971: 285–287).

TACHTALI. The site is located almost 2 km at the southwest of Agnanti, on the western bank of the Agnantorema torrent. Evidence of a plundered Mycenaean cemetery was identified during a survey in the area (Papanagiotou 1971: 287).

ZELI—location: Agios Georgios. The part of the Mycenaean cemetery investigated consisted of twenty-nine rock-cut chamber tombs which were excavated mainly on the northern side of the hill of Agios Georgios.[14] Most of the tombs had been disturbed and plundered, while the undisturbed ones contained vases dated from LHII–IIIA to LHIIIB–C. The discovery in a plundered tomb of some objects of a later date indicates it was re-used during the Protogeometric period. One of the tombs on the north side of the hill also revealed evidence of its re-use during the Hellenistic period (Dakoronia 1980: 242).

Close to the area where the Mycenaean cemetery was excavated, a Hellenistic tomb was discovered, containing a mass burial of four skeletons *in situ* and the bones of nine secondary burials. On the northern side of the grave four circular cavities had been opened in the soft rock, and contained animal bones and Byzantine sherds (Dakoronia 1980: 242).

ZELI—location: Agios Georgios near the Zeli-Golemi provincial road (plot G. Georgiou). Twenty-seven rock-cut chamber tombs were investigated. Most of them had been disturbed and plundered, while Mycenaean vases dating from LHIIIA2–LHIIIB to the end of LHIIIC or even to Sub-Mycenaean period were found in those that had not been disturbed.[15] Some Hellenistic and Roman sherds were found in disturbed tombs, indicating their re-use during these periods (Dakoronia 1980: 242).

ZELI—location: Kvela. Part of a Mycenaean cemetery consisting of eight rock-cut chamber tombs was excavated after it had been disturbed and plundered.[16]

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14 Dakoronia 1977a: 104, pl. 67 α-γ. 1978b:139; 1979: 186; 1982: 189; 1985a: 171; Lampropoulou 1982: 189.

15 Dakoronia 1985c: 169–170; 1988b: 225–226; 1989b: 170–171; 1991: 193–194; 1992d: 207–208.

16 Dakoronia 1985a: 171, 173; 1986: 68; 1987a: 234.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF EPICNEMIDIAN LOCRIS

Soledad Milán*

If the dating of Greek walls, which is done primarily on the basis of the style of masonry used, is in general very controversial,[1] in the case of Epicnemidian Locris the problems are considerably exacerbated by the walled enclosures being in a worse state of preservation than in other parts of central Greece. In fact, apart from the exceptional case of Palaiokastro Anavras, in various places (Alponus, Nicaea, Thronium, Scarpheia, Tachtali/Ities and Palianifitsa) no traces remain or only a few disperse blocks. In others, little more than the first course has survived (Cnemides, the polygonal "Lesbian" wall of Naryca and Karavydia/Profitis Ilias), and in another (Mendenitsa) the ancient ashlars have been reused and modified in such a way that it is difficult to determine their original position and ancient style. Except for Cnemides, preserved to some extent by the high and steep terrain, walls are in a worse state of preservation in the coastal sites than the inland sites in the south, at the heads of valleys. This is mainly due to the fact that the stone of these settlements has frequently been used by the inhabitants of the modern towns near the coast, especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Buchon could still see the wall of Thronium in 1840 and Grundy and Oldfather that of Alponus in the first third of the twentieth century).[2] Another of the great difficulties is that there has been little excavation in this region. In fact, with the exception of some necropoleis and the Dipotamos valley, this absence is felt to a greater extent than in other regions of central Greece. Epicnemidian Locris is one of the least studied and, therefore, least known regions of central Greece. In view of the lack of systematic excavations and the poor state of preservation of the walls over the last two centuries, in order to obtain information about them and to establish their style and chronology we must rely on ancient sources such as

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1 Fossey 1986: 121; 1988: 491; 1992: 111.

2 Buchon 1843: 306–309; Grundy, 1901: 290–291; Pritchett 5.186 fig. 8.

the reports by various travellers, toponymy, stylistic observations, for which we have no minimally precise chronological control, as well as surface pottery, the use of which is very problematic[3] since its relationship with the period when the walls were constructed is difficult to establish. So in most cases it is only possible to offer some hypotheses.

We have also used the possible style of the walls of the known sites, where they fit in with the traditional chronological sequence: uncoursed polygonal, "Lesbian" polygonal, trapezoidal isodomic, isodomic ashlar, mortar and tile,[4] the dating established for the neighbouring regions, Opuntian Locris, Malis, Thessaly, Phocis and Boeotia, thus setting Epicnemidian Locris in its superregional context, and, finally, the interpretation of the historical vicissitudes that afflicted the region.

Within the usual classification of styles of Greek walls, several are apparently absent in Epicnemidian Locris, or if they ever existed, nothing remains today. We refer to the uncoursed polygonal, pseudo-isodomic and isodomic ashlar with headers interposed in the courses, the latter two styles dating principally to the Hellenistic period.[5]

The "Lesbian" polygonal style is found in the acropolis of Naryca (Plate 5.1 A–B) and perhaps also in other Locrian *poleis*. Several towers, such as Skopia or Blesia, if the two belonged to Locris and not Phocis, and the fortresses of Kastraki (Plate 5.2) and Stefani in Epicnemidian Locris, if it dates to Antiquity rather than the Byzantine period, and Agnanti/Profitis Ilias, in the Dipotamos valley,[6] were built in rubble. Alponus was walled in the fifth or third century, perhaps also in the polygonal style (Plates 5.3 A–B). In contrast with the walling styles of which no examples have been found, the trapezoidal isodomic style is seen in the region at Palaiokastro Anavras (Plates 5.4 and 5.5). It is a form of construction that is virtually absent from Opuntian

[3] Fossey 1992: 111.

[4] See Fossey 1986: 121: of the whole chronological sequence only mortar and tile clearly belonged to the Roman and subsequent period. Cf. also Lawrence 1979: 235.

[5] Cf. in general, McNicoll and Milner 1997. Pseudo-isodomic ashlar can be found, for example, in Opuntian Locris at Cynus/Livanates (Blackman 1998: 34) and Paleokastra, both dated to the fourth century (Blackman 1999: 74); in Lamia, in Malis, to the second half of the fourth century (Catling 1986: 43; 1988: 36; 1989: 49; French 1993: 51; Blackman 1998: 73); Domokos, in southern Thessaly, to the fourth century (Catling 1986: 44) and in Naupactus (Catling 1987: 43).

[6] At Profitis Ilias to the northeast of the modern village of Agnanti there are traces of fortification walls as well as coarse and Roman pottery. See Papakonstantinou and Zachos in Chapter 3.

Plate 5.1 Naryca. “Lesbian” polygonal walling in the acropolis. (A): Outer face. (B): Thickness.

Plate 5.2. Polygonal rubble in Kastraki.

Plate 5.3. Psylopyrgos/Alponus. (A): Pile of irregular blocks. (B): Worked blocks.

Plate 5.4. Trapezoidal isodomic walling in Paliokastro Anavras. Outer face.

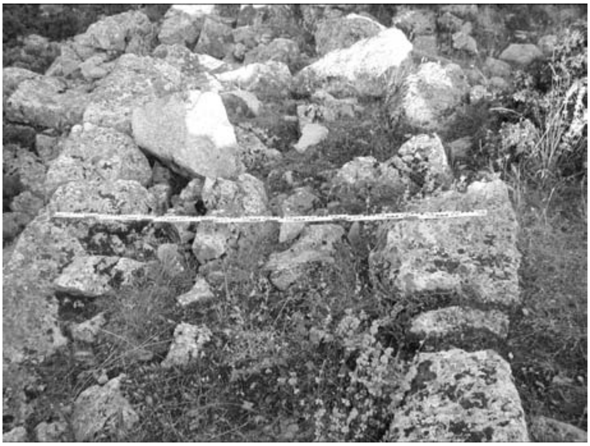

Plate 5.5. Trapezoidal isodomic walling in Paliokastro Anavras. Thickness.

Plate 5.6. Isodomic ashlar in Cnemides.

Locris,[7] rare in Boeotia[8] but very frequent, on the other hand, in Phocis,[9] which would perhaps link Palaiokastro Anavras to Phocis in some way, in addition to its geographic proximity. In this case perhaps it was an Epicnemidian imitation or the walled enclosures of this settlement may have been built during a Phocian occupation. Isodomic ashlar masonry is preserved in Isiomata/Daphnus (Sector B) in the Dipotamos valley and in Cnemides (Plate 5.6), in Mendenitsa (Plates 5.7 A–B and 5.8), in Karavydia/Profitis Ilias (Plate 5.9), and may also have been the style of the lower city of Naryca

[7] Kastro Golemi is the only example of trapezoidal isodomic in whole region (cf. Fossey 1990: 182).

[8] Fossey 1988: 493.

[9] For example, in Amphissa the walls with a trapezoidal isodomic structure are dated to the mid-fourth century (French 1991: 35; Tomlinson 1996: 20–21; Blackman 2001: 64) and in Distomo, ancient Ambryssus, they are dated to the fourth and third centuries (Tomlinson 1996: 21; Blackman 2001: 64.)

Plate 5.7 Mendenitsa. (A): Isodomic ashlar reused in outer wall. Inner circuit on the background. (B): Large tower in the inner wall.

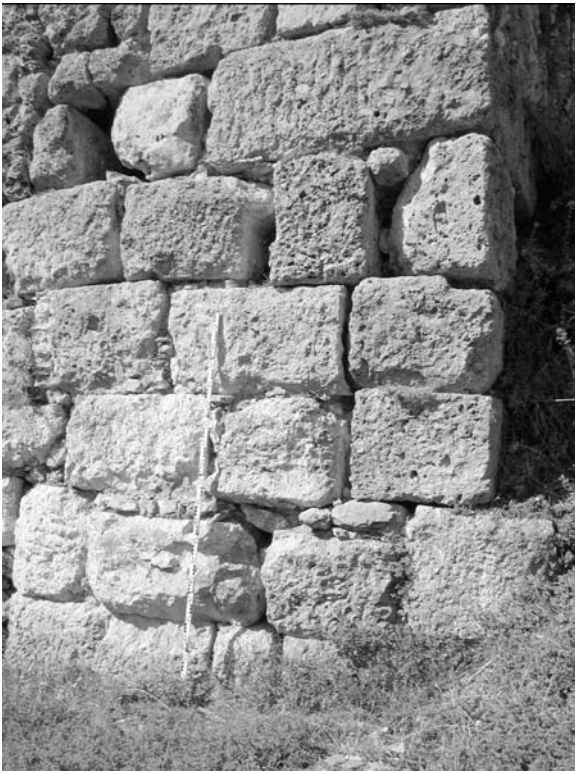

Plate 5.8. Mendenitsa. Isodomic ashlar reused in Tower (outer wall).

Plate 5.9. Profitis Ilias. Ashlar walling.

Plate 5.10. Isodomic ashlar in Naryca.

(Plate 5.10), Thronium and Scarpheia. In Palianifitsa ancient ashlars are set into and scattered around the church of Agios Ioannis Anifitsas and in Tachtali/Ities there is a pile of several ashlars of isodomic appearance which could have formed part of the settlement's walls. Later walls in mortar and tile can be seen in Mendenitsa.

Certainly the chronological classification of Greek styles established by Scranton[10] is too rigid and both its relative and absolute chronologies have been the subject of debate, especially with regard to the dating of polygonal walls whether coursed or uncoursed, variously dated to Archaic, Classical or Hellenistic periods, and with regard to trapezoidal, dated between the mid-fifth and late fourth centuries, and isodomic ashlar walls, with a sequence covering the whole of the fourth century and even part of the Hellenistic period. However we can generally use the traditional classification,[11] taking into account any chronological modifications introduced, as a good starting point for discussion.

The "Lesbian" polygonal style wall can be dated to some point in the sixth century, rather than the fifth century.[12] In Opuntian Locris the "Lesbian" polygonal wall of Agios Ioannis Theologos, ancient Halae, is dated,

10 Scranton 1941: 89 ff.

11 Cf. Fossey 1986: 121 for the traditional classification: Cyclopean + "Lesbian" Polygonal + Coursed Polygonal + Trapezoidal Ashlar + Mortared Work. For a discussion of the problems of stylistic chronology, see Winter 1971: 80–100.

12 Courtils 1988: 134.

according to the excavations carried out, to the sixth century[13] and, likewise, the polygonal walls of Kastri Larmes/Larymna, Kastron Kolakas (perhaps ancient Cyrtones), Kyparissi, Kastro Melidoni/Alope, Nyichori (ancient Corseia?) and Palaiokastro Skaderanga are dated to the same century.[14] The "Lesbian" walls at some Boeotian sites and in Phocis are also dated to the same period.[15]

Certainly the polygonal walls are the most difficult to date without excavation and without surface finds.[16] Thus, for example, the fort of Kyriaki (near the modern town of Grammatiko) in Phocis was built with a polygonal wall,[17] and has been dated to the mid-fourth century, in the context of the Third Sacred War; in Domokos, in southern Thessaly, fourth-century pseudo-isodomic ashlar is superimposed on an earlier polygonal structure, perhaps fifth century.[18] In Naupactus, the polygonal wall has been dated to the fifth century.[19] In Epicnemidian Locris the polygonal rubble walls were, moreover, commonly used in the construction of watchtowers as Skopia or fortresses as Stefani and Kastraki.[20] The fortress of Agnanti/Profitis Ilias could perhaps belong to the Roman period. Anyway, on the basis of the very limited evidence available, it could perhaps be considered that most of the polygonal walls of Epicnemidia were built during the Classical period.

The trapezoidal isodomic ashlar masonry can be dated to between the mid-fifth century and the mid-fourth century,[21] and specifically, in Phocis, where no less than sixteen settlements have trapezoidal walls,[22] it is usually dated to the mid-fourth century, during the Third Sacred War.[23] The trapezoidal isodomic ashlar walls of Palaiokastro Anavras in Epicnemidian Locris and Kastro Golemi in Opuntian Locris must be date to the mid-fourth century, whether or not these sites were occupied by the Phocians.

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13 Walker and Goldman 1915: 432.

14 Fossey 1990: 139.

15 For Boeotia Fossey 1988: 492; in the Phocian case: Fossey 1986: 127; McInerney 1999: 341; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 123–133, esp. 138.

16 Winter 1971: 81.

17 Buckler 1979: 15–17; French 1994: 32.

18 Catling 1986: 44.

19 French 1994: 23.

20 Fossey 1986: 127: some are dated to the fourth century.

21 Fossey 1986: 122.

22 At least Charadra, Drymaea, Lilaea, Amphicleia, Teithronium, Triteis, Tithorea, Patronis, Elateia, Hyampolis, Panopeus, Daulis, Stiris, Anticyra, Medeon, Bulis, see Tillard 1910/11: 54–75, particularly 69; Scranton 1941: 89–90; McInerney 1999: 340, 343; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 301–304.

23 McInerney 1999: 346; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 276 ff.

Isodomic ashlar masonry can be found in Pyrgos Livanates,[24] in Lamia, dated to the second half of the fourth century,[25] in Stylis, ancient Phalara, in southern Thessaly[26] and in Galaxidi, in Hesperian Locris, dated to the fourth-third centuries.[27] McFadden dated the Type C isodomic ashlar wall of Halae to the third quarter of the fourth century.[28] Other isodomic walls in Opuntian Locris at Atalanti/Opus, Bazaraki, Kastri Larmes/Larymna, Palaiochori Martinou and Nyichori have also been dated to the latter part of the fourth century.[29] The excavations of the Fourteenth Ephorate at Isiomata/Daphnus have brought to light parts of the fortification circuit of Late Classical date.[30] Consequently, we can assume that the isodomic ashlar walls of Epicnemidian Locris would have a similar chronology, dating to after 346 and the end of the Third Sacred War.

This combination of evidence and conjecture, excluding the watchtowers, can be summarised in the following table:

Table 5.1. Incidence of Masonry Styles in Epicnemidian Locris.

Site	Walls	rubble/ polygonal	"Lesbian" polygonal	trapezoidal isodomic	isodomic ashlar	Mortar and tile
Alponus	×	×?			×?	
Nicaea	×					
Scarpheia	×?				×?	
Thronium	×				×?	
Anavra	×			×		
Naryca	×		×		×	
Cnemides	×				×	
Mendenitsa	×				×	×
Tachtali/Ities	×?				×?	
Palianifitsa	×?				×?	
Daphnus	×				×	
Karavydia/ Profitis Ilias	×				×	
Kastraki	×	×				
Stefani	×	×				

24 Blackman 1998: 73.
25 Catling 1986: 43; 1988: 36; 1989: 49; French 1993: 51; Blackman 1998: 73.
26 Blackman 1998: 74.
27 Catling 1985: 31; Tomlinson 1996: 21.
28 McFadden 2001: 50, 62 and 68.
29 Fossey 1986: 122.
30 Papakonstantinou and Zachos in Chapter 3.

To sum up, bearing in mind that modifications may be introduced in the future when better information is available, perhaps three different periods of wall building can be defined in Epicnemidian Locris.[31] Thus the (stone) fortification of the *poleis* of Epicnemidian Locris would have begun during the Archaic period, around the sixth century and for this period we have, at least, the "Lesbian" walls of the acropolis of Naryca (Plate 5.1 A–B).[32] Perhaps, as may be the case in Naryca, only the acropolis of each *asty* was fortified. Other Epicnemidian cities may have begun to build "Lesbian" or at least polygonal walls in this period. According to Strabo (1.3.20), Alponus was walled at least in 426 or in the third century. It is also possible that at least Thronium and Naryca were fortified before the middle of the fourth century. As we have seen, in 430 the Athenian *strategos* Cleopompus landed on the Locrian coast with thirty triremes and Thronium was taken.[33] Diodorus (12.44.1) says that the Athenians conquered the city after a siege, which suggests some resistance was offered and the possibility that Thronium was walled at the time.[34] In 352/1, Phayllus, the *strategos* of the Phocian Confederacy, took all the cities of Epicnemidian Locris. Naryca rebelled and its inhabitants massacred the two hundred soldiers which Phayllus had stationed there. Phayllus laid siege to the city, but the Boeotians came together as an army, defeated the Phocians in the proximity of Abae and forced Phayllus to lift the siege.[35] However, Phayllus recovered immediately, defeated the Boeotians, laid siege once more to Naryca and conquered the city, razing it to the ground.[36] The siege of Naryca may also indicate that this *polis* was walled before 352/1.

The Third Sacred War (356–346) probably opened a new period of fortification and it was perhaps the Phocians themselves who strengthened the defences of Epicnemidian Locris by using the trapezoidal isodomic ashlar style so characteristic of Phocis and virtually absent from neighbouring

[31] Fossey 1990: 139–141 and 1992: 127, defended the existence in Opuntian Locris of two different periods of fortification: the polygonal "Lesbian" walls, which date to the beginning of the sixth century, and the isodomic ashlar masonry of the late fourth century. The trapezoidal isodomic style would differentiate Epicnemidian from Opuntian Locris.

[32] The polygonal "Lesbian" walls of Delphi and Abae are usually dated to the sixth century (McInerney 1999: 343). Adam 1982: 27 dates them to the latter part of the sixth century.

[33] Th. 2.26.1.

[34] Diod. 12.44.1: πόλιν Θρόνιον ἐξεπολιόρκησε.

[35] Diod. 16.38.3–4.

[36] Diod. 16.38.5: ἐπανιόντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ Ναρυκαίων πόλει πολιορκουμένῃ βοηθούντων ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ Φάυλλος τούτους μὲν ἐτρέψατο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν.

regions such as Opuntian Locris and Boeotia. The walling of Palaiokastro Anavras (Plates 5.4 and 5.5) can be dated precisely to this period of the mid-fourth century: its fortification would have been designed, together with the occupation of Alponus, Nicaea, Scarpheia and Thronium, to control the Thermopylae Pass and thus prevent an invasion from northern Greece. Perhaps this programme of fortification affected other places (Scarpheia, Thronium) and above all Nicaea, which seems to have become the main Phocian base in Epicnemidian Locris between 352 and 346.

The third and biggest period of fortification can be dated to the latter part of the fourth century, after the Phocian occupation. In fact, the isodomic ashlar walls of Naryca (Plate 5.10), Cnemides (Plate 5.6), Mendenitsa (Plates 5.7 A–B and 5.8), Karavydia/Profitis Ilias (Plate 5.9), Isiomata/Daphnus and perhaps Scarpheia, Thronium, Tachtali/Ities and Palianifitsa can be dated to this period. Not only the important sites, the *asty* of each *polis*, were fortified, but the whole area, including fortresses such as Stefani, and probably watchtowers,[37] such as Skopia. This would indicate that a complete programme was adopted, designed to create a network of defences to keep watch on the whole region and that could communicate with each other. Thus it is possible to discern for the first time in this period, the second half of the fourth century, a system of territorial defence that took the form of a series of larger sites and others that were smaller and a secondary system of fortresses and watchtowers designed to establish visual control of the territory, the main routes and the frontiers, based on sites' intercommunication and mutual visibility, as occurred throughout much of central Greece in the same century (Figure 5.1).[38] It seems obvious that this programme of fortification was carried out with the events of the Third Sacred War and the Phocian occupation in mind and with the evident intention that similar events should not happen again.

Despite the region's importance in the Hellenistic period, between the ambitions of the Aetolian Confederacy and Macedonia, it seems that earlier fortifications, especially those in trapezoidal and isodomic ashlar style, were still used and repaired, as happened in Kastro Melidoni/Alope where

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37 Maier, 1961, II: 99–100.

38 Dakoronia 2002a: 67; 2009: 285. In Boeotia, Fossey 1992, 112, 123, 128; 1972 [= 1989: 169–184] and 1979 [= 1989: 185–200] (perhaps in the era of Theban hegemony); in eastern Phocis: Fossey 1986: 121–141, esp. 135–141, and 1992: 123, (at the beginning of the decade of the fifties of the fourth century in relation with the Third Sacred War) and in Opuntian Locris in the latter part of the fourth century, immediately after 346 and the end of the Third Sacred War as a reaction "to aggressive Phokian policies in the mid 4th century": Fossey 1990a: 138–150, esp. 146–150, and 1992: 127–128.

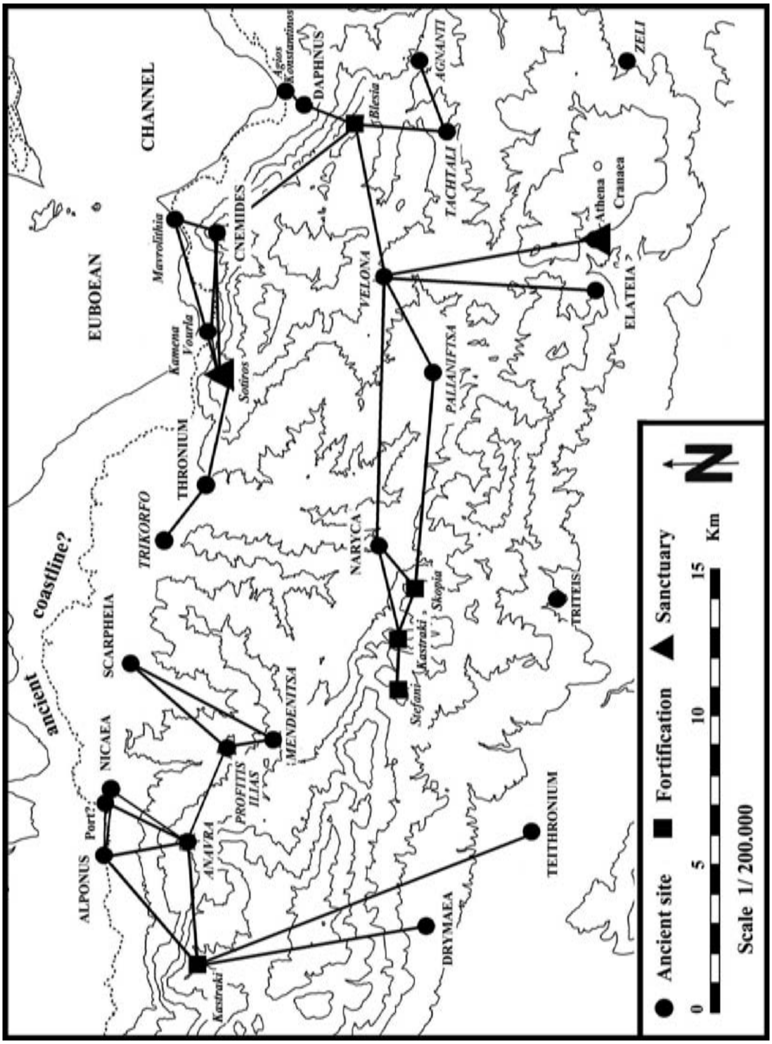

Figure 5.1. The fortification network in Classical and Hellenistic times with visible areas from each site.

isodomic ashlar masonry continued to be used throughout the Hellenistic period.[39] In fact, there are no signs of new walls being built in this period. Subsequently, in the medieval period, the walled enclosure of Mendenitsa was completely transformed, the ancient blocks being reused and mortar and tile extensively employed (Plates 5.7 A–B and 5.8).

39 Not only are the styles commonly used in the Hellenistic period absent, but also certain characteristic design features, such as the use of larger towers to accommodate catapults.

CHAPTER SIX

COMMUNICATION ROUTES IN AND AROUND EPICNEMIDIAN LOCRIS*

Eduardo Sánchez-Moreno**

1. Introduction. Marks on the Landscape, Landscape of Paths, Paths with No Names

There can be no doubt that within its narrow confines, ancient Epicnemidian Locris summarized the most of Greek geography: Mountain, sea and capricious topography. As in other parts of the Balkan cordillera and by extension the Mediterranean basin, its rugged relief left its imprint on history. This is particularly clear when we look at the way the network of roads that crossed their land conditioned the ancient Locrians' relations with each other and their neighbours. There are two defining characteristics of the territory of Epicnemidian Locris and they create the paradox of a region that is both a necessary thoroughfare and a place that is difficult to cross. On one hand its strategic character as one of the keys to central Greece—making Eastern Locris, and Epicnemidia in particular, a wedge between Thessaly, Mount Parnassus, Boeotia and the Euboean Channel—made it the backdrop for armies marching from Macedonia to Attica and the Peloponnese until well into the twentieth century. And on the other, its difficult relief of small, rugged valleys cut off by a powerful barrier to the south (the Callidromus and Mt. Cnemis) and to the north (by the Malian

* The author is indebted to Manuel Arjona for his help in translating some texts in modern Greek and likewise expresses his thanks to José Pascual, Adolfo J. Domínguez, Gloria Mora and Manuel Arjona for discussing and suggesting different topics on this chapter, both during fieldwork at Greece and during the writing process. The author also was benefited by a bursary from the Programme "José Castillejo-2007" (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Spain) that allowed him to work at the University of Oxford (February–June 2008)—linked to the Institute of Archaeology and Wolfson College—and to complete the writing of both chapters 6 and 7.

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Gulf). These are the features that structured the settlement patterns and the intra and inter-regional road network where, as we shall see, mountain passes and gorges are essential in the organisation of space. Locris' western exit, Thermopylae—so often fought for, so often defended, so often taken—is the legendary point of reference in a landscape where the geographical features determine the route and transits through them write history. Both strategic and peripheral at the same time, both unknown and unavoidable, the land of the Locrians is critical to an understanding of central Greece.

Let us begin by offering a territorial frame of reference that will serve to determine its natural frontiers and, on the basis of these, the routes available to its settlers. The eastern extension to Mount Oeta, the chain formed by the foothills of the Callidromus (1,419 m) and Mount Cnemis (947 m) extends W-E, rather more NW-SE to be precise, parallel to the coast from the mouth of the Spercheius to the bay of Agios Konstantinos and the river Dipotamos. This eastern edge marks the frontier between Epicnemidian Locris—the part of Locris around the mountain of the same name—and Opuntian Locris (Fossey 1990)—the part below Mount Cnemis—both of which are considered territorial sub-units of the Eastern Locrian *ethnos* (Nielsen 2000). To the north, the mountain peaks open into narrow valleys leading down to the coastal plain, where most of the main centres of population are to be found. These valleys are progressively cut off transversally, to the point that the Thermopylae defile on the western flank and cape Cnemis at the eastern end, dropped literally to the sea, greatly restricting overland communication. While it was impossible to travel around Cnemis along the coast, at the western end, Thermopylae provided the narrow corridor giving access to the lands of the Malians, Oetaeans and Thessalians. Hence we can understand the importance of the inner passes of the Callidromus, which gave access to the Cephisus valley (Tolias 2002: 175) from Antiquity until the Lamia-Athens highway along the coast was constructed in 1937. It meant a turning point for communications which until then had traditionally followed a N-S course. Going southwards through the Callidromus passes from Epicnemidian Locris into Phocis, travellers then came to the Cephisus valley, a natural corridor between the Callidromus and Mount Parnassus, providing easy access to Boeotia and Attica. Thus until the twentieth century the connection between Thermopylae and the Callidromus passes was virtually the only way of travelling overland between the north and south of Greece, between Macedonia and the Peloponnese. The strategic importance of Locris lies at the root of the Locrians' inevitable role in History and, in part, their ruin.

As the various chapters of this monograph have shown, in order to understand Epicnemidian territory and the viability of its road network, changes in the landscape have to be taken into account. And in particular, the progressively changing coastline (see chapter 1 in this volume). The sedimentation of the Spercheius delta and other riverbeds subject to heavy erosion over the past 5,000 years, together with other geological and anthropic processes has led to the irregular but constant progradation of the coastline. The result has been the formation of an alluvial strip along the coast as much as 12 km wide in places, with detritic deposits several dozen metres deep at some points. To put it another way, the coastline in Antiquity was much further back, and at a considerably higher point than it is at present, and an area that is today occupied by alluvial plains and salt marshes was in the past nothing but sea. It is obvious that this has transformed the physiognomy of the environment, and what is more interesting for historical analysis, the perception of the ancient landscape. Thermopylae is the best example of this process. The dramatic defile little wider than a chariot at its western gate, according to Herodotus (7.176.2), is today a broad plain that has reclaimed nearly 5 km from the sea, and its central stretch is some 20 m higher than it was in 480 BC.[1] Unlike in the past, this means that today it would be impossible to defend, however heroically. In addition, the extensive seismic activity around the Malian Gulf and the Atalanti fault is another major variable that has shaped the relief of this region.[2] Tidal waves and tsunamis such as the one described by Demetrius of Callatis through Strabo (1.3.20), in 426 BC or perhaps in the third century BC,[3] had disastrous effects on the coast. Landslides, rivers changing course, fractures of the relief and collapsing buildings, severely affected the configuration of the road network.

Geography, particularly the river network, defined the pattern of settlement and determined the natural routes taken by the roads and paths of Epicnemidia. When we study them, we should also take into account other aspects such as land use and changes in vegetation. Inland, the rugged Locrian landscape offers little space for working the land. The economy is traditionally based on forestry and exploiting the mountainside, grazing and agriculture is limited to the valley bottoms (Kotoulas 2002). As we have seen in other chapters of this work, the area was settled for centuries as

1 Kraft *et alii* 1987; Kase *et alii* 1991: 6–8; Vouvalidis *et alii* 2010b.
2 Papadopoulos and Chalkis 1984; Buck and Stewart 2000; Cundy *et alii* 2000; Buck 2006.
3 Papaioannou *at alii* 2004.

demonstrated by the archaeological record, which is incomplete due to the lack of systematic excavations, and also by literary and epigraphical information for historical periods.[4] However, in comparison with these long-term economic patterns, in recent times the natural space has been changed in three major ways, which have been reshaping the territory in the course of the twentieth century. Namely, the farming of the alluvial plain, tourist development of resorts such as Kamena Vourla and Agios Konstantinos on the coast, and the construction of the national highways.[5] Using data from environmentally similar regions such as Thessaly, Epirus or western Macedonia, where, unlike Locris, palaeoecological studies have been carried out (Ntinou, 2002), the basic vegetation of Locris is defined by a meso-Mediterranean pre-forestal floor of *Quercus*, *Pinus* and *Iuniperus* alternating with steppe vegetation. This ecological niche was gradually affected by a relatively slow process of human activity throughout the Holocene, with very acute deforestation in the last two centuries due to the agricultural, urban and road-building factors referred to above (Kotoulas 2002).

But apart from what can be gleaned from the physical environment, what do we know about ancient roads? Very little. But although less than we would like, the classical sources do provide some interesting information. For example, topographical descriptions and, in particular, a list of distances between cities, particularly those on the coast (in Epicnemidia, Alponus, Scarpheia and Thronium), of which the best account of the region is provided by Strabo (9.4.4–6). The distances measured in stades indirectly suggest nameless roads between centres of population. We also have the descriptions of certain places: routes such as the Anopaea path (Hdt. 7.216–218), defiles such as Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.175–176; Str. 9.4.13–16) or gorges such as Asopus (Hdt. 7.198), which are very helpful for reconstructing episodes whose setting is more than a backdrop. And a third type of information to be found is the military historiography giving accounts of battles and troop movements, which also describes the network of regional

[4] Leekley and Efstratiou 1980: 119–128; Dakoronia 2002b.

[5] The national Athens-Lamia-Thessalonica highway along the coast was opened in the 1930s, but there has been a surge in new infrastructure in the last years. The old highway has been converted into a motorway, widening it and doubling the number of lanes, and the route of the High Speed Athens-Thessalonica train has been planned. In the territory that concerns us, this project has meant drilling a tunnel through the Callidromus (between Modi and Rengini). The building work has caused considerable environmental impact, especially in the Kamena Vourla-Thermopylae stretch, and therefore affected the archaeological sites in the vicinity.

routes and roads good enough for the movement of troops and military equipment.[6]

Much less abundant are any physical remains of ancient roads. No traces of road surface have been preserved in Epicnemidia, with the exception of a few stretches of *kalderimi*. These are the paved roads dating to the Turkish era which fossilise previous routes. Moreover, from the nineteenth century onwards, ancient rural tracks were abandoned in some cases and destroyed in others;[7] while more recently the opening up of forest tracks or widening them with bulldozers has meant the beds of *kalderimi* have virtually disappeared.[8] Landslides, rivers that burst their banks in flash floods and encroaching vegetation, a recurrent feature of this region, have also had an effect. In short, natural erosion, and above all, human activity mean that no trace remains of most of the roads used in Antiquity, and only certain landmarks such as riverbeds and fords, ravines and mountain passes provide a partial idea of the routes they took.[9] Apart from the centres of

6 It is not surprising that historical topography (the study and reconstruction of spaces for a better understanding of the facts) has habitually been guided by military interest, at the service therefore of polemology. This assumption is explicit in the words of Pritchett (5.209): "my chief interest in topography has been to use it as a control over accounts in classical historians of battlefields and the movements of armies". Hence the *leitmotiv* of the two great works by the University of California's eminent Hellenist: *The Greek State at War*, 5 vols. [1971–1991] and *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, 8 vols [1965–1992].

7 As Pritchett (5.214) would point out with regard to the Vasilika pass, "parenthetically, this route is mute testimony to how roads vanish if they are not maintained and traffic is diverted to another way". Apart from that, although many modern roads follow the route or take advantage of earlier stretches, others are new, and like the Athens-Lamia road along the coast, have little to do with the traditional roads of the region. The ancient paths were more versatile and practical topographically, and usually took a more direct route than the modern roads, at least for shorter journeys.

8 Suffice it to say that in our surveys we have found practically no traces of the paved roads mentioned by nineteenth-century travellers and only a few remains of *kalderimi* recognised by Pritchett (in the Fontana Pass) in the 1980s. To these losses must be added the reuse of the slabs and boundary stones in the construction of houses and walls, a process parallel to the dismantling of city walls to use their ashlars to build modern farmhouses. It should be noted however that in Antiquity, and even in medieval and modern times, only main roads were paved.

9 Which is why, in view of the absence of any vestige of the original roads and paths, the routes systematised in this chapter are based on necessarily theoretical assumptions. The itineraries proposed have, however, been determined by taking a number of guiding variables into account: in addition to the patterns of relief (orography, rivers and torrents, hills, mountainsides, defiles, natural paths, etc), they include the location of sites and their optimal intercommunication, natural and political frontiers, journeys recognisable from the historical sources, the medieval and modern road network, the availability of water and areas of provisioning or hermitages and iconostasis traditionally associated with the roads. Place

population along the way, indicating control of roads, there are also towers and forts. Constructions of this type can be recognised in the area in strategic positions on the foothills of the Callidromus, especially around the Thermopylae;[10] however they are very difficult to date due lack of studies, there being few defensive structures that safely go back to the Byzantine era. It should not be forgotten that from Prehistory up to the nineteenth century the roads in rural Greece were only paths through the terrain, most of them unsignposted, and without any kind of construction.

As far as we know there are no comprehensive or monographic studies on the ancient itineraries of the region, despite its strategic position. Unfortunately we cannot use the *Tabula Imperii Romani* (*TIR*) either, since publication of the sheets relating to the Greek state has been long delayed;[11] while the cartographic atlases of the classical world, such as the recent publication of the *Barrington*, although useful, are too general to provide regional information, with the added drawback that most of them do not show the routes.[12] As well as our observations on the ground, the documentary base of this work lies in four main repertoires: 1) the handling of regional cartography,[13] 2) the accounts of nineteenth century travellers who crossed the region using traditional routes, 3) local histories and geographical guides,[14]

names provide additional assistance, and in this respect regional names relating to "passes", "crossroads", "gates", "sentry posts" and "carriages", suggesting fossilised roads, abound.

10 Pritchett 1958: 210–211; MacKay 1963.

11 Only sheet K-35 has been published, 1: Philippi (1993). The territory of Epicnemidian Locris would be included on sheet J-34: Athenai, for which there is no planned date of publication.

12 As in the case of the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Talbert 2000). Sheet nº 55 (Thessaly-Boeotia) of this atlas, scale 1:500,000, shows Epicnemidian Locris. It shows the main cities and Thermopylae, but there is no indication of roads or passes over the Callidromus (erroneously identified as *Cnemis Mons*). In the brief commentary on the sheet the compilers (J.M. Fossey and J. Morin) say: "Roads are omitted deliberately. Information on them is either too scrappy or too general in nature to warrant marking road courses. In fact 'roads' in Greece were typically pathways following the lie of the land, not constructed features at all (except in those rare instances where they were, say, cut into a rock face). The paucity of remains makes marking them with any confidence virtually impossible" (Talbert 2000: 818).

13 In addition to the Greek topographical maps (scale 1/50,000), the sheet for Mt. Kallidhromo (scale 1:50,000) in the *Anavasi* collection (Central Greece, Topo 50, 2003) is very complete, and so is the smaller scale (1:100,000) map, also by *Anavasi*, of Fokhida-Eastern Aetolia/Nafpaktia (Central Greece, Topo 100, 2005). Both show the principal ancient sites (cities, fortifications, towers) as well as highways, local roads and forest tracks; the latter is particularly thorough in the *Anavasi* maps.

14 Thus for example: Adam 2001, who from local interest provides interesting information about the network of Locrian roads (pp. 366–373) and the place names of the Rengini district

and, primarily, 4) the scientific output related in one way or another with the topography and history of the territories of central Greece in Antiquity.[15]

To end this introduction, before going on to study the roads and passes of Epicnemidia, we shall refer to the principal terms used to describe roads in the classical Greek texts. Depending on their size and type, two main categories of roads can be distinguished: the highways or main roads on one hand and, much more abundant, the minor roads or paths on the other.[16] Starting with the first, ὁδός is the usual word for route or road, and it is called δρόμος when it is paved.[17] Variants of roads are the various adjectival forms of ὁδός, including the following: εὐθεῖα ὁδός, the main road connecting two urban centres; λαοφόρος ὁδός or λεωφόρος ὁδός, a busy road or public way; ἁμαξήλατος ὁδός or ἁμαξιτὸς ὁδός, a road for wheeled traffic or carriages equivalent to the Latin *via vehicularis*; δημοσία ὁδός, a term for road or public boundary used in inscriptions concerning the regulation of property between poleis; βασιλική ὁδός, "royal" or public road maintained by a central state, a common name in the Roman and Byzantine period; σχιστή ὁδός, a road divided into two branches or crossroads; κοίλη ὁδός, a hollow or drilled road frequently associated with riverbeds whose erosion facilitated the formation of natural paths; as well as ἱερὰ ὁδός or sacred way. For its part κέλευθος was also used for road but less assiduously than *hodos* and in a rather more metaphorical sense. Of a lesser category is the term ἀτραπός, a rural road or track not suitable for wheeled traffic but essential for local communication: in fact it is the term that Herodotus uses for the famous Anopaea path by which Xerxes' Immortals, guided by Ephialtes, reached the eastern gate of Thermopylae over the Callidromus in 480 (Hdt. 7.212–215; Th. 4.36.3). Similar to *atrapos*, τρίβος is a path or track open through vegetation, while οἶμος alludes to a path or short-cut although

(pp. 382–395). Ancient Naryx and the important mountain passes of Fontana and Vasilika are placed in this area.

15 Without being exhaustive, mention should be made here of the works of Larsen 1968; Forrest, 1982; Pritchett 1982, 1985, 1989; Buckler 1989, 2003; Buck, 1996; McInerney 1999; Morgan, 2003; Buckler and Beck 2008; Giovannini 2007. And in particular on the Locrians and their geographical and ethnic identity, the contributions of Fossey, 1990 (for Opuntian Locris); Nielsen 2000, 2004; Pascual 2001; Dakoronia *et alii* 2002 and Domínguez Monedero 2006a; 2009 which contain compilations and analysis of the foregoing bibliography.

16 Because of its clarity and contextualisation, I have adopted the classification used by G.J. Lolos (Appendix I: Greek terminology for roads) in his topographic study of Sicyon (Lolos 1998: 271–288, with useful bibliography). For Latin road terms, see André 1950 and Chevallier 1997.

17 From this derive amongst others the terms χοματόδρομος, a non-asphalted road in modern Greek, the result of an apocopated form of the Turkish, in the previously mentioned *kalodrimi*, *kalderimia* or *kalderimi*.

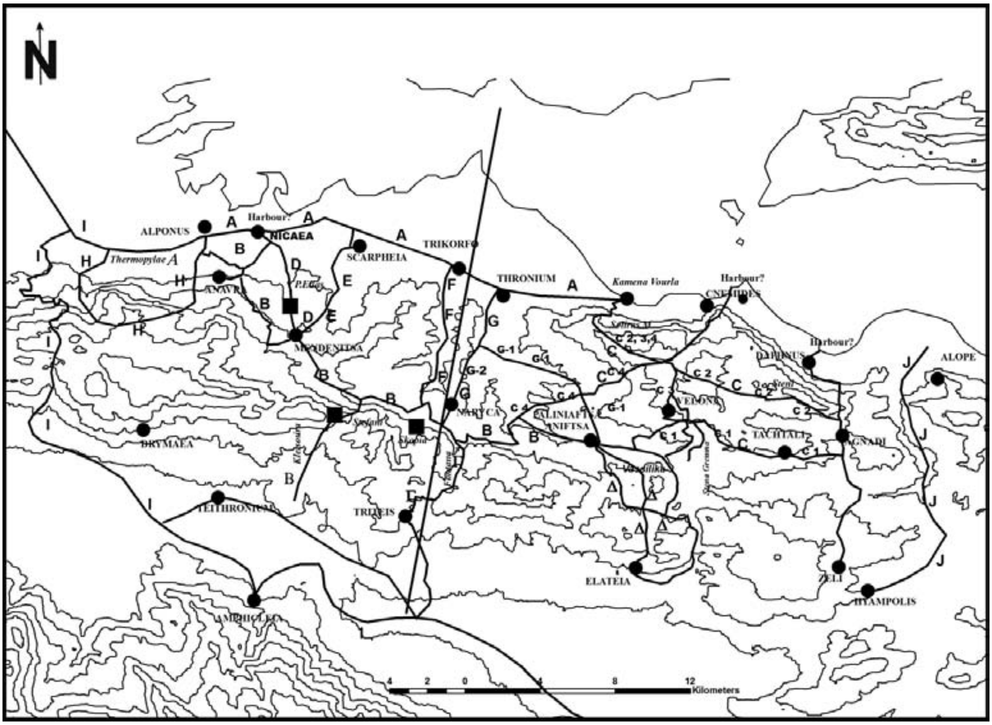

Figure 6.1. The routeway in Epicnemidian Locris: general. A. The (supposed) coastal route; B. The Anavra-Mendenitsa-Naryx-Aniphtsa (Vasilika) route; C. Inland routes between Mount Cnemis and the Callidromus: C.1 The Aniphtsa-Tachtali-Dipotamos corridor; C.2 Along the mountain crest of Cnemis and through the Plisorema gorge; C.3 Via the crest of Cnemis to Velona; C.4 Along the crest of Cnemis to Naryx; D. The route through the Latzorema valley; E. The route along the Potamia valley; F. The route along the Aphamius valley; G. The routes through the Boagrius valley: G.1 Via Xerias stream to Aniphtsa; G.2 Via Agiou Ioanou stream to Naryx; H. The Anopaea path; I. Between the Oeta and the Callidromus: the Melas road, the Asopus road, and the Doris-Phocis corridor; J. Between Daphnus and Hyampolis: The Dipotamos Corridor.

usually in a poetic context. Finally δίοδος relates to a pass through or *saltus* but not strictly a mountain pass, which would more typically be a στενωπός; it could also be used to refer to a strategic or defensive watch point such as Thermopylae, which Herodotus occasionally referred to as *diodos* (Hdt. 7.201).

In short, leaving aside the possibility of an occasional paved road (*hodos eytheia* o *hamaxilatos*), suitable for the mobilisation of armies, most of the interior roads of Epicnemidian Locris are *atrapoi* and *triboi*. Thus, they were unpaved roads for journeys on foot with beasts of burden or herding

animals, adapted to the rugged local topography. These lesser connections were nevertheless vital in communicating settlements and in journeys from them to the areas of economic exploitation (fields of crops, pastures, woodland), and also to frontiers and ports.

2. Principal Axes of Communication in Epicnemidian Locris

West-East Routes

A. *The* (*Supposed*) *Coastal Route*

Contrary to what a glance at the road atlas would suggest, the route along the coast used today by the new Athens-Lamia motorway as the fastest route between the north and south of Greece—directly connecting the mouth of the Spercheius and Thermopylae with the Dipotamos valley and Opuntian Locris—would not have existed in Antiquity. As has already been said, the topography of the Locrian coast has changed considerably in the last 2,500 years and this has resulted in changes in the configuration of the natural paths between Prehistory and our own days. Amongst other physical processes, the clearest sign of this transformation is the progressive silting up of the coast due to the accumulation of detritic sediment washed down by the river network. It was particularly heavy in the Spercheius delta, but also in the mouths of smaller rivers such as, from west to east, the Latzorema, the Potamia, the Liapatorema (ancient Aphamius), the Platanias (ancient Boagrius) and the Dipotamos. The alluvial plains of these deltas around the modern towns of Agia Triada, Molos, Skarfeia, Agios Serafeim, Agios Konstantinos and Longos, which did not exist in Antiquity, thus distort our picture of the ancient landscape. The coast was much narrower (between 7 and 2 km narrower in the strip along Epicnemidia) and steeper, to the extent that in the margins of the territory the mountains fell directly to the sea, leaving no space for a coast road (prevented by the Cnemis promontory, to the east), or at most leaving room for a winding defile (the "Hot gates", to the west), but one which was difficult to cross. Hence in the stretch between the port of ancient Thronium (today Kamena Vourla) and Daphnus (near Agios Konstantinos), the nature of the Locrian coast meant overland communication was impossible, and so the existence of a continual long-distance route was also impossible, but it has nevertheless been defended by some authors.[18]

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[18] Defenders of such a road are Larsen (1960: 232–234; 1968: 110), in relation to the

Rather than a (hypothetical) continuous route, we believe there would have been a single coastal sector between Thermopylae and ancient Thronium, which Buckler (1989: 92–93; 2003: 425, 453) correctly calls "the Thermopylae corridor". To the east, it would had ended more or less at the foot of the Sotiros Monastery (Kamena Vourla), on the western foothills of Mount Cnemis, at km 177 on the modern highway. In addition to this coastal section there would have been a number of roads leading from the coast up the valleys, connecting it firstly with the inland towns, and ultimately with the passes of the Callidromus and Phocis. It has already been noted that it is this last stretch of road—interior and reticulate—and not the transversal one assumed to follow the coast that really structured the Locrians' territory and communications. In any case, although interrupted, the coast road was undoubtedly important for connecting the cities of the coast after Thermopylae (Str. 9.4.4). These were, from west to east, Alponus (2 km from the middle gate of Thermopylae), sited on the gentle slope of Psylopyrgos, Nicaea (2.5 km from Alponus), on the Roumelio plain, Scarpheia (5.5 km from Nicaea), at Trochala beside Agios Charalambos, and Thronium (5 km from Scarpheia), on the Palaiokastro of Pikraki, a hillock on the right bank of the Boagrius. Another settlement, Trikorfo, would also have been associated with this road. It is located on the ancient mouth of the Aphamius and almost equidistant between Scarpheia (3.5 km to the east) and Thronium (2.5 km to the west), of which it may have been a frontier *chorion*. Gentle hills alternating with plains and the regular arrangement of settlements a short distance apart meant that, after Thermopylae, the road was easy. Facilitating communication between the coastal cities, the route would play its role in regulating shipping in the Euboean and Malian Gulfs (see chapter 8), which were separated by cape Cnemis. As Strabo says (9.4.1–4), this mountain landmark divided Eastern Locris in two: Opuntia and Epicnemidia. The road's proximity to the coast and its association with elements of the relief such as promontories or towers served as a guide to shipping, and since vessels could moor at ports or inlets along it, it was an axis for distributing goods brought by sea. As has been clearly demonstrated, the shipping lanes not only reinforced the overland route but replaced it as a means of communi-

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movements of Thessalians against Phocians in the Archaic period, and he assumes it to be a military road, Fossey (1990: 11–13, 103) and Ellinger (1993: 22–23). Although he refers to it as such, Pritchett (4.138–146; 5.175–176) questions the feasibility of a coastal route and in any case considers that most ancient traffic used the passes of the interior. A similar conclusion is reached by Buckler (1989: 33), McInnerney (1999: 175, 335–336) and also Adam (2001: 372–373), who, not without some ambiguity, talk about a route that was far from ideal but in use.

cation and transport, even moving troops. In contrast with roads that were often impassable in bad weather and terrain that was difficult to negotiate, the distance between ports was easily covered by sea. There are passages in classical historiography that attest to the complementary nature of the sea and coastal routes: from the simultaneous advance of the Persians in 480 BC by land (Thermopylae) and sea (Artemisium),[19] to the movements of the consul T.Q. Flamininus (by land) and Philip V (by sea), who met for negotiations that lasted three days at the ports of Nicaea and Thronium during the Roman-Macedonian war.[20]

At the western end, up to approximately 195 on the national highway, the road operated as a natural extension of the Thermopylae pass.[21] This underlines the strategic position of the neighbouring cities (Alponus, Nicaea and Scarpheia), not only for keeping watch over the pass, but also the road. This explains military campaigns such as that of the Phocian Phayllus in 352/1 on the Locrian coast, which sought to secure the Thermopylae corridor as a rearguard against the Boeotians and the Thessalians (Buckler 1989: 92–93; 2003: 425–427). In the words of the orator Aeschines (2.132), Alponus, Thronium and Nicaea were the keys for dominating the defile and, through it, access to central Greece, as Philip II understood in the Third Sacred War (Buckler 1989: 80–81). The same strategy is seen in 197 BC when T.Q. Flamininus marched from Elateia to Scarpheia and Thronium, thus taking the Thermopylae corridor against Philip V of Macedonia (Livy 33.3.6). After Thermopylae, approximately at the central gate, the road left Locris and went westwards into Malian territory to Anthele and Trachinian Heraclea. At Anthele, at the western gate of the pass, was the legendary sanctuary of Demeter at Pylae (Str. 9.4.17), together with Delphi the seat of the Amphictyony made up of the various *ethne* of central Greece.[22] From here the road left the coast and turned up the Spercheius valley into Doris and from there to Thessaly (Béquignon 1937a: 29–36). Going south, it zigzagged over Mt. Oeta through the Vardates and Gravia passes (Kase *et alii* 1991: 21–32), and came out at the high valley of Cephisus (see route I).

The absence of ancient remains and the transformation of the coast (due to the shoreline moving further out, seismic activity and, in recent times,

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19 Hdt. 7.179–239.

20 Polyb. 18.1.5–7, 7.7–8 and 9.8; Livy 32.35.2–8, 36.1, 39.9–12.

21 Alponus, the first of the Locrian cities to the west, was right beside the third of the gates or narrows—the east—that made up the pass. And it was 2 km from the central point of Thermopylae, the Colonos, where the final confrontation with the Persians took place in 480 BC (Hdt. 7.176 and 216) (see pass A in chapter 7).

22 Lefevre 1998; Sánchez 2001.

the expansion of farming and tourism), make it very difficult to reconstruct this part of Epicnemidia's road network. However, geological analysis and the very nature of the relief indicate that during the classical period the waters would have reached a height of between 10–20 m above today's sea level (Kraft *et alii* 1987: 186–188). Since the coastal cities were near the sea, the main road between them was probably also close to the ancient coast, between 0 and 2 km south of the national highway (on the Thermopylae-Kamena Vourla stretch), at a height ranging from 40 to 100 m above present sea level. The narrowest parts of the road, closest to the highway and the ancient coastline, would have been at the western (Thermopylae) and eastern (Cnemis) end, where it would have come to an end.[23] Whilst the most open part of the route, furthest from the modern highway, up to 2 km south of the ancient coastline, would have been the central part between Nicaea and Thronium (km 182–194 of the modern highway), crossing farm land. As well as crossing the boundaries of the various *poleis*, the ancient coastal stretch would have forded the Epicnemidian rivers at the most accessible points nearest the sea. Even this would have presented difficulties, as travellers' accounts of the last two centuries indicate:[24] caught out by rising river

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[23] On the outskirts of Kamena Vourla, 150 m to the south of km 176 of the national highway and at a height of 40 m above sea level, there is a rocky bastion that, following Oldfather, Pritchett (5.151, 177–179) identified as a stepped cave altar. As argued in another chapter of this volume, it seems more likely that it was the base of a platform or control tower associated with the port of Thronium, if this really was in this area, which would correspond with an ancient inlet (see chapter 2: site 14). In this case the coast road would reach the port of Thronium (in the vicinity of which a Geometric cemetery has been located, in Agios Dimitrios, to the south of Kainourgio and near to Kamena Vourla), and end near the rocky bastion. This could also have acted as a marker of the *fines orientalis* of the coastal corridor and of Epicnemidian Locris itself. A few metres to the east Mount Gouvali, a promontory of Mount Cnemis, completely cuts off road communication along the coast. In this way (with the exception of a narrow path that would lead down to the coves of Mavrolithari, the port of Cnemis and the port of Daphnus) the way to the other side of Mount Cnemis-Gouvali, that is, the coast of Opuntian Locris, would have to be by sea. However, not far from the port of Thronium (Kamena Vourla) a route went inland along the western edge of the Cnemis—the Lapini hill—to the Dipotamos valley and reached the sea that way (see routes C.2 and J). Along part of the way it follows the road to the village of Karya from the Sotiros monastery (see routes C.2, C.3 and C.4 on their first shared stretch). Apart from the easier connection by sea, these routes between Cnemis and the Callidromus connect the two Locris, Epicnemidia and Opuntia, via the interior (see routes C-1 and C-2).

[24] One of the few recorded journeys closely following the Locrian coast is that of W. Gell in 1804. From Atalanti and Livanates he went to Cnemis, Molos, Thermopylae and Anthele, and returned by the Gravia route, after having ascended one of the passes of the Callidromus (Gell 1827: 228–240; commentaries in relation with Opuntia in Fossey 1990: 173–175). Months later, in November 1805, W.M. Leake described a similar route: from ancient Opus, Alope and Daphnus to Thronium, Scarpheia and Mendenitsa (Leake 2.177–184), although it was more of

waters and waterlogged roads at certain times of the year, they would have had to avoid the estuaries and reach the other bank by sea.[25] In particular, the area around Kamena Vourla was a marshy area in Antiquity (*vourla* means "reed", "aquatic plant" in Turkish). As at Thermopylae, sulphurous springs converged there, explaining why it subsequently developed as a tourist spa resort. There were also minor branches off the road leading to ports and anchorages that, like those of Alponus, Nicaea, Scarpheia or Thronium, were close to urban centres.

The fact that this route is included in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* gives an idea of its importance in Roman times, and it is in fact the only stretch referred to in the documentation of ancient roads. As segments VI/5-VII/1 of that map show, the road connecting Thessaly with Boeotia and Attica went through Thermopylae (27 miles from the previous *mansio*, Thapedon), Scarpheia (7 miles from Thermopylae), Elateia (22 from Scarpheia) and Chaeroneia (25 miles from Elateia).[26] In the Thermopylae-Scarpheia stretch through Locrian lands, the Roman road would have coincided with the section of the old coast road we are discussing.[27] Discarding its continuation along the coast after the port of Thronium for the reasons given, the road would have turned towards Elateia, either through the Aphamius valley towards Naryx and the Vasilika pass (see route F and B) or, more probably, through the Boagrius valley in the direction of Anifitsa and Vasilika (see route G.1). Crossing the Callidromus through that pass, Elateia and the Cephisus valley were easily reached (see pass Δ in chapter 7). This route through Locris from Thermopylae to Elateia is the one used by Philip V of Macedonia, and he covered more than sixty miles in a single day (Livy 28.7.3). It can be inferred from this that at least in the Hellenistic-Roman period, the road was in good condition and was suitable for wheeled military traffic as a *hodos eytheia* or *hodos hamaxilatos*. As will be seen below, the Thronium-Boagrius valley-Vasilika-Elateia stretch constitutes perhaps the main route through the heart of Locris (route G.1). The fact that the Roman itinerary projects it as an extension of the coast road has confused those who defend the existence of a coast route as far as the Opuntian Gulf.

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a topographical re-reading of Strabo than recognising those places in situ. What is remarkable in both cases is that they do not follow scholars' usual itinerary. Those that ventured as far as Thermopylae tended to use the Delphi-Amphissa-Gravia-Vralos route, the so-called "Salona road", rather than crossing Locris.

25 Dodwell 2.64–65; Buchon 1843: 291.

26 Millar 1964: 576–577; Bosio 1983: *seg.* VI–VII.

27 The map of the Roman road network in central Greece (c. 1st century AD) in S.E. Alcock's book (1993: 123, fig. 40) shows it as the Scarpheia-Elateia-Chaeroneia way.

B. *The Anavra-Mendenitsa-Naryx-Anifitsa (Vasilika) Route*

This follows a course roughly parallel to the previous road, and constitutes the cardinal axis in W-E communication through the south of Epicnemidia. It not only linked the settlements at the heads of the valleys with Naryx, the most important inland city and, like Scarpheia and Thronium the capital of a considerable territory, but also provided access to the mountain passes through the Callidromus that were the only way of reaching the Cephisus valley into central Greece. Thus as well as being a road, it was also a corridor that acted as the Locris-Phocis frontier from Epicnemidia. The route ran parallel to the northern foothills of the Callidromus, following the path of small streams and natural cattle tracks. The local road from Anavra to the towns of Mendenitsa, Kallidromo and Rengini has partially revived this route (Adam 2001: 370–372). Until the coast road was built in 1937, it was the principal asphalt road in Epicnemidia. With an average height of between 380–400 m, the route was highest at each end, and more moderate in the middle section. Thus, it goes from the 540–600 m height around the Paliokastro Anavras and Mendenitsa to 310–330 m at Naryx, and finally reaches 520–550 m near Anifitsa. Like so many other roads in the interior, it could be categorised as moderately mountainous. In view of its importance it is surprising that it has not been mentioned as such a route in the scientific bibliography.

From W-E the route can be reconstructed as follows. It would theoretically start at the Paliokastro Anavras. This is the fortified centre of what was probably a *polis* some 3 km south of the coastal corridor, and a similar distance from the cities of Alponus (to the north) and Nicaea (to the northeast), to which it was joined by bridle paths. In fact remains of *kalderimi* between Alponus and the Paliokastro are preserved. As well as serving a defensive purpose by keeping watch over the eastern gate of Thermopylae—together with Alponus—and the Anopaea path leading to it over the Callidromus (route H), the Paliokastro Anavras is the link connecting the two transversal routes, the coast route (route A) and the interior route (route B). It was therefore a key point on the road network of the western Epicnemidia, which would have started to develop at a fairly early date to judge by the Late Geometric necropolis found in Fournos, to the southwest of Anavra (Dakoronia 1984: 104–105). From the Paliokastro, the first stretch of the route clearly went in a SE direction as far as Mendenitsa. Avoiding the heights of the rocky outcrop on which the Paliokastro was erected (which reaches a height of 700 m), through the hillsides of Pinakakia and Alepofolia, the road would have covered the distance—some 5 km—between the modern towns of Anavra and

Mendenitsa following a similar route to the present road. Approximately 1.5 km to the northwest of the town of Mendenitsa, at the foot of the Karavydia hill, the road joins the first of the longitudinal routes, that along the valley of the river Latzorema, which connects the coast at the height of Nicaea with the settlement at Mendenitsa (route D). On the summit of Karavydia, on the site of the modern hermitage dedicated to the Profitis Ilias, there was a strategically situated Classic-Hellenistic fortified settlement which overlooked the valleys of the Latzorema to the west and Potamia to the east, primarily protecting the point where the roads met. This settlement could belong to the intermediate *polis* of Mendenitsa, whose ancient name is unknown, and whose fortified enclosure served as the foundations of the medieval castle of Boudonitza, in which courses of ancient ashlars are visible (Bon, 1937: 152–158). The settlement probably became dependent on the city of Scarpheia in the Roman period. Centuries later, with the break up of the Byzantine Empire, Boudonitza became the capital of the marquisate of the same name (1204–1414), one of the best exponents of francocratic feudalism in central Greece.[28] Its strategic imprint controlling the still operative Thermopylae pass in the distance made it a landmark in the medieval and modern road network. This is shown by one of the few recorded journeys of the Ottoman period: that made in 1470 by Mohammed II Porteta with his armies on the way from Chalcis, staying overnight in Mendenitsa before crossing the Callidromus via Kleisoura or Fontana (Tolias 2001: 176, 181). In short, Mendenitsa was a true crossroads with good topographic definition; its importance was guaranteed by its geographical position thanks to the control it exercised over five routes: the one from Anavra we have been looking at (1); its continuation southeast towards Naryx (route B) (2); a turnoff from the latter towards the Kleisoura pass (3); the Latzorema valley route (route D) (4); and that which joined Mendenitsa with Scarpheia via the river Potamia further to the east (route E) (5).

Leaving the town of Mendenitsa behind, the road continued southwards for 1.5 km and then turned to the right along the Chalia stream to the hermitage of Agios Georgios and the town of Kallidromo; the route, some 5 km long, would have been just a few metres north of the modern highway. From Kallidromo the road climbed slightly and first forded the upper reaches of the Liapatorema and then continued for several kilometres along the northern slope of the Kalkanderi, crossed the Salantzorema stream to reach

28 Miller 1908; Bon 1937: 234–249.

ancient Naryx where the stream joined another stream, the Fontanorema or Katafiorema, not far from the town of Rengini.

The city of Naryx or Naryca, birthplace of the hero Oilean Aias, the commander of the forty Locrian ships sent to Troy (*Il.* 2.527–535), is, as has been said, the main inland city of Epicnemidia. It is perfectly located less than 2 km west of Rengini, on the flattish hillock of Paliokastras Renginiou which gives it good visibility over the surrounding territory. The city's walls, domestic structures, necropolis and abundant surface pottery have been preserved. Unfortunately no systematic excavation has been undertaken, only emergency interventions to prevent clandestine action. Founded in the Archaic era—revealed amongst other evidence by the polygonal wall of its acropolis—and built at the head of the fertile Boagrius valley, Naryx guarded the Fontana pass behind it, which was the natural route into Phocis. This made it the target of military expeditions such as that directed by the Phocian commander Phayllus against the city in 351 BC.[29] It was also a key point in the communications network: the roads to Mendenitsa (route B, western sector), Thronium (route G.1) and Anifitsa-Vasilika (route B, eastern sector), as well as the one which led diagonally to Mount Cnemis (route C.4) all started—or ended, depending on one's point of view—in Naryx. Being a point where so many roads met, would have made it the focus for much commercial and military traffic. And the frequent clash of armies, such as that which occurred in 394 BC with the confrontation of Boeotians, Spartans and their Phocian allies at the city's gates,[30] is hardly surprising.

From Naryx the transversal route continued east to the abandoned village of Anifitsa, where it came to the Vasilika pass going south, and the route towards Tachtali and the Dipotamos valley going east (route C.1). Approximately 7 km long and rising gently, the Naryx-Anifitsa stretch closely followed the dirt track that starts 200 m to the northeast of Rengini and follows the course of the Xerias stream (the eastern upstream extension of the Boagrius), passing the hermitages of Agios Nektarios, Agios Konstantinos and Agios Ioannis (Adam 2001: 394–395). Of these, Agios Ioannis, on a gentle hill, is the most interesting. Several hundred metres to the east of the hermitages is the ancient village of Anifitsa, now abandoned, also known as Palianifitsa or Kalyvia (Adam 2001: 385–386). Structures dating to the Roman period have been found nearby (in Allangi and Voulomeni Petra, to the west of Anifitsa), columns and ashlars reused in the hermitage of Agios Ioannis,

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29 Diod. 16.38.3–5; Buckler 1989: 96–97.
30 Diod. 14.82.8; Buckler 2003: 83–84.

archaic and classical pottery on the surface and various funerary inscriptions recognised in the late nineteenth century by Lolling (Pritchett 5.173–174). A short distance from here, at Pisorema, various pithoi tombs dating to the Classical-Hellenistic period have been excavated;[31] and from more recent times there are a water mill, sentry post and two metallurgical furnaces. All this provides abundant evidence that there was a settlement in the area in Antiquity, no doubt related with the road network and guarding the Vasilika passes. At least for a time it was probably a *chorion* in Thronium's territory, although the possibility that it was connected with Naryx should not be discounted. Like Mendenitsa and Naryx, Anifitsa was at another inland crossroads where as many as five different roads came together. Clockwise they would be: the one from Naryx (route B) (1); the one through the Vasilika passes to Elateia in Phocis (2); the one to Velona and Tachtali (route C.1) (3); the one that went in the direction of Cnemis through Karya (route C.3) (4); and finally, the diagonal variant along the Boagrius that joined Thronium and the coast (route G.1) (5).

The main route through the foothills of the Callidromus would have ended in now abandoned Anifitsa. From Anavra to Vasilika, a road threaded its way between the southern peaks and the valleys opening towards the sea. In view of the antiquity of some parts of it,[32] the road could have been used from the beginning of the Archaic period, if not before. This would mean that the passes of the Callidromus were used from an early date and there was consequently movement across the frontier, since Naryx and Anifitsa controlled the Fontana and Vasilika passes, just as Mendenitsa fulfilled the

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31 Dakoronia 1997: 202; Adam 2001: 44–45.

32 Paliokastro Anavras was inhabited in the 10th–8th centuries BC, as the Geometric necropolis of Fournos makes clear (Dakoronia 1984: 104–105), although the impressive walled enclosure may be later, of the Classical-Hellenistic period. References to Naryx in mythical traditions such as it being the native city of Aias the Locrian (Str. 9.4.2; Diod. 14.82.8; cf. Dakoronia 1993a: 117; Jones 2006: 156–157; Kramer-Hajos 2012) and finds of surface pottery (Pritchett 5.168), suggest an archaic or earlier settlement, which is supported by other evidence, such as the polygonal wall of the acropolis. The data available for the Anifitsa area are too disperse and incomplete to establish an hypothesis on its origin. The foundation of Mendenitsa seems to be more recent, since neither the ancient ashlars reused in the medieval castle nor the materials exhumed from the early necropolis of the 3rd–2nd centuries BC (Dakoronia 1988c: 246–247) would date back to the Classical period. In some ways it looks as if the interior of Epicnemidia was settled earlier than the coastal strip. But there are reservations about this interpretation: primarily, the find of the Geometric necropolis of Kainourgio (in Agios Dimitrios near Kamena Vourla, at km 180 of the coast road), next to ancient Thronium; and Middle and Late Helladic pottery seen on the surface in Alponus (Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 138–139; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 264). (For further archaeological context of the region see chapters 2, 4 and 9–11).

same purpose in the case of the Kleisoura pass somewhat later. The road that joined these places thus guaranteed the Locrians access and the rearguard of the frontier with the Phocians.

As we shall see, Anifitsa was not so much the end of the route but a natural transition, a continuation towards other transversal routes. Those that, taking advantages of winding paths and passes, connected the eastern part of the territory with the Dipotamos corridor, and therefore with Opuntian Locris and Phocis (see route J). And they did so protected by the two great mountainous fronts of Epicnemidia.

C. *Inland Routes between Mount Cnemis and the Callidromus*

C.1. *The Anifitsa-Tachtali-Dipotamos Corridor*

Taking advantage of the strip of land that separates the southern slopes of Mount Cnemis (in particular, the hillsides of Granitsa and Dasos, 823 m and 790 m high) from the eastern spurs of the Callidromus (the peaks of Vasilika, Tsouka and Amalia, the latter two 841 and 780 m), an apparently modest but strategically very important inland corridor was established in Antiquity. In fact, it constituted the main way out of Epicnemidia to the middle valley of the Dipotamos, where a few kilometres to the south, around ancient Hyampolis and Abae, the territories of Phocis, Boeotia and Opuntian Locris converged (Str. 9.3.1 and 3.17). Despite being little mentioned in the ancient sources (Paus. 10.1.5), this route and those that complement it (routes C.2 and C.3) are crucial for understanding the historical dynamics of central Greece and in particular the movements of Thessalians, Locrians, Phocians and Boeotians. In the Archaic period Thessalian pressure on Phocis to take control of the Amphictyony of Delphi (McInerney 1999: 174–177) took the form of a series of raids and violent encounters near and throughout the Locrian territory.[33] These would have occurred immediately before the formation of the Confederacy of the Eastern Locrians.[34] To cover the distance between Thermopylae and Hyampolis as quickly as possible—through the interior and without having to cross mountain passes—in its penultimate stretch, this corridor was frequently used in such movements. Despite its significance, the nature and importance of this route has only begun to be determined recently.

An eastern extension of the Mendenitsa-Naryx-Anifitsa axis (route B), the road follows a predominantly straight line at an average altitude of

33 Hdt. 8.27–28; Paus. 10.1.5.

34 Pascual 2001: 247–248; cf. Larsen 1968: 48–58.

400 m., rising to 500 m in the final stretch (Tachtali-Agnanti). Today the territory consists of cultivated fields, pastures and undergrowth; although it still used for herding sheep and goats, pasturing livestock has been in decline for decades in the region. There are no urban centres along the route; in fact the closest, Rengini and Agnanti, mark the west and eastern ends of the route. Going on now to describe its itinerary, from the abandoned village of Anifitsa it followed the right bank of the Xerias stream, just as the present path does, passing the hermitage of Agioi Anargyroi and continuing along the narrow corridor carved out by the Tsagrai stream until it reaches the part of Kato Velona; before that it leaves behind the northern entrance to the Tsakismeno Amaxi, the easternmost of the Vasilika passes leading to Elateia (see pass Δ in chapter 7). In Kato Velona, more specifically in Velona (500 m to the north, a platform between two gullies next to the Klimaki stream), surface Classical and Hellenistic-Roman pottery can be found, which suggests there was an establishment beside the ancient road. From here it would continue southeast, at the foot of the Granitsa crest, by the path leading to the hermitage of Agia Paraskevi and from there to abandoned Tachtali, after a distance of 6 km. A little further on a fork went south to the Stena Gremna, a steep ravine that complemented the Vasilika passes through the interior of the Callidromus.[35] Tachtali, also called Ities, is without doubt an outstanding place. Lying on the final folds of the Dasos, it overlooks the fertile plain of Kambos to the south as far as the Agnantorema stream. Ceramic material (from Classical to Byzantine) abounds on the surface, and in some places ashlars of an ancient enclosure can be identified. Although its origin and importance as a settlement is unknown (it was probably a fortified *chorion*), Tachtali is a key point in the territorial organisation of eastern Epicnemidia; and constituted the nexus between the settlements of Naryx, Elateia, Hyampolis, Daphnus and Cnemis (practically equidistant from Tachtali and connected with each other by transversal routes converging there), which consolidated its strategic character. From Tachtali the final stretch of the road skirted the western slope of mount Dasos before reaching Agnanti, some 4 km to the northeast. Finally, from Agnanti it was easy to reach the Dipotamos valley and with it the longitudinal route that linked Daphnus with Hyampolis, that is, the route from the Euboean Channel to Boeotia (Paus. 10.35.1) (see route J).

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35 Pritchett 4.133; 5.172.

C.2. *Along the Mountain Crest of Cnemis and through the Plisorema Gorge*
Unlike the previous route, this one and the next (C.3) are secondary roads and very mountainous. They would be *triboi* or *atrapoi*, that is, country paths unsuitable for wheeled traffic or armies, but were essential for local communication, in this case because they followed routes that were complementary to the transversal roads, in particular the one from Anifitsa to Agnanti via Tachtali (route C.1). Thus they could be used for travelling diagonally NW-SE from the eastern end of the Epicnemidian coast (the port of Thronium, in Kamena Vourla) by a fairly winding route along the southwestern slope of the Cnemis massif. As stated earlier, the C.2 route to the Dipotamos valley would be the inland alternative for communication between Epicnemidian Locris and Opuntian Locris, since the coastal route was interrupted by the Gouvali, the northern promontory of Mount Cnemis (see route A).

The first, rugged stretch of this road (from where it starts to the village of Karya) was the same as that used by the routes we have referred to as C.3 and C.4. Today the tortuous asphalt road from Kamena Vourla to Karya follows the same route. From the ancient port of Thronium, inland of the today's bay of Kamena Vourla, zigzagging to compensate for the steepness, the road would have ascended southwest to the monastery of the Metamorphosis. The ancient materials reused in the church and certain local traditions suggest that the place could have been a pre-Christian sacred site. Its excellent topographic position (at an altitude of 330 m and facing the sea) would have contributed to this, allowing it to look out on the Lichades islands and the west of Euboea to the north, and the Gouvali promontory and, from its high point, to the Cnemis fort in the east. The road wended its way westwards until it reached a height of 600 m, and then made a more direct diagonal ascent to a height of 700 m via the Kalpini crest as far as Karya (750 m), at some 7.5 km from the monastery. The present town of Karya occupies a high hollow at the bend of the Mavrolongos (924 m), one of the greatest peaks of Mount Cnemis; its strategic position makes this place a junction of mountain roads and a spectacular open terrace facing south, from where watch could be kept over the steep lands of the Boagrius valley—to the west—and the Naryx-Anifitsa corridor with the Callidromus passes at the bottom—to the southwest. Although for the moment material remains (principally pottery of the Classical era) are scarce and scattered, all the evidence would appear to indicate that, in Antiquity, Karya was, as it is today, a crossroads of at least five mountain paths: as well as the route just described (1); its extension through the Plisorema gorge towards Agnanti and the Dipotamos valley (route C.2) (2); the one to Velona and Tachtali (route C.3) (3); the one going in a diagonal direction to Naryx (route C.4) (4); and finally

the canyon through the Cnemis towards mount Gouvali (5), which passed through Agia Ierousalim and Birbitsi and went up to the fortified settlement of Cnemis, on the northeast frontier of Epicnemidia. Cnemis clearly fulfilled a strategic-defensive function: in addition to keeping watch on the shipping on the Euboean Channel it also controlled the overland route to Karya.

Continuing its course, from Karya the road turned ESE near Choma. Immediately afterwards it went through a narrow pass and after some 4 km further on reached an area of watering places called Kryovrysi, with the springs of Plisorema a few metres to the east. This stream is the principal water course of the eastern sector of Epicnemidia, and the old road went along its bank and continued east a few metres north of the present mountain track. After about 3 km, when the watercourse is no longer an intermittent torrent and holds a greater volume, both stream and road are confined to the south of the high ground where the hermitage of the Profitis Ilias was built. This is where the beautiful Plisorema gorge really starts. After another 3 km it entered a narrow ravine whose eastern end, called Steni ("pass" or "narrow"), was the way out—or way in coming from the opposite direction—by which the route advanced more comfortably to Agnanti, some 2 km to the east, and the Dipotamos valley. Opposite Steni a fort sited to the north on the high ground of mount Blesia (926 m) was the perfect hideout for keeping watch over the pass. Even before, the Plisorema had dissolved into a series of tributary streams that included the Agnantorema, which flowed south into the Polydendri, a tributary in turn of the river Dipotamos. Finally, when it reached Agnanti the long road though the interior of Cnemis joined the main road between Daphnus and Hyampolis and Abae at right angles (route J).

C.3. *Via the Crest of Cnemis to Velona*

From Karya, the end of the first stretch described in route C.2, this route went south to Velona, where it converged with the road from Anifitsa to Tachtali (route C.1). Thus, in addition to the latter, it was also a variant of route C.2 in communications between the east of Epicnemidia, Opuntian Locris and Phocis through the Dipotamos valley (Zachos 1997: 139). Taking a high (770 m) and tortuous path, the route continued for approximately 7 km until it reached the eastern side of the Anvlani peak (788 m). From there, turning east and crossing the Anemorema stream, a tributary of the Xerias, it went into the Trano Livadi defile and after that, 3 km to the south, through much flatter terrain, it came to the ancient place of Velona and the route that led to Tachtali (C.1). An alternative path left Trano Livadi going southwest, right along the Anemorena valley and the Kanalakos hillside to Anifitsa,

after going down gradually over 5 km. Joining the first route, to the south of the river bed formed by the headwaters of the Klimaki and Tsagrai streams, used by the rural community of Velona, it reached the interior pass of Stena Gremna. This in turn was linked with the Vasilika passes, which opened the direct route to Elateia, the capital of the Phocian Confederacy (Zachos 1997: 139) (see pass Δ in chapter 7).

C.4. *Along the Crest of Cnemis to Naryx*
Finally this route, unlike the two previous ones, goes NE-SW and connected Cnemis—at the eastern end of Epicnemidia—with the Boagrius valley, in the heart of Locrian territory (Zachos, 1997: 139–140). This route was a diagonal alternative to the central stretch of the wider main road made up of routes C.1-B, the part that connected the eastern frontier (Dipotamos valley) with the city of Naryx.

From Karya (which it reached from the port of Thronium by the first stretch of route C.2, from Agnanti by the C.2, from Tachtali and Velona by C.1 and C.3, or from the settlement of Cnemis by an inland path), the road would have closely followed the gentle descent of the waters of the Vlachorema stream from their source. In the first stretch it would have gone a few metres to the south of the modern dirt track. After about 3 km, beside a river bed where there is an assortment of farm buildings at a height of between 300–270 m, it crossed both branches of the Vlachorema before coming to the small hamlet of Charma, and from there to Kathara, passing the two hermitages dedicated to Agios Ioannis on the way out of each hamlet. This route must have coincided with the present track leading to Rengini. Barely 2 km to the west of the church of Agios Ioannis of Kathara, the path forded the Xerias stream, coinciding at this point with the other route along the Boagrius valley, which followed the Xerias and led to Anifitsa and the Vasilika passes (route G.1). The final stretch of the route went through an area of farmsteads near Rengini—less than 1 km to the north—to the Stavros hill and the hermitage of Agia Paraskevi, crossed the Fontanorema stream, and ended on the eastern side of the polis of Naryx. At the head of the Boagrius, and end of the path that ran parallel to the river—more specifically its tributary stream Agiou Ioannou—to link the coast with the Fontana pass (route G.2), Naryx was the nexus that structured transversal communication through inland Epicnemidia.

North-South Routes

At right angles to the routes just described, those we shall look at next follow the region's principal water courses. They therefore provided a natural

communication between the coast and the slopes of the Callidromus in a north-south direction. As has already been said, the river network descends from the mountainsides towards the coast, with steep longitudinal gradients making navigation impossible. They are streams carrying little water, mostly seasonal or intermittent, which flow through narrow valleys at right angles to the high mountain ridges, with very rugged slopes. From time immemorial these river corridors have been used as Locris' main communication routes. The valleys that produce them generally cover a small or medium area (they are all less than 100 sq km except for the Boagrius), are very steep (more than 15°) and cover a modest length (7–20 km). They unfold over steps dissected by erosion and tectonic action (see chapter 1). The arrangement of the river network is fairly irregular: while in the final stretches there is generally a single, straight body of water, in the middle and upper reaches there are many torrents and streams going in different directions in many confluences. The sinuous tracery of these small currents that have adapted to the rugged relief has encouraged the formation of gorges and defiles that are sometimes the only way of reaching certain places. Hence narrow and difficult paths following the streams, which some ancient authors call *koilai* (Lolos 1998: 276), barely sufficient for herding, predominate. (These are the tracks through the uplands that make Greece a popular destination for hikers and mountain lovers). During autumn and spring water levels rise considerably at the mouths of the rivers. This greatly affected ancient itineraries, as did the changes that occurred in the course of the rivers due to natural (earthquakes, the erosion of alluvial soil, etc) or anthropic causes (channelling, branches of the river mouths, farming, etc.)

Sometimes along the riverbank, sometimes further away through stretches of open country, or even taking advantage of dry or temporarily blocked river beds, the paths were based on the river network. From west to east, the rivers associated with the principal paths in this region are the Latzorema, the Potamia, the Liapatorema (the ancient river Aphamius) and the most important of all of them, the Platanias (the ancient river Boagrius). Let us look at the routes that accompanied them.

D. *The Route through the Latzorema Valley*

This was the most direct route connecting Mendenitsa and the Kleisoura pass with the western end of the Locrian coast, in particular Nicaea and Alponus. And it was also an alternative to the route through Anavra to Thermopylae (route B, western sector). The Latzorema, whose ancient name is unknown, is a river barely 15 km long (about 10 km in Antiquity: the last

5 km run through the alluvial delta produced by the progradation of the coast), and its basin covers 33 sq km. It rises in the western peaks of the Callidromus and flows into the Malian Gulf, today in the small, marshy peninsula of Bouka 3 km to the north of the town of Agia Triada. In the Classical period the mouth was probably situated near Chondronikolas, at a height of between 150–100 m and about 2 km south of the national highway. It must have been fairly narrowly confined, particularly on its left bank, with considerable erosion which would have encouraged sediment to be dislodged, with subsequent formation of the alluvial fan. From the mouth of the river the coast road connected westward the exit of the valley with the *polis* of Nicaea, in the hilly environs of Roumelio a little more than 1 km away, and Alponus, 2 km further on, forming the eastern stretch of the Thermopylae corridor, of which Alponus, Nicaea and Thronium were the keys[36] (see route A above).

Nicaea, founded later than other Epicnemidian cities, perhaps at the end of the 5th century BC, was the principal settlement in the lower region of the river. Its strategic position made it a target of Phocian expansion in the mid-4th century BC, during the Third Sacred War, and afterwards it fell successively under the rule of Thessalians, Aetolians, Macedonians and Romans. Its port was probably on the ancient estuary of the Latzorema, and it had a beach.[37] The city would also have profited from farming the valley floor and controlling the adjacent roads, primarily the eastern gate of Thermopylae just 3 km away. The river Latzorema very probably marked the frontier between the territories of Nicaea and Scarpheia, at least for a time: Scarpheia was 6 km east of Nicaea and 4.5 km east of the riverbank. The road along the river thus acted as a boundary in its lower stretch. Not far from the mouth of the Latzorema another inland path—following the stream westwards to Anavra—connected the Latzorema valley with the fortified settlement of Paliokastro Anavras. This bastion was used to control Thermopylae, Alponus and the Anopaea path that crossed the Callidromus there (Hdt. 7.216–218) (see route H). And as we have seen, it is reasonable to assume that the Paliokastro Anavras was the western starting point of the axis that linked Mendenitsa transversally with Naryx and Anifitsa (route B).

In its central stretch, the Latzorema traces a straight and very clear course, which suggests there was a narrow path along it. After the hill of the Profitis

[36] Aeschin. 2.132–134; Dem. 6.22.
[37] Str. 9.4.4; Polyb. 18.1.5 and 8.6–7.

Ilias (479 m), the river turns westwards into very mountainous terrain, where it divides into various torrents. The main path, however, must have gone in a straight line through an area where today there are various watering places before reaching the Karavydia hill—where there is a defensive enclosure—and 1 kilometre to the southeast Mendenitsa, presumably the site of a polis. At this point the path that ascended the Latzorema valley ended, and joined the four routes that met in Mendenitsa and led respectively to the border pass of Kleisoura (to the south) (1), the Paliokastro Anavras and Thermopylae (to the northwest) (2), to Naryx and the Fontana pass (to the southeast) (3) and to Scarpheia following the river Potamia (to the northeast) (4). Let us look at the latter route.

E. *The Route along the Potamia Valley*

With a slightly SSW-NNE course, this river connected the coast around the chora of Scarpheia with Mendenitsa. It rises on the western side of the Callidromus known as Nerokopanes, near the mountain monastery of Agia Triada and not far from the Kleisoura pass to the south of Mendenitsa. Its mouth is now 3 km to the north of the town of Molos, in alluvial soil where crops are cultivated. Its basin has an area of around 24 sq km and although it is now about 11 km long, in Antiquity it would have been no more than 8 km. Before overflowing into its delta, it is feasible that the mouth would have been situated at the end of the Spathes crest and close to the church of Agios Athanasios, less than 1 km to the south of Molos. So the site of this town—today one of the most important on the coast—and its plain would have been under water until the Roman period. The Potamia is an intermittent stream along the whole of its length despite being fed by numerous short streams, also seasonal, and presents a gentle line especially open and well irrigated on its east side. In fact, along its eastern margins is one of the most fertile and flat pieces of farmland of Epicnemidia, which Scarpheia treated as its private granary. This important polis, already cited in Homer's Catalogue of Ships (Il. 2.532), is situated in the district of Trochala, to the southeast of Molos, on a piece of land between hills dissected by the Aivlasorema stream, which rises on the hillock of Kotrolias (460 m). Together with Thronium, some 5 km to the east, it was the most important city of Epicnemidian Locris from late Hellenistic times until the first centuries of the Byzantine era. Its position reinforces the importance of the place: not far from the coast, it ended the Thermopylae corridor to the east (Str. 9.4.4), over which it shared control with neighbouring Alponus, Nicaea and Thronium. Scarpheia was in fact the main crossroads on the

coast (see route A above), and in the Roman era it was the *mansio* of the route that linked Thessaly with Elateia and Chaeroneia via Thermopylae (*Tab. Peut.* 7/1).

From Scarpheia, after crossing the Aivlasorema stream and the iconostasis of Agios Vlassios, where remains of ashlars and columns have been discovered,[38] Mendenitsa is barely 6 km further on by the path up the river Potamia. This route is fossilised in part by a dirt track that is still used. Mendenitsa was, as has been said, one of the strategic points of inland Epicnemidia and the gateway to Phocis through the Kleisoura pass (see pass B in chapter 7). Before reaching ancient Mendenitsa a detour on the road led via the western branch of the stream to the hill of Karavydia. Here there is a small fort of which several courses of the isodomic wall and the base of a tower are preserved (at the hermitage of the Profitis Ilias); it belonged to the defensive system of the classical city of Mendenitsa and watched over the two neighbouring valleys, the Potamia (to the east) and the Latzorema (to the west). It was also a nexus of local communications, since close to Karavydia the path along the Potamia, originating in Scarpheia, linked up with the one that followed the Latzorema valley as far as Nicaea (route D), and the one to Thermopylae via the Paliokastro Anavras (route B, western sector).

F. *The Route along the Aphamius Valley*

Almost certainly the ancient river Aphamius, referred to in a Delphic inscription that describes the demarcation of land bordering the frontier of Thronium and Scarpheia (*FD* III 4.1, number 42), is the river now known as the Liapatorema and, in some places, the Andera.[39] In contrast to the usual pattern in the region, it has a very meandering course from its source in the peaks of the Callidromus—emerging in many converging rills—before it reaches the sea, 3 km to the north of the modern town of Skarfeia. In total it has a primary course more than 17 km long and a basin covering an area of almost 50 sq km. Its importance for the road network is that it provides the basis for the route that started halfway between the two

[38] The sanctuary of Demeter Euryodeia of Scarpheia, cited in some compilations (Hsch. s.v. Εὐρυόδεια), could well have been situated in a place such as this, on a broad and easily accessible road close to the city. However, there is no conclusive evidence to identify it with Agios Vlassios. Without reducing it to topographic terms, Pritchett (1992: 146) points out an interesting parallel between the cult of Demeter Euryodeia ("of the broad way") in Scarpheia and the cult of Demeter Pylaea ("of the narrow pass") at Thermopylae, the first seat of the Amphictyony.

[39] Pritchett 6.116–118; 8.146.

major coastal *poleis*, Scarpheia and Thronium, and went along the main course of the river to Naryx and the Fontana pass. Meanwhile, in its high basin, two branches along subsidiary streams reached Mendenitsa to the west (via the Arnitsa gorge) and the Kleisoura pass further south (by the torrent successively called Vroma, Chalia and Kleisoura). No doubt both alternatives—particularly the latter, which is very narrow—were mountain paths (*triboi*) almost exclusively used for herding animals. Certainly they were not main routes for reaching the southern frontier of Locris. In short, along much of its course, between the present towns of Nea Skarfeia and Kallidromo, the Aphamius was an additional route to the closer and more important one that went through the Boagrius valley (route G.2). Both of them connected the northern coast with Naryx and the central passes of the Callidromus. Thus they were longitudinal corridors between the Malian Gulf and the region of Phocis.

The ancient mouth of the Aphamius must have been close to the intersection of the river with the national highway—at km 184.5—at a height of about 70 m. above sea level. It would coincide with the beginning of an earth track that leads to Agios Charalambos via the monastery of Panagia Hodigitrias. Because of fluvial deposition, the coast has been progressively prograding northwards over the last 2,500 years, shaping the alluvial plain on which the towns of Molos, Nea Skarfeia and Agios Serafeim lie. Next to the mouth of the ancient Aphamius, on its eastern bank, is the site of Trikorfo. It was a prosperous agricultural *chorion* or *villa* belonging to Thronium. From here the Aphamius road continued upstream around meanders and crests for 6 km until it splits in two at a *schiste hodos* or crossroads. Of the two possible alternatives, the western path, along the subsidiary stream of Arnitsa, reached Mendenitsa transversally, while the main route (along the stream that some call Ramantani) continued southwards until it split again less than 2 km further on. Of the two new paths, the western one went through a narrow defile by the Vroma torrent 7 km long that came out at the Kleisoura pass. The eastern branch, between the hillsides of Megali Rachi and Portitsa and the town of Kallidromo, led to Naryx, the Fontana pass and Elateia (Adam 2001: 367–370). Just before the latter *polis*, right at its feet, the Aphamius road joined the one along the Boagrius valley via one of its tributaries, the Agiou Ioannou stream, which upstream shared waters with the Salantzorema (route G.2). According to Adam (2001: 370, 389) there are remains of *kalderimi* in the area around Portitsa, where the road splits again, but we were unable to locate them in our surveys. They would almost certainly belong to the first road, and would be below the height at which the local road from Rengini to Kallidromo has been constructed.

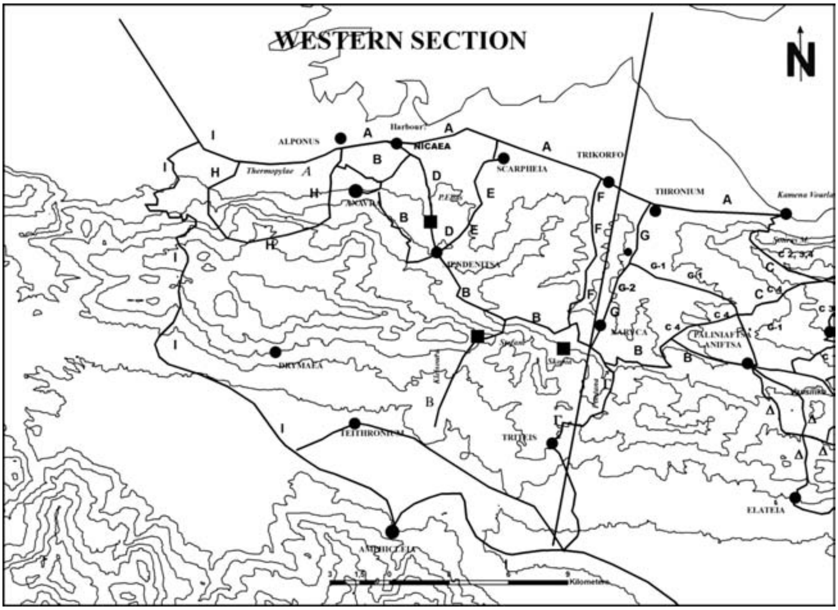

Figure 6.2. The routeway in Epicnemidian Locris: western sector.

As noted a little earlier, from a late second century inscription found in Delphi (*FD* III 4.1, 42), we know that the Aphamius formed a stretch of the frontier between the cities of Scarpheia and Thronium. And also that it was channelled with dikes and ditches on both sides of its estuary. The lands stretching to the west of the river (between the Aphamius and Potamia rivers) belonged to Scarpheia while the east bank (between the Aphamius and the Boagrius) was under the control of Thronium. This city's territory, more than 140 sq km, was considerably larger than Scarpheia's, and it seems likely that Thronium exercised greater control than its neighbour over the two stretches of road—*demosia hodoi*—that the inscription also refers to: the road between Thermopylae and Thronium running parallel to the coast (route A), and the longitudinal one that went up to the Callidromus passes through the Potamia valley (route E), or more feasibly via the Aphamius route we have just described. It should be said finally that the agreement between the two *poleis* establishing the boundary,[40] was concluded by the

[40] To be more precise, the inscription defines the limits of a *chora* called *Chonneia* on the frontier of both cities, on the basis of fixing six boundary stones (*horoi*) (*FD* III 4.1, 42).

respective magistrates in the month of Aphamius of the Thronium calendar (equivalent to the month of Ithonium of the Scarpheia calendar) (*FD* III 4.1, 42 lin. 2), which indicates the importance of the river in the city's civil law.

G. *The Routes through the Boagrius Valley*

The Boagrius is the most important river of Epicnemidian Locris, as the fact that it is frequently cited in the classical sources indicates.[41] Strabo (9.4.4) states that it was also called Manes. The river's modern name is Platanias. As mentioned elsewhere, the Boagrius valley is the only one of the Epicnemidian valleys that has stretches with an alluvial bed of some width, more than 500 m wide (see chapter 1). Its gently sloping banks can be farmed and therefore played a critical role in settlement of the area. Its river basin has an area of more than 107 sq km. and the eastern side of its valley is particularly wide, and is dissected by numerous tributaries intermittently feeding the river's main course. There are so many torrents that the total length of the entire river network is more than 220 km, while the primary axis (formed by the Potamia and the Xerias, its headwaters) is about 22 km. This profusion of converging streams on fertile hillsides that are easy to cross lends itself to a dense network of paths of different kinds, perpendicular and parallel to the main course. Because of its key role in structuring Epicnemidia's road network, it would be reasonable to consider the Boagrius valley the heart of Epicnemidia's communications system. And it is certainly the cardinal axis in communication between the coast and the central passes of the Callidromus (Fontana and Vasilika), directly connecting the cities of Thronium and Naryx.

Let us take a brief look at the roads along its course. In its final stretch (from the town of Komnina to its mouth in Ftiltsa, the beach of Agios Serafeim) the Boagrius runs a noticeably straight course for 8.5 km, north-south. However it should be remembered that this was not always the case. In addition to other changes due to natural or manmade causes, seismic

41 From Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* to Ptolemy, the Boagrius is referred to as the main river of the Eastern Locrians (Str. 1.3.20 and 9.4.4; Ptol. *Geog*.3.15.10), on which Thronium is situated, close to the mouth (*Il.* 2.533; Plin. *NH.* 4.27; Paus. 5.22.4). It is also associated with the voyage of the two maidens sent each year to the sanctuary of Athena Ilias in Troy to expiate the insult of Aias Oilean (Lyc. *Alex.* 1148). In the siege of Troy, the Locrian hero had offended Athena by abusing Cassandra, who had clung to an image of the goddess (Apollod. *Epit.* 6.20; Paus. 10.26.3 and 10.31.2). On the tradition of the Locrian maidens (and their mark on the colonisation of Epizephyrian Locris) see Redfield 2003.

movements, frequent in the Malian Gulf because of the action of the Atalanti fault,[42] produced major changes in river courses. This happened to the Spercheius and the Boagrius as a result of the tsunami described by Strabo (1.3.20), which hit the Locrian coast causing numerous casualties and flooding roads. It is now thought there were at least two tsunamis, one in 426 BC and the other in the third century BC (Papaioannou *at alii* 2004). The most open and accessible part of the road ran along the final stretch of the Boagrius from the ancient river mouth, some 5 km below the present one, approximately at the point where the national highway crosses the river (km 183). It was probably paved from the Hellenistic period onwards, as would normally be the case for an *eutheia* or *laophoros hodos*, that is, a main public thoroughfare. This would be the category suitable for the route along the lower stretch of the river. There is no doubt that Thronium, a flourishing city with the largest *chora* of Epicnemidia, exercised absolute control over the end of the Boagrius valley and its roads. Together with Scarpheia and Opus it was the only Locrian polis to mint its own coinage, which it did at various times from the end of the fifth century BC onwards; but only Thronium did so in silver.[43] It was sited close to the mouth of the Boagrius (*Il.* 2.533; Paus. 5.22.4), on its eastern bank, at a place called Pikraki with gentle scarps, 3 km to the south of Kainourgio and less than 1 km from the national highway. As Strabo tells us (9.4.4), the river crossed part of the lower city and from the Classical period onwards its waters were channelled. Starting from the river mouth and also from the urban *asty*, there would have been a road to the port running parallel to the coast. The port was about 4 km to the east of the city, at the entrance to the inlet sheltered by Cnemis, today occupied by Kamena Vourla (see route A above).

Upstream, close to the modern town of Komnina, was the first major fork of the Boagrius corridor, which in classical terminology is known as *schiste hodos* (Lolos 1998: 276). Thus while the river's main course and subsequently the road went slightly SE towards Rengini and Anifitsa along the route we have called G.1 or the Xerias stream (see below), its alternative, route G.2, from the hamlet of Komnina, was narrowly confined with the Agiou

42 Buck and Stewart 2000; Buck 2006.

43 Head *HN*^{2}: 337; Nielsen 2004: 672. The bearded head that appears on the obverse of the first Thronium coins issued (silver obols) could be a representation of the Boagrius as a hero or local genius (Babelon 1914: II.3, number 460, cols. 381–384). If this is the case the river, probably deified, would play an essential role in the identity of the *polis*. It should be remembered in this respect that Aphamius is a divine river name that, perhaps also as a deity, gives its name to a month of the civil calendar of Scarpheia (*FD* III 4.1, 42 lin. 2).

Ioannou tributary to the foot of the acropolis of Naryx, a little more than 3 km to the south. Let us follow this latter course.

G.2 is the most direct route for covering the distance—about 6.5 km—between the two *poleis* of the Boagrius valley: Thronium at the river's mouth and Naryx inland. On its remarkably straight course,[44] today much affected by the construction of the Athens-Thessalonica high-speed railway line, there are two hermitages and a watermill that have reused ancient materials. Although there is no direct evidence nor is it cited as such in the surviving sources, it is reasonable to assume that there could have been a kind of institutionalised sacred way or *hiera hodos* between the two *poleis*, Thronium and Naryx, that followed the corridor produced by the current of the Agiou Ioannou. As well as being used for everyday and military transit, it would have been the route of the annual procession of maidens chosen from the local aristocracy that were taken to the coast to embark, probably from the port of Thronium to go to Troy. In this way the Locrian communities carried out from early Archaic times (Polyb. 12.5.7) and for a period of a thousand years according to the oracle, the ritual to expiate the insult committed centuries before by Aias the Locrian who had offended Athena during the siege of the Troy by abusing the prophetess Cassandra, who had taken refuge in her temple.[45] In connection with such a ceremony, evidence for the road connection between Naryx and Thronium can be found in at least three facts and an hypothesis. Listing the first we would have: 1) The fact that Naryx is the birthplace of Aias Oilean according to several traditions (Str. 9.4.2; Diod. 14.82.8; Ovid. *Met.* 14.468). 2) Many of the maidens also came from Naryx, and the city played an important role in the ceremony. An inscription from the early third century BC found in Vitrinitsa (West Locris), states that Naryx, through the family of the *Aianteioi* (mythical ancestors of the hero), was responsible for voluntarily supplying the maidens in exchange for

44 As Pritchett (4.156) notes, the ancient path would not correspond exactly to the route—through the lowest part of the valley—of the Komnina road and the track that leads from that town to the road from Rengini to Modi. Rather further to the west and at a slightly higher altitude, which would protect the road from the risk of swollen waters, it would probably follow the left bank of the Boagrius (to Komnina) and its tributary Agiou Ioannou (to Naryx).

45 Schol. *in Lyc. Alex.*1 141; Tz. *Ad Lyc.* 1141; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.20; Paus. 10.26.3 and 10.31.2; Suda. 80.3092. On this episode and its impact on the aristocratic *ethos* (particularly on the institution of the "Hundred Houses") and on the construction of the Locrian identity, see Domínguez Monedero 2006: 153–156. *In extenso* Redfield 2003 (with the previous bibliography); also Kramer-Hajos 2012.

certain privileges.[46] 3) The references to the river Boagrius—whose stream Agiou Ioannou leads naturally, as we have just seen, to the hero's city[47]—, to the own Naryx, and to "the Locrian paths of Thronium" extracted from the literature of the Locrian maidens (Lyc. *Alex.* 1141–1148). With regard to the hypothesis, this is the possibility that the annual voyage of the maidens departing from the port of Thronium might symbolically reproduce—with a procession from Naryx?—Aias' original route to Ilium: as a native of Naryx and the son of Oïleus, he would probably have commanded the Locrian expedition (*Il.* 2.527–535) departing from Thronium (Kramer-Hajos 2012).

Let us go back to the structure of Naryx' road network in the Boagrius valley. The hill on which the city was built is surrounded by streams: the Salantzorema to the west (which is the headwater of the Agiou Ioannou and rises close to the fort of Skopia) and the Fontanorema to the east. The latter, also called Katafiorema, leads to the Fontana pass some 5 km upstream. The Phocian cities of the Cephisus valley are easily reached by crossing the pass through the Koukos canyon (718 m) (see pass Γ in chapter 7). It thus crowned an essential axis of the Locrians' communications network, defined as route G.2. Following the Boagrius valley, it linked the Locrian coast and Thronium

46 *IG* IX 1^2 3: 706; *SEG* 28.503 and 32.558. The inscription ("of the Locrian maiden") was published by Wilheim (1911) and is an exceptional evidence to weigh up mythical traditions among the Locrians (Domínguez Monedero 2006a: esp. 156–157). As sacred agreement between colectivities (the *Aianteioi* and the city of Naryx on one hand and all the Locrian *ethnos* on the other), see Giovannini 2007: 293, 326–328.

47 On the other hand, and while still aware of the relative nature of the datum, it is curious that the hypothetical *via sacra* should follow a stream—also plausibly a sacred current in Antiquity—whose name (Agiou Ioannou or "of Saint John") still maintains its religious connotations today. It takes its name from the nearby hermitage dedicated to Saint John, which was previously a Byzantine monastery. It is at the foot of the Naryx hill, at the confluence of the Salantzorema and Fontanorema streams (Adam 2001: 393). At the present stage of our knowledge it is very difficult to determine the place's origin and purpose, but its position and the ancient materials found there (remains of buildings, pottery from the Archaic to the Byzantine period and at least one inscription) suggest that it was within the lower sector of the polis of Naryx. It is tempting, but difficult to prove, to think that the hermitage may have been associated with a suburban sanctuary at the bend of the (sacred?) way that led from Naryx to Thronium. Some local traditions suggest that there was a temple dedicated to Hera Pharygaea here (Adam 2001: 393). A very revealing document is the inscription on bronze that reproduces the letter of the Emperor Hadrian to the inhabitants of Naryx in AD 137–138: it seems to come from the place of the hermitage and is today in the Louvre (Jones 2006; Knoepfler 2006; cf. Adam 2001: 99 n. 57 and 116–117; with an erroneous location, Pritchett 5.173). Despite the gaps in the text it would appear to allude to Naryx as the native city of Aias Oilean's lineage. All this reinforce the sacred character of the place where the inscription was found.

with Naryx and the Fontana pass—the Euboean Channel with the anteroom of Phocis—directly and without major orographic difficulties (Adam 2001: 370).

If we return to the first fork of the Boagrius beside Komnina, we can reconstruct the valley's other major itinerary, referred to as G.1. It is the road from Thronium to Anifitsa, the Vasilika passes and Elateia (Adam 2001: 366). Looking at the route it takes, from its intersection with the Agiou Ioannou the road follows the Boagrius SSE, leaving behind the confluences of two streams that flow down the eastern slope, first the Vlachorema and then the Kastanorema. They both had perpendicular branches (*schiste hodoi*) off the main route, in particular the Vlachorema, which was a stretch of the *atropos* from Cnemis and Karya (on Mount Cnemis) to Naryx (route C.4). The road continued parallel to the river, which from this area onwards takes the name of the antecessor stream, the Xerias, for some 3 km, taking it towards the modern town of Rengini. At the point where the Xerias curves more markedly eastwards, barely 1 km northeast of Rengini, the route overlapped with the transversal path from Naryx and Mendenitsa (route B, central sector). The shared stretch between Rengini and the abandoned village of Anifitsa, described in due course (see above route B, eastern sector), would be very similar to the earth track running parallel to the Xerias for 7 km to Anifitsa. It is well-known that the Vasilika ravines opening directly to Elateia (see pass Δ in chapter 7) are reached from Anifitsa. In fact, this was the route traditionally used to cross the Callidromus and descend the Cephisus valley until the asphalt Kallidromo-Rengini-Modi road was built, which instead uses the Fontana pass.

Consolidated as a vector between the coast and the interior and corridor for entering Phocis, the Boagrius route became the most important of Epicnemidia. It naturally prolonged the coastal corridor that extended from Anthele through the Thermopylae pass and Scarpheia to Thronium (route A). From the city of Thronium the road turned ninety degrees to go southwards, taking the Boagrius as its guide in the two alternatives described, which were largely complementary. In the Roman period the Thronium-Anifitsa-Vasilika became a public way that is described as such in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. And *demosia hodos* continued to exist under Byzantine, Ottoman rule … and until well into the twentieth century (Adam 2001: 366–367). In fact, since it was the fastest route between Thronium and Elateia, the route along the Xerias stream (G.1) would represent the way drawn in the *itinera picta* through the interior of Locris that served as the basis of the *Peutingeriana*. I refer to the stepped stretch between the *mansiones* of Thermopylae, Scarpheia (7 miles from the first) and Elateia (22 miles from the

first).[48] It should be treated with some caution since in practice the journey by road from Scarpheia to Elateia could be done, and was done, using other routes, depending on the nature of the journey, the time of year and the type of traveller. There were as many as four perfectly viable alternatives, such as: by the Aphamius route to Naryx and from there either through the Fontana pass (1) or through Anifitsa and the Vasilika pass (2) to Elateia; or from Scarpheia to Thronium and along the Boagrius, via the Agiou Ioannou tributary, to Naryx, where the two possibilities being repeated again for crossing the Callidromus, via Fontana (3) or through the Vasilika passes (4) to Elateia. In either case it seems reasonable that because of its strategic position and topographic suitability, the G.1 route would have been sufficiently wide and important to be used as a military road from the classical period onwards. There are accounts in the sources of it being used by armies on expeditions of various types. Thus, to cite a pair of examples from the conflictive fourth century BC, in 395 the Boeotarch Hismenias left a garrison in Heracleia Trachinia and advanced along the coast and up the Boagrius to Naryx, where he fought the Phocians who had crossed the Fontana pass.[49] Similarly during the Third Sacred War (356–346) the forces of the Phocian Confederacy repeatedly crossed the Callidromus to attack Naryx and Thronium in order to ensure control of the Boagrius valley and Thermopylae.[50] Later, in 197 BC, in the course of the war between Rome and Macedonia, T.Q. Flamininus crossed Locris diagonally from Elateia to Thronium and Scarpheia, thus reaching the famous corridor of the "Hot gates" (Livy 33.3.6).

As a *hamaxilatos hodos*, and hence suitable for wheeled traffic, parts of the Thronium-Vasilika road, and perhaps also the Thronium-Naryx variant, would have been paved and signposted with boundary stones and other road markers. As on the other routes we have been looking at, nothing remains of their original physiognomy. Nothing but a few traces of *kalderimi* (mainly around Anifitsa and Vasilika, the oldest traces of paved roads preserved), some place names and local traditions indicate that the same routes were used and reused over the centuries.

48 Millar 1964: 576–577; Bosio 1983: *seg.* VI–VII.

49 Diod. 14.82.7; Buckler 2003: 83–84.

50 Diod. 16.33.3, 37.1, 38.3–5; Buckler 1989: 54–55, 92–97; 2003: 425–427; Buckler and Beck 2008: 224–228.

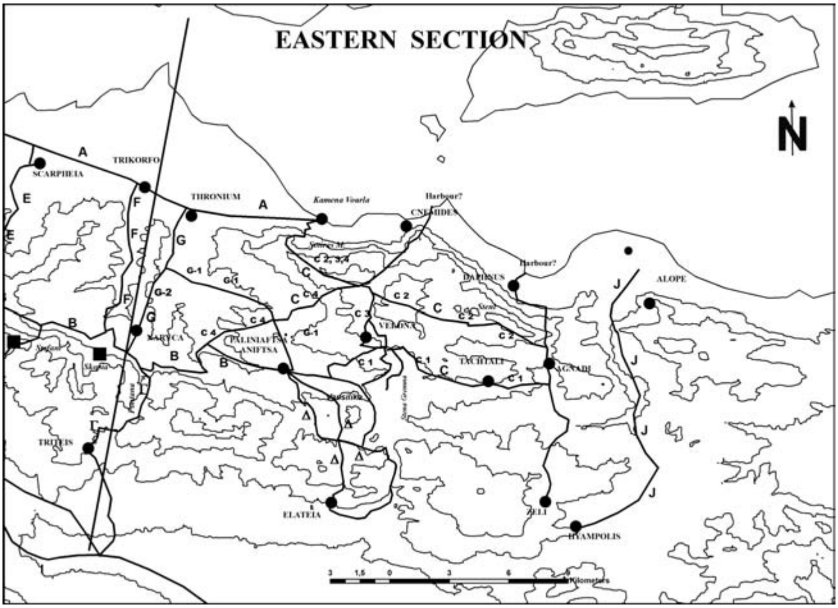

Figure 6.3. The routeway in Epicnemidian Locris: eastern sector.

3. Other Routes

H. *The Anopaea: Single Path or Network of Tracks and Passes?*

The route named Anopaea by Herodotus is one of the most celebrated mountain routes of Antiquity.[51] Owing to its layout it is inevitably linked to defence and the final defeat of the Greeks by the Persians in the Thermopylae in the summer of 480. However, it has left a deeply bitter mark on the Classical tradition as it was by means of this route that the Immortals of Xerxes, having rounded the inside of the gorge, reached the East Gate of the Thermopylae and cornered Leonidas from the rear. Thus, the name of the Anopaea, like that of Ephialtes, the Malian who offered to guide Xerxes (Hdt. 7.213) is indissolubly linked to the failure of the Greeks in the Pylae.

Articulated in various stretches, leading to the belief that it was more of an *ad hoc* route upon a network of tracks rather than a univocal path,

[51] An expressive description of the route and the Persians' pass through it, led by Hydarnes, in Herodotus (7.216–218).

the Anopaea communicated the Asopus gorge with Alponus, that is to say, the country of the Malians with the Locrian coast. It did so by means of the Callidromus mountain range, one of whose western foothills gave the route its name (Geisau 1919). Without doubt, this and other mountain routes were known of a very long time ago. In the Archaic era, the Thessalians made use of them in their incursions against the Phocians, resulting in the latter constructing a protective wall in the central pass of the Thermopylae, the same which was later reconstructed by the allied Greeks in order to secure their position against the Persians (Hdt. 7.176). In fact it was the Malians, who knew the terrain well being its indigenous population, who informed the Thessalians of these inland routes, as we are told by Herodotus (7.215). Similarly Leonidas, on his arrival in the Thermopylae years later, was warned by the locals[52] of the risks which trails like the Anopaea represented to the defence of the area. This led the Spartan king to dispatch 1,000 Phocians to the Callidromus to guard the pass (Hdt. 7.212, 217; cf. Paus. 10.20.1). Not long after it was once again a Malian—Ephialtes—who led the Persians along the Anopaea, making crucial the role of the Malian people in the management of information regarding access to the Thermopylae,[53] doubly serving the interests of both the defenders and attackers of the "Hot Gates".

According to Herodotus, the route began in the Asopus gorge in the vicinity of the city of Trachis (see below route I), in whose surroundings the Persians had set up camp (Hdt. 7.201). Then, after crossing the Asopus it

[52] According to Herodotus (7.175) the informers were the Trachinians, whose eponymous settlement—Trachis—gave its name to the territory surrounding the Asopus gorge (Hdt. 7.199–200). In any case "the region of the Trachinian rocks" belonged to Malis (Hdt. 7.175, 198). The Asopus gorge sheltered the river of the same name, which flowed into the Malian Gulf several stades to the south of the Spercheius (Hdt. 7. 200; Str. 9.4.14); owing to the alluvial progradation the Asopus today joins the Spercheius at the height of Alamana bridge, some 5 km inland (E) from the present-day mouth. (On the trail which follows the curve of the Asopus and its significance, see route I). However, other inhabitants of Malis, as well as inland Locrians, Oetaeans and even Phocians, could equally have been the informants of the Anopaea.

[53] An aspect conveniently emphasised by Hignett (1963: 361), Burn (1977: 100) and Green (1996: 415: "the Malians' knowledge of its [Anopaea's] sinister possibilities was thus of long standing"). A constant in history is the pragmatism of the mountain populations when it came to leading armies through territories within their knowledge or under their control, as only they could have done; often serving as livestock routes given the uneven terrain and the nature of these populations to graze sheep and cattle. Hence the invaders never renounced their compliance. Sublime examples include, the advance of Alexander the Great through the Bactria or Sogdiana crags (Bosworth 1996; Rtveladze 2002; Holt 2005) or the Hannibal pass via the Pyrenees and the Alps (Lavis-Trafford 1956; Proctor 1971; Prevas 1998; Alfaro 2001: 219–225), unfailingly they would have needed interpreters and local guides.

Plate 6.1. The Asopus gorge as starting point of the Anopea route. The Asopus gorge and river at the Alamana bridge (seen from the Northwest). Once crossed, it connected to the Anopaea route which through the western sector of the Callidromus reached the eastern gate of the Thermopylae pass and the city of Alponus.

followed a W-SW direction to penetrate the western side of the Callidromus at the bend of a stream or cavern (Hdt. 7.216). The Anopaea progressed leaving to the right the Oetaean Mountains (the eastern foothills of the Oeta mountain range) and the Trachinian Mountains to the left (the mountainous wall of the left bank of the Asopus) (Hdt. 7.217). The route tended to follow a circular pattern, for the most part uphill and then descending (Hdt. 7.223), and it contained difficult stretches at the mountain's peak, particularly if traversed by night. This would explain why it was not until dawn, some seven or eight hours after departing "at the hour in which torches are lit" (Hdt. 7.215), when the Persians reached the summit of the Anopaea where, in a wooded area, the Phocians sent by Leonidas were posted (Hdt. 7.217). It is probable that this strategic point marked a border of sorts between the Malians (to the west) and the Locrians (to the east), this being the site chosen for the guard patrol. Alerted to the arrival of the Persians by the sound of their footsteps (Hdt. 7.218), the Phocians moved to a more protected position in the immediate proximity believing

an enemy attack to be imminent. However, aside from a few warning arrows which paralysed the Phocians, the Immortals continued rapidly on their trail towards Alponus, downhill, guided by Ephialtes (Hdt. 7.218). Precisely this last stretch, which ran through the territory of Epicnemidia, was one of the narrowest in the whole of the Anopaea (Hdt. 7.216) and it probably contained several exits towards the gates of the Thermopylae. Herodotus recounts that the time taken by the Persians in their descent (*katabasis*) was considerably less than in the ascent (*anabasis*): "for the descent from the mountain is more direct and the way is much shorter than the circuit and the ascent" (Hdt. 7.223). Thus the Immortals reached Leonidas' position in early morning and, with the Greeks cornered in the Middle Pass, Xerxes could launch his attack at "about the hour of marketing" (Hdt. 7.223).

Here ends the aseptic information provided in the description by Herodotus.[54] Based on this the topographical identification of the route has proved a great effort in modern historiography. Reconstruction proposals have been offered based on personal explorations of the territory, cartography and local sources. From the accounts of the first erudite travellers to modern-day research projects, the Anopaea has, in effect, made room for a prolific bibliography.[55] This has been for the most part a sterile debate

[54] More briefly the Anopaea is also mentioned by other sources (Th. 4.36.3; Str. 9.4.16; Diod. 11.8; Livy 36.16.7; Polyaen.7.15.5; App. *Syr.*18; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.2.13, 2.4.4; Paus. 1.4.2, 10.22.8–11). Pausanias' testimony is particularly interesting. According to him the Persians did not follow the shortest, steepest route in 480 BC, but a second path, longer but more easily transitable, which crossed the land of the Aenianians (Paus. 10.22.8). The same route was retraced in 279 by the Galatians of Brennus who, guided by local Heracleots and Aenianians, took advantage of the mountain fog to pass undetected by the Phocians, who were once again guarding the route (Paus. 10.22.9–11). This longer alternative trail, controlled by Trachis, would have followed the Asopus gorge until reaching the region of Doris (Munro 1902: 314–315; 1926: 294–295; Hignett 1963: 361–363; Green 1996: 414); there, at approximately the height of Kastro Orias it would have merged with the longitudinal route leading from the Vardates and Dema passes between Mt. Oeta and the Callidromus to the high Cephisus valley, hence linking Doris with Phocis (see route I). It is the northern sector of the Great Isthmus Corridor (Kase *et alii* 1991: 22–31).

[55] The first known monographic study is that carried out *empirically* by General T. Gordon, known as "the Helenophile", who, with local guides, between 1834 and 1835 travelled through the Callidromus region, which had recently become independent from the Ottoman Empire (Gordon 1838). Gordon was a pioneer—though not very well known—in the exploration of the Anopaea (Green 1996: 410, n. 6). However, some years earlier Gell (1827: 239–243)—journey in 1804—and Leake (1835: 177–184)—journey in 1805—had chronicled their travels through the Thermopylae. The references to the Anopaea in ancient literature have been collated by Hirschfeld 1894b, Geisau 1919—in relation to the Callidromus—and Stählin (1924)—in relation to the Thermopylae-. Also at around the turn of the century two Oxford professors, Grundy (1901: 299–305; 1925: 211–213) and Munro (1902: 312–319; 1926: 293–297),

regarding the precise trajectory of the route.[56] However, it is our belief that the restitution of such a famous trail is a more than difficult task and to a certain extent misguided as will be explained.

Firstly, it is practically impossible to revisit the Anopaea taking into account the vagueness of the mountain routes, the multitude of trails open in the Callidromus[57] and the natural and man-made changes to the landscape. The processes of erosion and deforestation, landslides and the creation of new paths or *monopati*, have transformed or made disappear either partially or totally the routes used in Antiquity. The Anopaea in its entirety, as followed by the Persians, could probably never be retraced. It ceased to exist a long time ago. However, some sections of it lie beneath country

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who also visited the area, dealt with the access to the "Hot Gates" in their works on the Persian Wars. More recently, on the Anopaea, see Bequignon (1937a: 38–43), Burn (1951), Pritchett (1958: 203–211)—on a meritous examination of the area (and finally, Pritchett 2002: 220–229), MacKay (1963: 245–249), Hignett (1963: 132–133, 145, 361–370), Burn (1977: 98–103), Wallace (1980), Green (1996: 409–416), Kase *et alii* (1991: 85–86, figs. 1–9), Lazenby (1993: 140–142), Szemler *et alii* (1996: 105–112) and more novel-like, Holland (2005: 288–292 y 397 n. 6), Cartledge (2006: 145–146), Matthews (2006: 120, 173–174, 177–178). Finally, see Sánchez-Moreno (2009).

56 The principal discrepancy is in the starting point of the Anopaea. A summary of the main proposals are: 1) A longer more westerly route which departed from the Vardates and Dyo Vouna passes on the border with Doris (defended by Munro, Myres, Wallace, Kase, Szemler and Cherf); 2) a trail running parallel to the Asopus gorge until reaching the proximity of Eleftherochori (to which Leake, Grundy, Stählin, Bequignon and Hignett are inclined); 3) a shorter more easterly route along the "spur" of Damasta and the Byzantine monastery of the same name (as proposed by Burn); and 4) a shorter variant of the former from Ano Damasta past the Chalkomata spring until Paliodrakospilia (deduced by Pritchett—supported by Green and Lazenby—, due to the presence of *kalderimi* tracks amongst other indicators). With regards to the defensive position of the Phocians, proposals vary within a radius of 5 km, ranging from the Sastani peak (Grundy), the Panagia monastery in Paliodrakospilia (Munro in the first instance), Nevropolis to the east of Eleftherochori (Munro in the second instance), a pyramidal bastion to the south of the Litharitsa crest which some writers term the "Great Gable" (Gordon, Burn, Pritchett) or the "saddle" or Zastanos hill (Hignett). For the concrete references see the previous note.

57 A valid example is Wallace's reflection (1980: 23): "If we are reduced to looking for footpaths for single travellers over the mountain, then the search for the Anopaea Path seems hopeless. Every Greek mountain has numerous trails and pathways, and one choice is about as good as another"; concluding that the "Callidromus is nonetheless one of the most rugged and bewildering Greek mountains for the walker" (Wallace 1980: 83). However, in his opinion the Anopaea would have been a sufficiently defined and wide enough route to allow the passage of armies. Still today several mountain paths provide access from the Asopus via the Callidromus to the Thermopylae gates, and the fact that some of these passes house the remains of walls and other defensive structures testifies to their use since Antiquity (MacKay 1963: 244–249). The Byzantine Procopius (*Goth.* 2.4.10; *Aed.* 4.2.7–8) makes reference to the existence of other fortified passes in the western sector of the Callidromus besides the "Hot Gates" (MacKay 1963: 246).

paths within the irregular pentagon which may be traced between the modern towns of Damasta, Delfino, Eleftherochori, Anavra and Thermopyles. Thus it can be assumed with sufficient guarantee that it would have been moulded around the crevices, hills and paths of the western peaks of the Callidromus, those between the Asopus gorge and the Anavra-Alponus line. Hence it would have passed from west to east through mountainous areas of Damasta, Litharitsa, Paliodrakospilia, Isiomata, Drakospilia and Zastanos, the principal topographical milestones of the Anopaea. Also, from its unbeatable position, the imposing Paliokastro Anavras would have controlled the final stretch of the Anopaea to Alponus and its various exits to the "Hot Gates"[58] (see start of route B above).

To be more exact or further distinguish the route would appear to be impossible. This is not only owing to the topographical reasons already mentioned, but also due to a conceptual premise which studies have scarcely touched upon: the Anopaea, rather than a fixed, milestoned path, much less paved, would have been more of a versatile route adapted within a closely-woven web of corridors and passes "along which one ascends".[59] Specialists in ancient roads insist that the pecuniary routes and the mountain paths which they are moulded around—at least in Mediterranean landscapes—do not reproduce a unique and invariable passage, but follow alternative trails through a series of landmarks (gorges, fords, hills, streams) which serve as connections.[60] The circumstances of a trip and the moment at which it is carried out, as well as the number and nature of the travellers would determine the choice between one or another alternative. On some occasions it would depend on the need for pastures and drinking water for herded cattle; whilst on others the priority would have been time—therefore the option of the shortest route—to fulfil a particular mission, as in the case of the Persians to surround Leonidas by circling the Thermopylae without being seen. In this sense, if indeed concrete points along the route—such as the first stretch through the Asopus—could constitute a fixed path apt for the movement of military contingents,[61] it is our belief that the Anopaea was in

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58 Pritchett 4.165–166; 8.149–150; 2002: 95, n. 15.

59 The etymology of *Anopaea* would seem to be "the (route) which ascends", "the steep climb"; at least the meaning denoted in Herodotus (Munro 1926: 292; Burn 1951: 482; Szemler *et alii* 1996: 105 n. 12).

60 García Martín 1991; 1994; García Martín and Grande 2003.

61 The number of Persians who followed Ephialtes through the Anopaea is not known. They belonged to the corps of bowmen of the Immortals, Xerxes' feared personal guard led by Hydarnes. At no point in his account does Herodotus (7.216–218) confirm that the number of

essence a network of mountain paths controlled by the Oetaeans, Malians and Eastern Locrians. A knot of trails used for local traffic, fundamentally pastoral, revoked still today by the goat and sheep herding in these spots.

Atrapoi, or mountain paths, like those of other Greek mountains,[62] the various passes which the Anopaea opened through the western Callidromus were however essential to reaching the coast from inland, and hence also the Thermopylae. Its strategic position in the crucial encounter between the Persians and the Greeks was the advantage of the Anopaea in history, greater even than Ephialtes' treachery.[63] In light of their itinerary survey now being observed, it would seem that the ultimate failure of Leonidas was more a result of a lack of foresight in not blocking or guarding the alternative passes to the Thermopylae through the Callidromus,[64] than of the Persians' "ill-fated discovery" of the Anopaea through the collaboration of Ephialtes (Hdt. 7.213). At this point an important question to consider is the degree of responsibility of the Phocian contingent charged with guarding the Anopaea (Hdt. 7.203, 217–218). How should their actions be interpreted?

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troops displaced were 10,000; the nature of the expedition (a nocturnal incursion to surprise Leonidas from the rear) and the rugged topography through which the Anopaea wound suggest a figure of less than 2,000 infantrymen (Hignett 1963: 362; *contra* Pritchett 1958: 203; Wallace 1980, who considered the mobilisation of 10,000 men possible).

62 Without leaving Eastern Locris the trails around Mt. Cnemis are similar in course and function to those of the Anopaea (see in particular route C.2), not to mention the central mountain corridors of the Callidromus (see passes Β, Γ, and Δ in chapter 7).

63 The "legend" of the Anopaea runs parallel to the "sentencing" of Ephialtes in Classical tradition. As Green ironically observes (1996: 413), "if Dante had heard of him, Ephialtes would have been in his lowest hell with Judas and Brutus. Such are the judgments of tendentious history". The echo of this legacy is still perceptible in contemporary historiography for example when speaking of Ephialtes as "a local Judas from Malis" (Cartledge 2006: 145); and such-like, as if in a tale of "good guys" and "bad guys", reminiscent of Herodotus, "it was Ephialtes' betrayal that set in train the eventual undoing and decimation of Leonidas' proud and valiant resistance" (Cartledge 2006: 145). However, beyond moral judgements and stigmas of treachery the common, to not say universal, fact that the ancient armies' used local informants, as much attackers as defenders, must be assessed.

64 Already timidly suggested by Munro (1902: 314–315; 1926: 296–297, 299), firmly pronounced by Kase *et alii* (1991: 111–112): "contrary to Herodotus' apparent aim of putting him on a pedestal, Leonidas emerges as an incompetent military leader who is unfit for high command, whose tactical plans are jejeune and haphazard" (…) "sound strategic planning is contrary to Leonidas' constricted order of battle because there is always more than one passageway across any mountain range; to cover and to defend them all is difficult and almost impossible" (…) (p. 111); "we may assume that a majority of the forces guarded Mt. Oeta, the city of Trachis, and the Corridor's northern access" (p. 112) (equally, Szemler *et alii* 1996: 60–67). However we differ from their final conclusions with regards to the scene of events, concretely their underestimation of the Thermopylae pass and of the trails through inland Locris in the advance of the Persians (see below).

Incompetence? Lack of interest? Perhaps a manoeuvre akin to defection? Along with the Phocians, the participation of other surrounding communities can not be ruled out (Malians, Locrians, Oetaeans, and Dorians) in the defence of "their" mountain passes; but the sources reveal nothing. Also in doubt is the attitude of these local contingents before, during and after the march of Hydarnes and the definitive confrontation in the Thermopylae. Could this explain the difference in treatment conferred upon them by the Persians days later, as they crossed their territory on the way to Attica? Probably so. The varying and hesitant behaviour of the Greek "allies" in 480 BC, particularly of those groups neighbouring the Thermopylae under direct threat from the advance of Xerxes and later coerced by the presence of Leonidas at the "Hot Gates"—obligated by the geography—,[65] is a murky subject in Classical historiography. However, the politics of changes in allegiance and their different rhythms are key to understanding later vents.[66]

There is no better reflection of the manoeuvrability of the passes between the Callidromus, the Oeta and the Spercheius, and the potentiality of the local groups managing their defence and control, than the words of Strabo (9.4.15) in reference to the Thermopylae: "Now at that time these places were at the height of their fame when they held the mastery over the keys of the Narrows, and when there where struggles for the primacy between the peoples outside the Narrows and those inside them. (…) But later, now that all peoples have been brought into subjection to a single power [Rome], everything is free from toll and open to all mankind". However, as we shall see later, those located in the Anopaea were neither the only nor the most important passes communicating Locris with the exterior.

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65 Hdt. 7.132, 203, 207, 219–222; Diod. 11.3.2, 11.4.6–7; Paus. 10.20.1–2. Illustrative example of the same—fear of the invader—is the predisposition of the local people to guide Brennus and his fearsome Galatian army through the Asopus gorge in 279 BC, recounted by Pausanias (10.22.9): "By this road the Heracleots and the Aenianians promised to lead Brennus, not that they were ill-disposed to the Greek cause, but because they were anxious for the Celts to go away from their country, and not to establish themselves in it to its ruin". (Similar circumstances to Paus. 10.20.8). Such behaviour led to the following moral judgement of the traveller: "I think that Pindar [*Nem.*1.53] spoke the truth again when he said that everyone is crushed by his own misfortunes but is untouched by the woes of others" (Paus. 10.22.9).

66 See chapter 11 (dedicated to the end of the Archaic period) in this volume.

4. Axis of Communication Bordering Epicnemidian Locris

We will briefly summarise the two main routes which, along with their branches, marked the eastern and western borders of Epicnemidia respectively (routes I and J). Both allowed the passage to neighbouring regions crossing territory not strictly Locrian, although contiguous. Both played a significant role in political strategy in Antiquity, particularly in the displacement of troops in Central Greece.

I. *Between the Oeta and the Callidromus: The Melas Road, the Asopus Road, and the Doris-Phocis Corridor*

The first two were routes which, from the western gate of the Thermopylae, followed a W and SW direction to the heart of the Doris, crossing the river Xerias (the former Melas) and the Asopus gorge respectively. They were both strategically positioned between the Oeta mountain range (to the west), the Spercheius basin (to the north) and the Callidromus and its foothills, the Trachinian Mountains (Hdt. 7.199) (to the south); flanked by massifs which, in spite of their narrowness, allowed for the passage of troops and probably also vehicular traffic. At certain points along the journey both routes joined up with one of the main arteries of communication in Central Greece, into whose network they were integrated as transverse junctions. By this I refer to that which originated a few kilometres to the north of the Dema and Vardates passes following a N-S direction until reaching Amphissa and the port of Cirrha (modern Itea), namely that known in modern bibliography as the Great Isthmus Corridor (Kase *et alii* 1991). This longitudinal route of approximately 50 km crossed Doris and Phocis until reaching West Locris, Delphi and the Corinthian Gulf, the backbone of the Isthmus of Central Greece (Str. 8.5.4). It once more crossed mountainous areas, leaving to the east Mts. Callidromus and Parnassus separated by the Cephisus valley, and to the west Mt. Oeta and its southern prolongation, Mt. Giona.

Returning to the beginning, as has already been stated, both paths—the Melas and the Asopus—left from around the same point, namely, the western sector of the Thermopylae; concretely from a narrow plain where the river Phoenix[67] flowed into the Asopus and around where the small village of Anthele was situated, beyond the western-most Pylae[68] (see pass

[67] The modern-day river Votanias or more probably one of its eastern torrents which joins the Asopus between Damasta and the Alamana bridge.

[68] Hdt. 7.176.2, 200; Str. 9.4.14.

A in chapter 7). The sanctuary of Demeter which was located here was the headquarters of the celebrated Amphictyony of the Pylae.[69] This was integrated through various *ethne* in Central Greece—up to twelve[70]—with the aim to establish a common strategy with regards to religious, political or legal matters. Its initial commitments were, at any rate, the conservation of the sanctuary and the organisation of its activities. It is in fact one of the oldest confederacies if indeed, as is believed (McInerney 1999: 163–165), it was already operating in the eighth century BC Later, having broadened its jurisdiction and increased its members, the Amphictyony transferred its headquarters to Delphi at some time during the late sixth century BC.[71] Concerning the biannual meetings of the Amphictions and the religious festivals organised, the journeys from various parts of Central Greece with Anthele as their destination must be assessed. Leaving to one side nautical movement through the Malian Gulf—fundamentally the Euboeans and Ionians—who arrived directly to the port of Anthele (Str. 9.4.17), there were three main routes. 1) That which followed the Epicnemidian coast from Thronium to the Thermopylae (route A), which was joined by the paths which descended the Callidromus and the Cephisus valley (routes D, E, F and G.1–2). This route would have been taken by travellers from Opuntian Locris, Phocis and Boeotia.[72] 2) That which from Thessaly ran close to the Malian coast and crossed the Spercheius to reach the Pylae from the west, a branch of which is the route known as the Melas route (see below). This route would have been used mainly by the Thessalians, Dorians and Aetolians on the way to Anthele. And last but not least, 3) that of the Asopus gorge, which we will explore further on. This would have been used by the Malians, Oetaeans, Aenianians and other communities in this diverse area amongst the mountains.[73]

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[69] Hdt. 7. 200; Str. 9.3.7, 4.17.

[70] Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebeans, Magnetians, Dolopians, Locrians, Oetaeans, Phthiotians, Malians and Phocians, with each of these *ethne* having two representatives on the council of the *hieromnemones* (Aeschin. 2.116; Paus. 10.8.2). On the original composition of the Amphictyony and its later evolution, see Lefèvre 1998: 21–123 and Sánchez 2001: 37–51.

[71] Lefèvre 1998; Sánchez 2001; Giovannini 2007: 369–373.

[72] This would also have been the route followed in 480 BC by the Greek allies who, coming from Boeotia and the Peloponnese, supported Leonidas in the Thermopylae; among the first, Thebans and Thespians, and among the second, Lacedaemonians and Arcadians (Hdt. 7.201–202; Diod. 11.3.2; Paus. 10.20.1–2).

[73] Th. 3.92.2; 5.51.1–2; Kase *et alii* 1991: 76–89; Szemler *et alii* 1996: 113–116; Hansen and Nielsen, 2004: 674–731.

Situated by Béquignon (1937a: 181–187) to the west of the thermal hot springs in Loutra (at around km 201 on the Athens-Lamia road), on the right bank of the Asopus,[74] Anthele was a regional sanctuary located at a true crossroads. Between the Thermopylae corridor, the Asopus and the Melas, controlling the starting point of three terrestrial routes, and boasting its own port, the strategic position of Anthele emphasised its commercial dimension. Therefore, the circulation of pilgrims and merchants[75] participating in the Amphictyonic festivals celebrated in the sanctuary of Demeter, would have been especially notable in the Archaic era (Sánchez 2001: 50–57).

From Anthele the natural route inland was that of the Asopus, which beyond the Pylae followed the course of the river in the direction of Trachis.[76] However, a little before this another path branched to the left leading to the west, not far from the ancient coastline and to the south of the Spercheius, towards Doris and Thessaly. This was the second of the routes to Anthele indicated earlier, that which crossed the Malian plain and which we have termed the Melas route, after the ancient name of the river, now known as Xerias (Kase *et alii* 1991: 4–5, 9, 77, figure 1–9). The Melas ran between two tributaries—as is itself—of the Spercheius on its right margin: some 20 stades to the north that of the Dyras (Hdt. 7.198), now known as the river Gorgopotamos,[77] and less than 10 stades to the south that of the Asopus (Str. 9.4.14) which, like other rivers in Greece, conserves its old name. We will dedicate a few lines to this watercourse.

In effect, following the river Melas/Xerias and its headwater, the Mavropotamos, this path led directly to Vardates at the entrance of Doris. In parallel but a few kilometres to the south of the Spercheius, it constituted an alternative or complimentary route to that of the Asopus, with better conditions than the latter for vehicular transport (Kase *et alii* 1991: 12). As already

[74] As has been mentioned earlier, in Antiquity the Asopus flowed directly into the sea (Hdt. 7.200; Str. 9.4.14). It did so at a point near the Alamana bridge, a strategic landmark in the modern road network, where today it is also joined by the river Xerias (the former Melas).

[75] Curiously, the affluence of traders in the Pylae would explain the popularisation in ancient lexis of "Pylaesta" with connotations of trickster or liar (Sánchez 2001: 53).

[76] Hdt. 7.199–200; Str. 9.4.14.

[77] Grundy 1901: 278–281; Kase *et alii* 1991: 22, 80. To be taken into account that the striking natural and man-made changes in the lower course of the Spercheius and its tributaries, in particular the process of canalization, have caused the currents of the ancient Melas, Dyras and Asopus to vary and at some points merge. The distance which separates the three rivers at their point of confluence with the Spercheius today (8 km in a straight line between the Gorgopotamos and the Xerias, and coincident with the Xerias and the Asopus), was without doubt different in Antiquity.

mentioned, both routes, that of the Asopus and that of the Melas or Xerias-Mavropotamos, were transverse to the Doris-Phocis corridor, converging with it along its northern sector (Kase *et alii*, 1991: 22–27). It was not an unknown route. Among the movements recognised by sources that followed the Melas route at least three tracks can be cited: 1) The route of Xerxes from the Spercheius to the Thermopylae (480 BC) (Hdt. 7.198); 2) The route of the Galatians to the land of the Aetolians (279 BC), in the opposite direction, to encourage the departure of those Aetolians defending the "Hot Gates" (Paus. 10.22.2–5); and 3) the displacements of the Aetolians, Thessalians and their respective allies, the Romans and the Macedonians, in the war between the latter two at the beginning of the second century BC.[78] Likewise this was a recognised route in Roman itineraries, concretely in the *tabula Peutingeriana* (*seg*.6/5–7/1): that which stretched between the *mansiones* of Thapedon[79] and Thermopylae, separated by a distance of 27 miles.[80]

From the Melas route the immediate and interconnected passes of Vardates and Dema could be easily reached. These were the only apertures between the Oeta mountain range (to the west) and the Trachinian mountains (to the south-east) which allowed passage towards the south. Also known as the Dyo Vouna—after the modern-day town in close proximity—, the Dema pass is especially strategical. Being the backbone of communication between Thessaly, Doris, Aetolia and Phocis, this landmark in communications became a principal objective for the military expeditions against Delphi and Attica (Kase *et alii* 1991: 12, 24–25, 56–59). During Xerxes' campaign of 480, having defeated Greek resistance in the Thermopylae this (along the Melas to Vardates and Dema) would have been the route taken by the Persian army, crossing Doris, in order to raze the camps and cities of the Phocians.[81] According to the historian of Halicarnassus, it was the Thessalians who led the Persians on this venture, anxious to inflict revenge

[78] Livy 28.5.10, 7.1; 33.3.7; 36.16.3–11, 25.1. It is also the starting point of "the coastal road which leads to Thrace" cited by Thucydides (3.92.4, and the same in 4.78.1).

[79] Thapedon has been situated along with the site of Kastraki, on the promontory of the modern-day town of Gorgopotamos, to the north of Vardates and the Xerias (Miller 1964: 576; Pritchett 3.220–221; Kase *et alii* 1991: 23).

[80] As we have observed, this route (Pella-Athens) crossed the territory of Epicnemidia (following the coast to Thronium and from there possibly passing through the Boagrius valley to Vasilika) and later Phocis, being Scarpheia, Elateia and Chaeroneia the *mansiones* located on the other side of the Thermopylae (Miller 1964: 576–577; Pritchett 3.220–232; Bosio 1983: *seg*. VI/5-VII/1). Therefore, the Melas route directly connected the Thermopylae corridor with Scarpheia and Thronium. See routes A and G.1 above.

[81] Hdt. 8.31–33; Kase and Szemler 1982: 361–366.

on their long-standing enemies (Hdt. 8.27–33). However, it could not have been the only route taken.[82] Divided into different units following complementary strategies,[83] it is very possible that Xerxes' troops used the Asopus trail as an auxiliary route,[84] as Doris could also be reached in this way and from there the Cephisus valley. Contrary to popular belief, we consider it viable also that another column of the Persian army advanced through Epicnemidia from Alponus. Thus, Xerxes secured control of the Callidromus passes which, as we shall see, were fundamental in the communication network of Central Greece. It was not in vain that the Greek deserters crossed these passes to flee the Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.219, 222), and groups hostile to the Persians sheltered within them. The inland route in Epicnemidia—along which the Persians probably followed the river Boagrius upstream to Anifitsa and Vasilika (route G.1), without overlooking other alternatives—is really more viable than the imagined coastal route to Opus.[85] As well as allowing them to fall upon Phocian cities once the Fontana and Vasilika

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[82] As maintained by the team from Loyola University of Chicago led by E.W. Kase (Kase and Szemler 1982: 359–362; Kase *et alii* 1991: 32). Their proposal to underestimate the strategic value of the Thermopylae to the point in which they deny that it was transitable in 480 being submerged by the waters of its eastern sector (Kase and Szemler 1982: 358 n. 14; Kraft *et alii* 1987: 192–196; Kase *et alii* 1991: 6–8; Szemler *et alii* 1996; Cherf 2001), inflating the importance of the Dema pass, where they place the "real" Phocian wall (Kase *et alii* 1991: 107–108; Szemler *et alii* 1996: 53), has been generally rejected. To the early appeals of Pritchett "in defence of the Thermopylae" (5.190–216; 6.118–122; 7.191–205; 8.81–87, 103, 112), Lazenby's equally critical observations can be added (1993: 134 note 20, 151 note 1; 1998), Marcotte (1996), McInerney (1999: 333–339), Buckler (2003: 453–454) and Cawkwell (2005: 274–275). Agreeing with many of their reflections, there seem to be in effect weak and unbalanced points in Kase and Szemler's thesis. Independently of the strategic value of the Vardates-Dema network of passageways and the Doris-Phocis corridor (whose northern sector obviously forms a communication structure with the Spercheius and the "Hot Gates"; as underlined by Kase *et alii* 1991: 63), none of them are incompatible with, and less still do they exclude, the operating capacity of the Thermopylae and other routes in Epicnemidia. With regards to the "trafficability" of the Pylae, its legacy in ancient historiography speaks for itself (Grundy 1901: 262–264; Stählin 1924; Pritchett 1.71–82; 5.191–193; 7.191–192 note 3). See pass A in chapter 7.

[83] It was not uncommon for the Persian forces to split up in their advance over land through Greece (Hignett 1963: 111, 134, 196; Lazenby 1993: 151). This was done, for example, after razing Phocis to the ground, when the bulk of the army—with Xerxes at the head—travelled to Attica crossing Boeotia, while another part went towards Delphi (Hdt. 8.34–35). See the opinions collected in Kase and Szemler 1982: 359 n. 18.

[84] The Galatians of Brennus did the same in 279 BC, guided by locals, in order to surround the Thermopylae (Paus. 10.22.9–11).

[85] However there are a considerable number of writers who support the coastal route of the Persians after clearing the Pylae. When detailing the routes running W-E through Epicnemidia we have already shown our scepticism regarding a continuous road along the coast which, in our opinion, did not exist in its whole extension (see above route A).

passes had been crossed, the march through Epicnemidia offered the Persians the opportunity to secure *de facto* the support of the Locrians[86] and hence the addition of new contingents to their army.

Moving on to the Asopus, firstly as a river, later as a challenging gorge, the surrounding trail was the key which opened the door to the Malis region from the Thermopylae.[87] The second key if we take into account the fact that the Melas route was a trail which fulfilled a similar function. Its principal enclave, the Trachis citadel, next to which the Lacedaemonians founded Heracleia in 426,[88] guarded the route owing to its position on a steep crest at 440 m in altitude above the Asopus[89] (Livy 36.22.4–5). However, the control of Trachis was not limited to the Asopus route; in reality it included the whole of the western sector of the Thermopylae (see pass A in chapter 7). From Trachis and along approximately 4 km, the course of the river became a pronounced and winding ravine with walls over 250 m high. It was, in effect, the roughest part of the trail. Thus, it was also the most difficult for heavy loads and war vehicles, which would have opted for the parallel Melas route, which slightly to the north and upon more open terrain led to Vardates. On the other hand, in this area between Damasta and Eleftherochori on the right bank of the Asopus, several tracks led up the western side of the Callidromus. From these, and not without difficulty, the eastern sector of the Thermopylae could be reached, and from there Epicnemidia. We have already seen how one of these routes harboured the celebrated Anopaea, on which the Persians managed to surround Leonidas (see above route H). Also the Asopus trail, in its longest trajectory, was used by the Galatians in 279 in

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[86] Like that of the Dorians, the attitude of the Locrians in the Greek-Persian conflict would have oscillated between faltering support of the Greek cause and a swift change of allegiance—medism—after the failed defence of the Thermopylae. On the behaviour of Locrians, Thessalians and Phocians at Thermopylae see Domínguez Monedero 2011. One gets the impression that their implication would have been more implicit (inhabiting the immediate surroundings of the famous gorge) than explicit.

[87] Hdt. 7.198–200; Str. 9.4.14.

[88] Th. 3.92.1–6; Str. 9.4.13; Diod. 12.59.3–5; Paus. 10.22.1.

[89] Thus emphasising the hegemonic role of Trachis-Heracleia, the Asopus route has also been called "the Heracleia roadway" (Kase *et alii* 1991: 25–27; Szemler *et alii* 1996: 91–92). For the location of the spot (and the exact correspondence or not of Trachis with Heracleia: citadel, the low city and the defensive precinct located in Sidiroporton), with some historiographical controversy, see Bequignon 1937a: 243–260; Pritchett 1.81–82; 5.204; 8.113–120; Hignett 1963: 356–360; Leekley and Efstratiou 1980: 122–123; Kase *et alii* 1991: 8–9, 26–27, 48, 78–81; Szemler *et alii* 1996: 33–40, 101–104; Buckler 2003: 20–21; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 710–713. On the importance of Heracleia in the first phase of the Peloponnesian War and later in the military operations in the Roman-Aetolian-Macedonian conflict, see chapters 12–13 in this volume, as well as Kase *et alii* 1991: 118–119 and 128–130.

order to reach the eastern gate of the Pylae, circling the Callidromus (Paus. 10.22.8–11). Once the winding gorge was crossed, as we have mentioned along a route of some 4 km with two pronounced bends, the topography of the Asopus progressively softened as it passed through a broader, lower valley until it divided into various headwaters. Of these, that which followed the main route did so in a southerly direction a couple of kilometres to the west of the road which links Eleftherochori with Vralos. In its course through the heart of Doris, the narrow stretch of land between Malis and Phocis (Hdt. 8.31), the trail bordered the Oeta massif to the west, in which the imposing Kastro Orias is located (at 752 m in altitude at its peak) (Kase *et alii* 1991: 12–13, 30, 49–50). Precisely in this area, at the last great bend in the Asopus, where it receives successively the waters from the Skatias and Rema tributaries, a couple of kilometres from Kastro Orias, the path converged with the Doris corridor[90] (Kase *et alii* 1991: 26) and once joined continued along it to the south between the town of Oita and the Taxiarches monastery towards Vralos, which lies to the east of the route. The route is reproduced by the nearby Athens-Lamia railway line, opened in 1908, in its trajectory through the region. Level with Vralos, more precisely a couple of kilometres to the west, the route forked and spilled into two main communication routes.

The first of these main routes followed a south-easterly direction through the Apostoliarema valley, a river which along with others similar formed the headwater of the Cephisus. This was the northern starting point of the route which crossed Phocis diagonally sheltered by this important river.[91] Its transit was comfortable given the width of the valley which separates the Callidromus and the Parnassus. Also, the path was marked by a chain of Phocian towns and small forts more or less close to the Cephisus.[92] After Cytinium were situated Drymaea, Charadra, Lilaea, Erochus, Teithronium, Amphicleia, Pedieis, Neon, Elateia, Hyampolis, Abae and Parapotami.[93] The military precincts played an important role in the defence of Phocis, especially at critical moments such as during the Third Sacred War;[94] while the

90 In fact, "it can be concluded that this mountain roadway, too, was an integral part of the Isthmus Corridor Road System" (Kase *et alii* 1991: 27).

91 McInerney 1999: 47–57; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 308–316.

92 Which explains the ease with which the Persians plundered Phocis from top to bottom (480 BC) following the valley to Boeotia and Attica (Hdt. 8.32–33), as has already been noted.

93 McInerney 1999: 263–332; Oulhen 2004.

94 Buckler 1989; Ellinger 1993: 323–332; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004; Buckler and Beck 2008: 213–253.

towns to the north of the Cephisus fulfilled a strategic function at the Callidromus passes. In particular Elateia, essential to gaining access to Locris due to its connection with the Vasilika and Fontana passes (Zachos, 1997) (see passes Γ and Δ in chapter 7). And the same can be said on Hyampolis, as the southern headwater of the artery of the river Dipotamos (Ellinger 1993: 22–27) (see route J). From Chaeroneia onwards the Cephisus route went further inland in a south-easterly direction in Boeotia, until flowing into Lake Copaïs. Thus, the fertile Cephisus valley, at the heart of Phocis, constituted one of the main links between Northern and Southern Greece.

The second trunk road into which the Asopus route ran was in reality, being shared from some four kilometres north of Vralos, as we have said, the continuation of the Great Isthmus Corridor. That is, the Doris-Phocis route in its central sector (Kase *et alii* 1991: 31–33). It successively crossed the Achiadorema, Apostoliarema and Kananitis rivers (the sources of the Cephisus), in a S-SW direction in search of the natural passes of Gravia first, followed by the Anvlena or Anvliani. Both, but particularly the Gravia, another important passage in Central Greece, separated the north-eastern foothills of the Giona—concretely Mt. Tsika—to the west, from the western border of the Parnassus to the east (Kase *et alii* 1991: 32–34, 54). From the Gravia pass the route continued through western Phocis to Amphissa, some 20 km to the south, forming the southern sector of the Isthmus corridor and its different branches (Kase *et alii* 1991: 32–42 and Figure 3–6). The first of the West Locrian *poleis*,[95] Amphissa controlled the "sea of olive trees" which stretched until Crisa and the Itean Gulf: the sacred land of Apollo.[96] Therefore, the Sanctuary of Delphi could be accessed from its south-western slope. This ancient natural route[97] accommodated the well-known "Salona trail" (from the Turkish name for Amphissa), used in Ottoman times for the mobilisa-

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95 Str. 9.4.7; Paus. 10.38.4.

96 Rousset 2002; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 393–394.

97 "Passes, vertical cliffs, streams, gorges, ridges, spring water, animal forage, and the easily negotiated western slopes of Parnassus define the only possible route, and this route was followed by the road system. There is not even one alternative route. No road, not even a trail, could negotiate the vertical rock walls of the Giona range between Gravia and the Vinianni valley. Only the forested colluvium and the wellwatered slopes of the Parnassus could provide a natural route of passage. Therefore, the nature of the terrain gives support to our firm belief that the first well constructed roadbed between Gravia and Amphissa, with a stone or gravel packed surface, was built for trade, wheeled and military traffic during the Mycenaean times" (Kase *et alii* 1991: 32).

tion of troops and supplies between Zeitun (Lamia) and Salona.[98] As with the Lamia-Vralos-Gravia-Amphissa road which has revived the trail since its construction in 1919, it represented the most direct link between Delphi and the Thermopylae, the two largest Amphictyonic centres of Archaic Greece. Thus it was a terrestrial link between the Gulf of Corinth, the Euboean Sea and Thessaly. Hence the trail was used habitually by the ancient Greeks[99] and likewise by the erudite travellers who, since the eighteenth century felt the call of Hellas.

J. *Between Daphnus and Hyampolis: The Dipotamos Corridor*

Once again a river and the communication route along its course mark a frontier line in Epicnemidia. In this case the river is the Dipotamos and the border the eastern frontier. At different stages in Antiquity this valley came under Phocian domain and constituted part of its territory, allowing the Phocians access to two maritime outlets (Str. 9.3.1, 17): the northern leading to the Euboean sea (by crossing the Dipotamos, with the polis of Daphnus at its outlet) and the southern outlet to the Corinthian sea (with Cirrha as its principal port). From Daphnus to Hyampolis, this long, narrow and, in many senses, vital current separated or broke in two Eastern Locris (Str. 9.3.1, 4.1). Thus, Epicnemidian Locris stretched to the west of the Dipotamos from Mount Cnemis to the Thermopylae; and Opuntian Locris stretched to the east of the Dipotamos, taking its name from the federal capital of the Locrians, Opus, until reaching the border with Boeotia (Fossey 1990: 6–17). The frontier was hence a strategic corridor at times controlled by the Phocians,[100] which also facilitated communication between the Parnassus and the Cephisus valley with the Euboean Channel in the transition of its two Gulfs, the Opuntian and the Malian.

The Dipotamos basin follows a markedly N-S direction on a moderate gradient, less pronounced than the watercourses in Epicnemidia, whose geo-hydrological characteristics it otherwise shares. It flows for approximately

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98 Bon 1937: 164; Kase *et alii* 1991: 161–163; Adam 2001: 373.

99 An exhaustive analysis of its use since Mycenaean times, in which some sectors were defined and paved for the first time, until the Roman dominion, in Kase *et alii* 1991: 32–33 and 65–145. (In particular, it must be highlighted the significance of the nuclear areas of the corridor during the Peloponnesian War, the Corinthian War and the Sacred Wars around the middle of the fourth century BC, pp. 117–125).

100 Although it was not always like this. At other times (for example since the end of the Third Sacred War, c. 346) this strip of territory came under the domain of the Opuntians, therefore within Locrian jurisdiction. For more details see chapter 3.

20 km from its source on the eastern face of Mount Kasidi, in the western foothills of the Callidromus, a couple of kilometres to the northeast of Kalapodi, to the delta on the Longos plain. In Antiquity, however, it would not have flowed over more than 17 km if we take into account that the last three correspond to a recently formed alluvial terrain,[101] although it is a notable length for the fluvial network of the region. The total area of the Dipotamos basin, enriched by numerous streams, is of some 108 sq km. and is very similar to that of the Boagrius (107 sq km). Only in the central sector of its course, approximately between the Dialates and Profitis Ilias hills (both on its western bank), the river is known, strictly speaking, as the Dipotamos; while in its lower course it is known as the Xerias—as we shall see, a widely repeated hydronym meaning "dry"—, and in the upper Milonamandri, which is how its headwater is known. Especially in this first sector the Dipotamos receives waters from an abundance of tributary currents, notably the Dialates and Polydendri rivers on the left bank which flow from W-E and flow into it transversally.

The topography of the Dipotamos valley varies throughout its course, allowing us to distinguish three stretches or sectors. The first (the Milonamandri stretch between the source of the river and the confluence with the Dialates, of approximately 8.5 km) follows a curve with a relatively gentle valley on the eastern side, even permitting a kilometre of fertile plain, but more constricted on the western side by the wall of Mount Mirkiniza. This is followed by the central sector (between the confluence of the Dialates and Profitis Ilias hill, of approximately 3 km) which is less uneven and hence the most easily traversed, with roads leading to Epicnemidia along the Polydendri River and the Tachtali plateau in its western margin. Finally, the lower sector (between Profitis Ilias hill and the mouth of the river to the south of Longos, of approximately 6.5 km) is the most canalised, converting the corridor into a rectilinear gorge sculpted by gullies especially pronounced on the western slope, until the basin opens out one kilometre to the south of where the motorway crosses, coinciding with the old delta. Throughout the best part of its trajectory, and particularly in the final sector, the trail followed the river parallel to its eastern bank as, being less steep, this slope presented better conditions for transit. Nevertheless, other roads run on the western bank of the valley connecting the archaeological sites of

[101] The same process of coastal progradation due to the accumulation of fluvial deposits. A common phenomenon in the deltas of the Malian Gulf, in particular the Spercheius and the rivers of Epicnemidia (see chapter 1).

Zeli, Tachtali, Agnanti and the polis of Daphnus. The altitude of the corridor varied between 20–80 m in the lower sector and 350–400 m at the headwater, with an average altitude of 50–180 m.

As we have said, the Dipotamos corridor was situated between the coastal city of Daphnus, in the Opuntian Gulf, and the enclaves of Hyampolis and Abae, in the heart of Phocis; its northern and southern extremes respectively. We will make a brief description of its passage and the principal landmarks surrounding its waters from north to south.[102] Ancient Daphnus is situated to the southeast of the tourist town of Agios Konstantinos, in the bay of the same name; concretely at the place called Isiomata. Not far off, its port, noted by Strabo (9.4.3). From the city and the port, which were approximately 2.5 and 2 km to the west of the river's former mouth, a side path led to the main trail. This, following close to the course of the modern-day Xerias, passed longitudinally over a distance of 4 km through the aforementioned gorge formed by the lower slopes of the Mountitsa and the Palioboukriza on the western terrace, until arriving in the Agnanti region; the same trajectory which is reproduced today by a dirt track which, from its starting point a little before Km 163 of the motorway, leads to Agnanti. At the equator of the gorge, coinciding with an area of quarries, a branch leads off from the eastern side of the trail; a branch which, over a winding 2.5 km path led to the town of Agnanti,[103] like the modern-day *monopati*. Situated above a basin surrounded by hills, Agnanti was, however, a significant point communicating the Dipotamos valley with Epicnemidia. This situation, added to the agricultural conditions of the area, vouches for the antiquity of the local population. This is proven by the Mycenaean and Protogeometric necropolis of Kritharia, to the southwest of the town, while the abundant ceramics scattered over the surface, especially on the nearby Kastri hill, suggest that, at least during the Classical era, the town would have constituted a *chorion* included in the territory of Daphnus.

From Agnanti, communication with Epicnemidia was achieved thanks to two *atrapoi* or inland tracks. The first, following a slight north-easterly direction through the Steni pass and later along the river Pisorema, led to Karya via Mount Cnemis; a route which we have already noted when tracing the trails between Cnemis and the Callidromus and which in the end provided

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102 For recent archaeological survey of this area see chapter 3 in this volume.

103 The existence of a more direct route should not be ruled out, some 2 km to the west of the river, between Mount Blesia and Palioboukriza hill, where the modern road between Agios Konstantinos and Agnanti passes today.

access, not without difficulty, to the port of Thronium (Kamena Vourla) bordering the western face of Cnemis (route C.2). At its starting point the path was protected by the small fort of Mount Blesia (926 m), which controlled the Steni pass and which is visible from Agnanti. The second *atrapos*, much more easily transitable, leaves Agnanti in a south-westerly direction to the high Tachtali-Ities plateau, where a transversal corridor to the south of Mount Granitsa allowed access to Velona and Anifitsa (route C.1). This last enclave was a veritable crossroads within the eastern margins of Epicnemidia, with five important routes coinciding there: that which led west to Naryx (route B, eastern sector) (1), that which followed the Boagrius valley until reaching Thronium and the Thermopylae corridor (route G.1) (2), that which led to the Cnemides fort via Karya (route C.3) (3), that which led to Velona, Tachtali and Agnanti, which we are looking at now (4), and that which led south to Elateia via Vasilika (pass Δ in chapter 7) (5). This last route (Agnanti-Tachtali-Anifitsa-Elateia) would have been "the inland route on foot" referred to by Strabo (9.4.3), covering 120 stades—approximately 22 km—between Daphnus and Elateia. However, the same journey could be undertaken by following the Dipotamos until Kalapodi and from there, travelling west through the Stavros and Sfaka passes, and on to Elateia.

Continuing with the central sector of the Dipotamos, from the Profitis Ilias hill, which marks the eastern frontier of Epicnemidia, the trail continued towards the modern-day town of Zeli. In this central stretch the rivers Polydendri and Dialates come together, which explains why the Dipotamos is known as "the double river". The Polydendri in particular has a special significance for travel. At a height of about 250 m in altitude, its transverse valley accommodated a path which led in a westerly direction to the Vasilika network of passes, at the heart of the Callidromus. Therefore, it was an alternative route to the Tachtali corridor for reaching the mountainous border between Epicnemidia and Phocis from the Dipotamos, given that the sources of the Polydendri river were in close proximity to Tsakismeno amaxi and this, the main pass of Vasilika, linked Anifitsa and Naryx with Elateia (see pass Δ in chapter 7). The town of Zeli occupied a strategic position between Agnanti and Kalapodi, scarcely 2 km to the west of the course of the Dipotamos. It was inhabited since at least the Late Helladic period as demonstrated by the Mycenaean necropolis of Agios Georgios, at the southern exit of the town. In later periods it controlled the western sector of the corridor and therefore the pass into Epicnemidia via the Tachtali plateau. Returning to the Dipotamos route, some 2 km to the south of the confluence with the river Dialates the path rounded the Mirkiniza hill, curving to the south-west towards the Milona-mandri springs.

In this sector of the trail the town of Kalapodi is distinguishable, situated 2.5 km to the south of Zeli. With regards to Antiquity, its importance lies in the celebrated Sanctuary of Apollo (and Artemis?) located 1 km to the north-east, excavated between 1973 and 1982 and once again from 2004.[104] Within the complex are a series of successively larger cult buildings as well as terraces and deposits for offerings which imply religious use since at least the Protogeometric period. In Archaic and Classical times, the sanctuary performed an oracular function—for the intercession of Apollo—and was furnished with notable offerings,[105] being linked to the neighbouring cities of Abae and Hyampolis.[106] However, contrary to the belief that it was jointly dedicated to the brother gods, it has been recently suggested that the Kalapodi sanctuary was really the oracular centre of Apollo purporting to Abae;[107] while there was another in the *chora* of Hyampolis related to Artemis. Precisely in this second sanctuary the Elaphebolia was celebrated, a festival in honour of Artemis which commemorated the former triumph of the Phocians over the Thessalians.[108] As Ellinger has shown (1993), this military epic linked to the figure of Artemis has been retold until becoming a national legend, and as such in element of cohesion and identity for the inhabitants of Phocis.

If today it is a crossroads in regional communications, in Antiquity Kalapodi was a veritable knot of trails. Its proximity to the Dipotamos made it the southern gateway of this corridor, separating it from Daphnus and the Opuntian Gulf by a distance of 15 km in a straight line, as we have just seen. As well as the Dipotamos route, at this spot, probably in the very same sanctuary of Apollo, another three roads converged, being fundamental in the territorial articulation of Central Greece. The first, led to the north-east through Opuntian territory, following the course of the river Alargino until reaching the federal capital of the Locrians, Opus, situated near the modern-day Atalanti.[109] It was a route of approximately 12 km cited by Pausanias (10.35.1 and 5: which he defines as *leoforos*, that is, a public road) and which is reproduced today by the Atalanti-Kalapodi road. The second trail, leading south, followed the river Bogdanorema (the ancient Assus, northern tributary of the Cephisus) to reach the cities of Hyampolis and Abae;

104 Felsch 1987; 1996; Whitley 2005; Whitley *et alii* 2007; Felsch 2007.
105 Hdt. 1.46; 8.27, 33; Paus. 10.35.1–4.
106 Fossey 1986: 142–145; Ellinger 1993: 22–45.
107 Niemeyer 2006: 76–78; Whitley *et alii* 2007: 41.
108 Hdt. 8.28; Plu. *Mor.* 244 B; Paus. 10.1.5–9.
109 Fossey 1990: 68–74; Nielsen 2004: 670–671.

a trajectory now followed by the Kalapodi-Exarchos road. This route was a continuation of the Dipotamos corridor and in its final stretch housed a pass between two mountainsides: surrounding it to the west, Profitis Ilias hill (a repeated toponym which in this case refers to the last south-eastern foothill of the Callidromus), and to the east, the Kalogria summit (belonging to Mount Chlomon, the great barrier separating Opuntian Locris from Boeotia).[110] The third Kalapodi trail, leading to the south-west, linked the sanctuary of Apollo (or of Apollo and Artemis) with Elateia and the Cephisus valley. Like the Kalapodi-Katalima-Elateia road, this route took advantage of a natural ravine on the southern side of the Callidromus (concretely the Stavros-Sfaka pass, between the Kasidi and Souvala slopes) to eventually open out onto the fertile plains of the Cephisus, where the possibilities for transport communication multiplied. Of the Phocian cities which between greater or lesser distance dotted the valley, Elateia was the gateway to entering Locris, controlling from its privileged position the southern exit of Vasilika (see pass Δ in chapter 7). As a route between Elateia and Hyampolis-Abae, this trail is explicitly mentioned by Pausanias in his *Periegesis* of Phocis (10.35.1): "To reach Abae and Hyampolis from Elateia you may go along a mountain road on the right of the city of Elateia, but the highway from Orchomenus to Opus also leads to those cities. If then you go along the road from Orchomenus to Opus, and turn off a little to the left, you reach the road to Abae".

Although of lesser importance than those mentioned earlier, another trail from Kalapodi is still to be considered. I refer to that which led north to the modern-day town of Zeli, which, as we have stated along with Agnanti, housed an important Mycenaen necropolis, that of Agios Georgios, and ceramic remains from the Archaic to the Hellenistic-Roman periods. From Zeli *triboi* mountain paths departed, one to the north-east, to the central sec-

[110] It is that which, according to Herodotus (8.28), is usually known as "the Hyampolis pass" (McInerney 1999: 56). In effect, given its pre-eminent position, the cities of Hyampolis and Abae had absolute control over it (see below). "La passe d'Hyampolis a vu déferler sucessivement les Thessaliens, les Perses, et a sans doute aussi été utilisée plus tard par les Romains. Le défilé lui-même, large de quelques centaines de mètres seulement, s'allonge sur environ 4 kilomètres, du Nord vers le Sud, entre les pentes très escarpées des Monts Chlomon et Profitis Ilias. A son extrémité Sud, il se divise en deux vallées divergentes. L'une, vers le Sud-Ouest, constitue la suite du passage et mène jusqu'à la plaine du Cephise; l'autre, vers l'Est, est empruntée par une route qui rejoint directement Orchomène par les collines. L'acropole même d'Hyampolis est construite sur une butte, à la jonction des deux vallées et du défilé. Por qui s'engage dans la passe, venant du Nord, la large masse troncoconique de l'acropole semble barrer toute issue. La ville acquiert ainsi, à la fois par sa situation, su sortir des montagnes de la zone-frontière, et par son site, une importance stratégique considerável" (Ellinger 1993: 23–24, and figs. 2–3, 5–18).

tor of the Dipotamos along the river Dialates; and another to the north, until reaching the river Polydendri and the Tachtali corridor, following drover's roads. This completes the network of secondary trails within a triangle marked by three natural centres: the Dipotamos river to the east, the Callidromus mountains to the west and the river Cephisus to the south.

The final stretch of the Dipotamos corridor, as has already been highlighted, ran between Kalapodi and the neighbouring *poleis* of Hyampolis and Abae (Hansen and Nielsen, 2004: 408–409, 418–419). Their acropoleis are situated on two cone-shaped hills: the Kastro Bogdanou (Hyampolis) and the Kastro Paliochori (Abae), 3 km to the north-west and 2 km to the west of the town of Exarchos respectively.[111] In an articulated manner, both cities dominated the aforementioned "Hyampolis pass": without doubt a crucial passage as it linked both sectors of Eastern Locris (Epicnemidia to the north-west, Opuntia to the north-east) with Phocis (to the south-west) and Boeotia (to the south-east). To be precise, this last sector of the road traversed Phocian territory, even though from Abae the Boeotian cities of Chaeroneia and Orchomenus could be easily reached from the south (Paus. 10.35.1–8). Returning to the main route, this sector, which corresponds to the second of the itineraries from Kalapodi summarised earlier, is not guided by the course of the Dipotamos (whose headwater, the Milona-mandri, originates to the north-east of the town) but by the Bogdanorema. From its source to the south-west of Kalapodi, the ancient river Assus is the artery which links the Dipotamos with the Cephisus. Thus, it represents the natural continuation of the fluvial corridor which extended from Daphnus.

Classical sources highlight the role played by the Dipotamos route in Antiquity. The link did not serve in vain the interregional interaction between Locrians, Phocians and Boeotians as an episode from the Archaic period illustrates: from Epicnemidia along the trails which led to the Dipotamos, Thessalian horsemen charged against the Phocians until they were defeated near Hyampolis resorting to curious strategies;[112] a triumph commemorated by the Phocian festival of the Elaphebolia, as we have noted (Ellinger, 1993: 13–22, 119–269). Centuries later, during the Third Sacred War, the control of the Dipotamos as key to gaining access to Daphnus was a matter of dispute between the Phocians, Boeotians, Thessalians and Macedonians (Diod. 30.3.1–59.2).

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111 Fossey 1986: 72–81, 95–96; Ellinger 1993: 23–25; McInerney 1999: 288–292.
112 Hdt. 8.28; Paus. 10.1.3–11; Polyaen. *Strat.* 6.18.2.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MOUNTAIN PASSES IN EPICNEMIDIAN LOCRIS

Eduardo Sánchez-Moreno*

> It seems very clear that the Fontana and Vasilika passes, rarely mentioned in the classical literature of the twentieth century carried the brunt of the traffic between Locris and Phocis in ancient times
>
> —Pritchett 1982: 75

Mountain passes are a structural element in the Locrian landscape and at the same time the scene of famous chapters in history. At various points in this monograph it has been commented that the rugged profile of this region, added to the limitations imposed by the northern seaboard, make the irregular longitudinal valleys, the high plateaus to the south of the Cnemis and manifestly the Callidromus passes the great vectors of communication.[1] The latter are abundant in Epicnemidia, having been used since remote times as gateways to other territories through which to enter and depart. With differing altitudes and settings, from the celebrated "Hot Gates" to other anonymous yet equally strategic, narrowings, gorges, ravines and mountain passes are the great protagonists of the Locrian itineraries.

Before looking at the most distinguished of these in more detail,[2] we wish to note that the ancient writers referred to these natural corridors using

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[1] See especially chapters 1 and 6 in this volume.

[2] We will deal concretely with the Kleisoura, Fontana (Derveni) and Vasilika passes, over the central sector of the Callidromus, and the Thermopylae gorge, over the ancient coastline. These are the most significant from a communication perspective. But there are many other passes in the area of ancient Epicnemidia which served local traffic not to be taken for granted. Some have already been detailed in relation to other routes. Such would be the case of the notorious Steni pass (to the south of the Cnemis massif, on the Plisorema gorge; see route C.2 in chapter 6), the Trano Livadi gorge (on the Karya to Velona trail; see route C.3 in chapter 6), the Kleisoura gorge (between Mendenitsa and Tithroni, near the pass of the

different terms. Therefore, the most commonly used are *stenopos* (στενωπός) or *stena* (στενά), understood as a more or less winding mountain pass, *pyla* (πύλα), as "gateway" or bottlenecking in a gorge, or *diodos* (δίοδος), which alludes to a canyon or path in a not necessarily elevated position (Lolos 1998: 280–281). To which we must add *exodos* (ἐσόδος), with the meaning of exit or closure of a pass.

1. Thermopylae (A)

Along with Mount Parnassus or Olympus, if in Hellas there is a terrain notorious for its ruggedness it is the Thermopylae. This is due to various reasons. Not only owing to its historiographical echo given its role in the Greek-Persian conflict of 480,[3] but also owing to its projection in works of fiction, patriotic discourse, painting or cinema as an epic setting.[4] It is a dramatic landscape which modelled a heroic deed (the sacrifice of Leonidas and his three hundred men to slow the advance of invading forces) or a chapter in military history written as the geography dictates (a passage between the sea and the mountains which was to be passed and protected at any one time), whichever is preferred.

As our sources make clear, the place owes its name to the thermal hot springs which originated alongside the "gates".[5] But what made the Ther-

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same name; see pass B below) or the Stena Gremna (which joins Velona with Vasilika hill; see pass Γ), among other examples.

[3] Of the extensive bibliography on the battle of the Thermopylae (and its setting) in the context of Xerxes' campaigns against Greece we recommend—and have sourced here—: Grundy 1901: 257–317; 1925; Munro 1902; 1926: 291–301; Stählin 1924; Bequignon 1937a: 43–49, 235–243; Burn 1951; 1977: 98–103; Pritchett 1958: 211–213; 4.176–201; 5.190–216; 7.190–205; 8.113–120; Hignett 1963: 105–148, 371–378; Green 1996: 406–422; Kraft *et alii* 1987; Hammond 1988; 1996; Lazenby 1993: 117–159; Szemler *et alii* 1996; Briant 1996: 545–566; Cherf 2001; de Souza 2003: 40–74; Cawkwell 2005: 274–276; Holland 2005: 260–306; Cartledge 2006; Matthews 2006; Fields 2007. On the Thermopylae pass see specifically Sánchez-Moreno 2010.

[4] On the fame of the Thermopylae and its modern-day representation, see the suggestive overviews of Macgregor Morris 2000; Cartledge 2006: 153–213 and Bridges *et alii* 2007. Without being able to go into detail, an example of the changes in perception of the episode will suffice. (With a good dose of anachronism, some now understand it as the prelude to the East-West conflict). And thus, attending the pictorial representation, how far is the heroic nineteenth-century neoclassicism view (J.-L. David: "Leonides à les Thermòpiles", 1814) from that of the atrocious expressionism of the Europe of the Cold War (O. Kokoscha: "Die Thermopylen", 1954) (Weidinger 1998). Of course, film ("300", and earlier "The 300 Spartans"; Levene 2007) and the historical novel (Pressfield 1998; cf. Bridges 2007) are responsible for its popularisation in our time.

[5] "In this pass are warm springs for bathing, called by the people of the country The

mopylae pass on the one hand a military target and on the other a defensive position? Without doubt its strategic position. Its central point being situated some 4 km to the east of the ancient mouth of the river Spercheius, it constituted a long and irregular passage between the Callidromus and the Malian Gulf. It was vital, allowing transversal communication between Thessaly, Malis and Eastern Locris. Hence, it represented one of the few options available to advance through Central Greece around the perimeter, overcoming its complex orography; a fundamental part of the long-distance route established by land and by sea between Thrace, Attica and the Peloponnese (Hdt. 7.175; Str. 9.4.15).

As has already been noted, the present-day site of the Thermopyles (in the modern province of Phthiotis), much changed, is the result of the alluvial progression of the Spercheius delta (Kraft *et alii* 1987). It is scarcely reminiscent of the gorge of times past. We must turn to the ancient historians in order to gain an insight into how it was in the times of the Persian Wars. Herodotus, who visited the place and who noted numerous local details, offers the most complete description of the topography of the Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.175–176); and in particular of the landmarks at its three gates (Hdt. 7.198–201): thermal hot springs, the converging of streams and caverns, altars dedicated to Heracles, the sanctuary of Demeter next to the village and port of Anthele, defensive complexes, tumuli and pillars commemorating fallen soldiers etc. Without doubt it was a complex landscape, articulated and consecrated, far from the generalised impression of the Thermopylae as merely a narrow mountain pass. Herodotus' narrative serves as a base for descriptions by later authors such as Strabo (9.4.13–16), Pausanias (1.4.1–3, 10.20.6, 21.40) or Livy (36.15.6–12). In the accounts of the latter two,[6] the Thermopylae was no longer a narrow gorge given the progressive expansion of the coast caused by alluvial silting. From the third century BC, the site took on more and more of a port-like character dotted with beaches, marshlands and mires.[7] In any case, as Strabo states (9.4.14), these spots continued to allow

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Pots [*Chitros*], and an altar of Heracles stands thereby" (Hdt. 7.176). "The place where they were is called by most of the Greeks Thermopylae, but by the people of the country and their neighbours Pylae" (Hdt. 7.201). "Now the pass is called not only Pylae and Narrows, but also Thermopylae, for there are hot waters near it that are held in honour as sacred to Heracles" (Str. 9.4.13).

6 Particularly in that of the Patavin (Livy 36.15.1–25.12), which chronicles the conflict in 191 BC between the consul T.Q. Flamininus and the Seleucid king Antiochus III, supported by the Aetolians and the Macedonians; the battle took place in the Pylae and in the neighbouring citadel of Trachis, where the Aetolians had taken shelter (Pritchett 1.71–82).

7 Paus. 1.4.3, 10.21.4; Livy 36.18.4.

Plate 7.1. Thermopylae: General view. The site of Thermopylae today, extended between the Callidromus (on the left) and the Athens-Lamia motorway (on the right) that approximately marks the seaboard in the 5th century BC. Foreground is the location of the ancient central gate and the Phocian wall; the constructions at the background correspond to the Loutra baths and some distance at the rear are the locations of the ancient sanctuary of Anthele and the western gate of the pass.

difficult access owing to the roughness of the terrain and the abundance of water currents which forged ravines in search of an exit. Since ancient times characteristic travertinous deposits began forming, still visible at various points, for example alongside the modern monument to Leonidas. These travertines tend to carbonate at the outlet of subterranean thermal waters.

It is important to insist on one idea. The Thermopylae was not a simple or single pass. On the contrary, it was a corridor (*diodos*) stretching over more than 6 km (35 stades), and it had three narrowings (*Pylae*) which were quite restricted if Herodotus is to be believed.[8] In essence, a large canyon

[8] "The pass through Trachis into Hellas is at its narrowest fifty feet wide [half a *plethron*, some 15 m]. Yet it is not here but elsewhere that the way is narrowest, namely, in front [corresponding in reality to the west] of Thermopylae and behind it [to the east]; at Alpenos,

sheltering a succession of passes. It constituted a sector—as much vital as complex—integrated into a wider communication system, that between the Spercheius valley, the Oeta-Callidromus passes and the Cephisus river. Specifically, the Thermopylae along the Malian seaboard was the backbone of the connection between the north and south of Hellas. And it did so giving access to the inland trails of Locris which in turn complemented the network of roads of central Isthmus, in particular the Doris-Phocis corridor and the Cephisus route. As has also been highlighted, at various points along their trajectories both main roads—the Doris-Phocis corridor and the Cephisus—joined up with the branches which, leaving the final stretch of the Thermopylae, crossed Epicnemidia transversally and longitudinally.[9]

The moment has arrived to revisit the three *Pylae*. Beginning in the west, the first of the gates was situated on the edge of the then uneven coast in Malian territory. To be exact, at the confluence of the river Phoenix with the Asopus, in the proximity of the sanctuary of Amphictyonic of Anthele, which was located within the gorge (Hdt. 7.176, 200; Str. 9.4.17). Approximately 10 stades (less than 2 km) separated the western *pyla* from the mouth of the Spercheius by the coast (Str. 9.5.13).

When mentioning the paths in this sector, we referred to the omphallic nature of Anthele (see route I in chapter 6). To recap, Anthele[10]—the western Thermopylae to be precise—was a key point in the territorial structure of Central Greece; from a strategic angle it could have been the most operative of the three gates. As well as representing the entrance to the Hot Gates for those travelling from the west (and their closure for those coming from the east), the place provided the starting point for the routes guided by the Asopus and Melas rivers. These travelling SW and W respectively, passed through Malian, Aenianean and Oetaean territory until reaching Doris, where they eventually converged with two important communication routes, the Doris-Phocis corridor and the Cephisus valley (see route I in chapter 6). The connection between Anthele and Trachis-Heracleia, the most important city in Malis, is especially interesting (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 710–713). They were separated by a distance of approximately

which lies behind [the east], it is but the breadth of a cart-way, and the same at the Phoenix stream, near the town of Anthele" (Hdt. 7.176).

9 See peripheral or border trails routes H-I, and nuclear trails routes A-B-D-E-F-G (chapter 6) in combination with passes Β, Γ and Δ on the Callidromus (below). A reticulated network of knots and vectors.

10 Although at some point it was classified as a *polis* (Hdt. 7.176; also as a *kome*: Hdt.7.200), it is not clear whether it was a city-state (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 709).

7 km (40 stades: Th. 3.92.6; Str. 9.4.17) which coincided with the Asopus trail and gorge. Based on this spatial connection it can be concluded that Trachis-Heracleia, strategically embedded in a rock face of the Asopus and with a prominent citadel, controlled the western sector of the Thermopylae (Th. 3.92.4–6); in the same way in which Alponus and Paliokastro Anavras guarded the Eastern Pass. Thus it is logical to believe that Trachis maintained a certain hegemony over the complex of Anthele, at least in territorial terms.[11] As if this was not enough, Anthele also boasted its own port (Str. 9.4.17); although modest and subject to the changes in current in the Malian Gulf, constants in the Spercheius delta, this berth offered an advantageous maritime connection to the west of the Hot Gates.

We do not wish to dwell on the supra-regional role of the Amphictyony of the Pylae since the eighth century BC.[12] as we have dealt with this point in the previous chapter. Suffice to say that its mark on the road network remained up until the Roman period in spite of the fact that by that time, now some centuries ago, the Amphictyony had transferred its headquarters to Delphi. Therefore, the Thermopylae were distinguished as the *mansio* of the Larissa-Elateia-Athens road represented in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*;[13] and as Pritchett wisely notes (1980: 221–222) it would seem logical to assume, given the miles between stations, that the point in the Thermopylae would be precisely the sanctuary of Demeter in Anthele.

Thick undergrowth at the bend of the Paliokastro Litharitsa hill, the last north-western fold of the Callidromus, is the landscape which greets the modern-day visitor at the western *pyla*. It is hard to believe that this irregular plateau, coinciding to the south with km 201 of the Athens-Lamia motorway and 7 km from the present-day coastline, was in times past the narrow entrance to the Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.216). Otherwise, little is known

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11 In the sparse information provided by sources none speak of the (eventual) ascendance of the Malians/Trachinians, nor of any other component ethnos of the Amphictyony in the times when its headquarters were in Anthele. In Sánchez's opinion (2001: 54), "l'Amphictionie avait autorité non seulement sur le sanctuaire d'Anthéla, mais également sur tout le secteur des Thermopyles, y compris les défilés et le détroit maritime: ce territoire pourrait avoir constitué, au même titre que Delphes et sa terre sacrée, une sorte de 'no man's land', dont le Conseil assuirait la gestion et la protection". See complementarily McInerney 1999: 162–165.

12 See chapter 10 in this volume. For the road network of the site see the commentaries on route I in chapter 6. On the Amphictyony of Pylae-Delphi the two main texts are Lefèvre 1998 and Sánchez 2001; more succinctly: McInerney 1999: 155–156, 162–165, and Giovannini 2007: 358–359, 369–373.

13 Miller 1964: 576–577; Bosio 1983: *seg.* VI–VII.

of its former configuration. Between 1933 and 1934 Béquignon explored the area and identified a series of structures which he associated with Anthele, concretely foundations which he believed were of a stoa and stade of the Amphictyonic sanctuary.[14] Anthele is without doubt a subject pending in the archaeological study of the Thermopylae.

We now come to the central *pyla*. Separated from the western gate by somewhat less than 3 km, it was the backbone of the ravine. Thus it is usually referred to as the Thermopylae pass. It was the widest of the three gates, endowed with various hills and bends (Hdt. 7.223, 225). In any case, its fame is derived from its being the final position of the Greeks in the battle of 480.[15] It is also the place where, in commemoration of those fallen, the celebrated funeral tumulus was built[16] (Hdt. 7.225, 228). This central sector was dotted with springs and thermal water currents giving name to the Hot Gates, and recent geomorphological analysis confirm the existence of a freshwater marsh supplied with large quantities of warm water coming from the thermal springs (Vouvalidis *et alii* 2010b). Their curative nature (rich in calcium, iron and bicarbonate) converted the site into a "spa" of sorts visited by pilgrims and the sick since Antiquity. It was also a sacred place as manifested by the dedication of altars to Heracles (Hdt. 7.176; Str. 9.4.13). Nowadays the Thermopylae are still a well-known natural spa, and in particular the Loutra baths which attract numerous visitors in summertime. These baths are situated 1 km to the south-west of the monument of Leonidas, which can be reached at km 199 of the national Athens-Lamia road;[17] it is today a landmark on the tourist circuit of the Thermopylae,[18] as well as the area giving

14 Bequignon 1937a: 181–192; cf. Thalmann 1980.

15 Hdt. 7.223–225; Cartledge 2006: 139–151; Matthews 2006: 189–199; Fields 2007.

16 Years later, coinciding with the transfer of the remains of Leonidas to Sparta, a column with the name and rank of the 300 Spartans who died alongside their king was erected (Paus. 3.14.1). Other inscriptions exist (Hdt. 7.228), and a stone lion commemorating Leonidas (Hdt. 7.225). Concretely, "the inscriptions and the pillars were set there in their honour by the Amphictions, except the epitaph of the diviner Megistias; that inscription was made for him for friendship's sake by Simonides son of Leoprepes" (Hdt. 7.228). It was without doubt a heroic landscape.

17 The monument, financed by Greek-American businessmen, was inaugurated in 1955 by King Paul I of Greece. The colossal bronze statue was modelled on the marble torso found in the acropolis of Sparta (wrongly identified as Leonidas); the shield, with the image of the Gorgon, was inspired by representations of Classical shields from Sparta and Olympia (Cartledge 2006: fig. 6). In 1997 a much more discreet monument to the Thespians was erected alongside.

18 At the time of writing these lines a visitor's centre on the battle of the Thermopylae was being constructed at this site, very close to Colonos. The popular appeal of Leonidas' exploit,

Plate 7.2. Thermopylae: Central Gate. The Callidromus crest seen from the Colonos hill at the central *pyla* of the pass.

access to the Colonos hill, the Phocian wall and the Loutra baths. It must be taken into account that this point—and part of the motorway trajectory—would have coincided with the seaboard in Antiquity, today 6 km from the monument of Leonidas. Returning to the thermal waters, the Loutra are not the only thermal hot springs in the Thermopylae area. There are others on fault lines near the coast, such as Psoroneria, at the entrance of the western gate, or several kilometres to the east, in Kamena Vourla, the former port of Thronium, today a tourist spa.

Let us return to the Colonos, the hill where, regrouped, the last Greeks fought in the final battle in 480 BC and later the *heroon* which houses their tomb. This and other points in the surroundings have been the object of very few archaeological interventions.[19] Although some important informa-

the historical and archaeological tourism and its location along the Athens-Lamia motorway, are important factors in the Pylae becoming a valued spot (Antón 2007).

19 Leekley and Efstratiou 1980: 127; Thalmann 1980. Along with the samples taken by

tion has been unearthed, the results of these excavations are insufficient for gaining a global idea regarding the occupation and historical characterisation of the area. It must not be forgotten that there is a deep level of sediment in the area which raises the ground almost 20 m in relation to that of the fifth century BC (Kraft *et alii* 1987), making an archaeological stratigraphy very difficult. The first intervention was carried out by Béquignon in 1934. To the west of the Loutra baths he unearthed the remains of a defensive structure of uncertain date, which he wrongly identified as the tumulus of the Spartans.[20] A few years later, in 1938, Marinatos resumed work in this central sector, with more conclusive results. Not only did he identify—seemingly convincingly—and excavate Colonos, but also the Phocian wall (Marinatos 1940; 1951: 61–69). This was the celebrated defensive barrier which the Phocians had constructed to protect themselves from their enemies, the Thessalians, and which years later Leonidas reoccupied as a position against the Persians (Hdt. 7.176, 215). Returning to Marinatos' surverys and leaving aside findings such as the group of arrowheads which the Greek archaeologist related to the events of 480, the most significant are the remains of fortifications. The fact that these correspond to different periods, from the Archaic to the Ottoman, emphasises the strategic and communicative importance of the site. Not in vain did Classical sources, and later Byzantine writers such as Procopius (*Goth.* 2.4.10; *Aed.* 4.2.7–8), refer to successive constructions and the reusing or amplification of defences (small forts, walls, towers, gates) at various points in the Thermopylae. Not only within the ravine, but also in the adjacent passes of the Callidromus, making it possible to relate some of them to the Anopaea.[21] With regards the Phocian wall, Marinatos' intervention—not always correctly interpreted by modern scholars—unearthed a wall of approximately 200 m in length, from E to W—therefore, parallel to the pass but not closing it—and pointing towards midday; with respect to its chronology and without being certain, the type of masonry used would date it as earlier than the fifth century BC.[22]

Bequignon in Anthele (cf. Thalmann 1980), they are the only studies undertaken in the Thermopylae area, at least that have been published. Quite another thing is the many more recurring survey studies having their starting point in the topographical explorations of W.M. Leake and W. Gell at the beginning of the nineteenth century (MacGregor Morris 2007: 249–253).

20 Béquignon 1937a: 46, 181–183, 235–238.

21 Pritchett 1958: 210–211; MacKay 1963.

22 Marinatos 1951: 59; Pritchett 1958: 212.

Plate 7.3. Thermopylae: Phocian wall. Remains of the so called Phocian wall excavated by S. Marinatos at the central gate of the pass.

Independently of when and against whom the Phocian wall was used,[23] what is clear and what interests us now is that, in the Archaic period, the Thermopylae was a point of defence and control. This makes sense if it is understood as a crossable pass, a theory which, however, is disputed by some.[24]

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[23] In Domínguez Monedero's opinion the Phocian wall would not have protected from an attack from the north but the south, as its layout indicates. Rather than being a (Phocian) weapon against the Thessalians it would have been more the opposite: a brake which the Thessalians—and the Locrians?—would use to halt Phocian incursions (Domínguez Monedero 2011: 62–66). This would have been bred from none other than the rivalry between the Thessalians and Phocians exemplified in the First Sacred War (595–585) (McInerney 1999: 165–172); a conflict which would result in the peoples neighbouring the Spercheius, Callidromus, Oeta and Parnassus passes entering into play on one side or the other (see chapters 10–11 in this volume). From our point of view the definitive function of the Phocian wall depends on two premises: 1) Whether or not the structure excavated by Marinatos corresponds to the wall spoken of by Herodotus, and 2) Its yet to be established morphology: is it an independent barrier or an element integrated into a greater system of defence?

[24] We disagree with Kase and Cherf's theory according to which the Thermopylae were

Finally we turn to the eastern *pyla*. It could be found approximately 2 km to the east of the Colonos hill, a point which today can be identified several metres to the south of km 197 of the Athens-Lamia motorway. Remains of a seemingly Hellenistic fort can be distinguished here, and concretely a wall which rises several hundred metres in the folds of the Zastanos hill.[25] It was certainly narrow, with a width of little more than a cart as Herodotus exaggeratedly states (7.216). Such topography made it an excellent defensive post, which amongst others did not escape Antiochus III in 191 BC, stationing himself here against the consul T.Q. Flamininus.[26] If at the time the eastern gate still boasted good logistical conditions, the progradation of the gulf was converting the rest of the Thermopylae into a plain.

At least one kilometre from the eastern *pyla* was Alponus, the first of the Locrian cities to the west.[27] Its situation on the low ridge of Psylopyrgos (km 196.5 of the motorway) is not doubted. This locality was used by the Greek allies as an arsenal and field hospital in 480 BC (Hdt. 7.176, 229), meaning that the Thermopylae must have been then a crossable pass.[28] Given that Alponus was part of Epicnemidia, it seems viable that the border between the Locrians and Malians was situated in the exterior *Pylae*, the eastern pyla giving access to Locris and the western to Malis. For its part the *diodos* or gorge strictly speaking, and fundamentally its central pass, could be understood as neutral territory, *liminal*, without territorial or judicial attachment to any concrete polis or *ethnos*.[29] In theory … Historical *praxis* demonstrates

closed to military traffic before the fifth century BC (Szemler *et alii* 1996: 9–19; Cherf 2001: 358; furthered in Kraft *et alii* 1987). Their proposal (based on four geological surverys which would indicate that the waters covered the pass beyond the Central Gate; *contra* Vouvalidis *et alii* 2010b) clashes with the not little evidence which suggests the contrary. Independently of the reserves at the points surveyed, if no pass existed how can the construction of the Phocian wall and its later use by Leonidas be explained? And Alponus' function, on the eastern threshold of the Pylae, as the Greeks' base in 480 and as the end of the Anopaea? And earlier, the operations of the Thessalians against the Phocians via Locris? And the traffic to and from Anthele as a supra-regional sanctuary from the height of the Archaic period? … All this would lack any sense in the case of the Thermopylae being a condemned pass. As Lazenby caustically writes (1998: 522) referring to the challenge by Kase and Cherf: "It will take far better arguments than these to convince me that Leonidas died fighting in a pass that did not exist".

25 Grundy 1901: 291; Hignett 1963: 131.

26 Livy 36.18.3; Pritchett 1.71–82.

27 Hdt. 7.216; Nielsen 2004: 667.

28 *Contra* Kraft *et alii* 1987; Szemler *et alii* 1996: 9–19.

29 However, it has been considered that it belonged to Locris, and that the Central Gate was integrated in the *chora* of Alponus (Pritchett 8.96–98; cf. Hignett 1963: 132). The dominion of the pass by the Amphictyony should not be ruled out, at least at a ritual or ideological level

on the other hand that it was a landmark as much disputed as agreed upon by locals and foreigners, depending on the circumstances and the times. In any case it is clear that the Locrians had control of the eastern sector of the Thermopylae. Along with nearby Alponus, the second bastion in the maintenance of the pass was the strategic Paliokastro Anavras. From its privileged vantage point on the western side of Anavra (721 m), this enclave, with the most spectacular defences in all Epicnemidia, controlled the ravine visually, from whose eastern entrance it was separated by 3.5 km. However, its sentinel function was not limited to the Thermopylae. As has already been noted, the Paliokastro guarded the coastal link to the east with the trails leading to the ancient polis established in Mendenitsa, dominating in extenso the whole of the Latzorema valley (routes D and B at its western starting point, chapter 6). Equally, on its western slope, it was a point connected to the regulation and vigilance of routes which led to the Pylae via the Callidromus. Of these, as we have seen, the Anopaea is the most renowned (see route H in chapter 6).

Geomorphologically the gorge ended in Alponus. However, from the communication angle, the coastal sector which from here led to the cities of Nicaea, Scarpheia and Thronium, was no other than the Epicnemidian continuation of the Pylae (route A). Therefore, after the pass, the "Thermopylae corridor" as labelled by Buckler (1989: 92–93; 2003: 425, 453). Earlier we presented the routes which connected longitudinally this main coastal road with the foothills of the Callidromus, which sheltered successive fluvial valleys (see chapter 6). Now, before leaving the Thermopylae, we wish to underline once more that as well as interregional passage and ethnic border, the Hot Gates were also the point of departure of the network of Locrian trails.[30]

(Sánchez 2001: 52–55). Bear in mind that it was the Amphictions who erected inscriptions and pillars to the heroes in the Colonos (Hdt. 7.228), and probably who were responsible for the maintenance of the sacred fountains and other monuments of the Pylae.

[30] In this sense, as we have already mentioned at another point, we consider it probable that after their victory in 480, having overcome the brake of the Pylae, part of the Persian army crossed Epicnemidia and reached Phocis via the Callidromus passes. A march complementary to the other units of the Persian army, which would have advanced towards Doris (Hdt. 8.31–32; cf. Hdt. 8.34–35) along alternative trails such as the Melas and the Asopus, finally reuniting in the Cephisus valley (see route I in chapter 6). Only a few writers have contemplated the possibility of the Persians passing through inland Eastern Locris (Pritchett 4.211–215; 5.209, n. 29; Green 1996: 155). On the contrary, the most explicit opinion denies it, defending a unitary march of Persian forces through Doris (Kase and Szemler 1982). However, the block retreat of the Persians from the central *pyla* towards Doris, precisely when they had

2. Kleisoura (B)

This constitutes, in the west, the first of the Callidromus mountain passes within the limits of Epicnemidia. Scarcely referred to in literature, with notable orographical difficulties and with no preserved remains of *kalderimi*,[31] its usage declined with the construction of the road between Mendenitsa, Kallidromo and Modi at the beginning of the twentieth century. This led to it being substituted by the Fontana pass and progressively abandoned. Until then Kleisoura had been an effective starting point to reaching the villages on the southern slopes of the Callidromus (Xylikoi, Tithroni, Drymaea), and via these the Cephisus valley.[32] Today it is practically closed to transit.

The start is situated, following the Challis stream, 3.5 km southeast of Mendenitsa. This historic enclave housed a *polis* from at least the Classical period, although its old name is unknown. As well as abundant surface ceramics, its existence is proved by the ashlars and building remains reused in the structure of the Boudonitza (Mendenitsa) castle (Bon 1937: 152–158; Burn 1977: 104–105), as well as the Hellenistic necropolis located nearby (Dakoronia 1988c: 246–247). At the head of the Latzorema valley, Mendenitsa controlled the routes which led north to Paliokastro Anavras, Nicaea and Alponus, affording a magnificent view of the first two and by extension of the Malian Gulf (see route D in chapter 6). Also, as we shall see, it is the key that either opens or closes the Kleisoura pass, as well as a post near the border with Phocis. Returning to the pass, its entrance was a small tributary torrent

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defeated Leonidas and finally the "gates" were opened to them (and with them, the coastal corridor to Thronium) lacks sense, resembling the movement of a *boomerang*. Crossing Epicnemidia offered Xerxes three advantages: 1) to advance in parallel with the fleet stationed in Artemisium, at least its visual control until clearing the Callidromus; 2) to neutralize the Callidromus passes—like the Pylae, key to the articulation of transport networks—and from these advance on the Phocian cities in the Cephisus valley; and 3) secure supplies to and support from the Locrians, among those who had still not defected to the Greek cause. Given that sources indicate nothing—only the razing of Phocis by the Persians arriving from Doris and the Trachis region (Hdt. 8.31–32)—, our theory remains a hypothesis which may only be calibrated in the future. (On the march of the Persians through the Thermopylae see also Grundy 1901: 345–346; Munro 1902: 319; 1926: 301; Hignett 1963: 195–197; Green 1996: 423–425; Lazenby 1993: 151; Szemler *et alii* 1996: 79–99; and Cherf 2001: 360).

31 Burn 1977: 105; Pritchett 4.125–128, 134–135; Adam 2001: 372.

32 Several travellers crossed it at the beginning of the nineteenth century such as Gell (1827: 237)—on the journey Molos-Mendenitsa-Xylikoi—, Buchon (1843: 283–284) or Leake (2.66–69)—travelling from Dadi (Amphicleia) to Mendenitsa-.

of the Chalia which gave form to the sides of Psarou (550 m) and Pournares (800 m). The canyon, strictly speaking, is 3 km in length and has an average height of 600 m. It opens in a south-westerly direction as a narrow ravine between the peaks of Pournares (to the west) and Kalogerorachi (to the east). It passes various springs along its course and an abandoned quarry until reaching Drakospilia hill. The final sector of the pass (to the south) pursues the Paliabelorema gorge. It follows the river of the same name, which originates at the summit of the Pournares, and joined by other currents flows into the Cephisus at the height of the Kefalaria district. A notable landmark along the pass, on its south-eastern flank, is the Stefani fort (861 m). Active in Byzantine and Ottoman times, several clues suggest that in Antiquity a precinct for guarding the pass already existed here. The Stefani fort would have formed part of a network of watchtowers strategically positioned upon the upper reaches of the Callidromus, as the Kastraki (850 m) and Skopia forts denote (740 m) further to the east.

The pass terminated at Drakospilia hill, within the southern slopes of the Callidromus. From here two possible routes were available. The first was a mountainous *tribos* to the south of the Kokoretsa chain which led to the west to the ancient Drymaea;[33] a route which roughly follows the forestry trail—intransitable at some points—which lead to the towns of Tithroni and Drymaea (the stretch between the latters is now asphalted).[34] The second trail, generally upon better terrain but with a steep slope in its initial stretch, led south along the Paliabelorema stream until the Cephisus. From there the Phocian enclaves of Teithronium (3 km to the east of the Paliabelorema-Cephisus confluence, and 5 km to the south-west of Drakospilia hill),[35] and Amphicleia (3 km to the south-east of the aforementioned confluence in the modern-day town of the same name)[36] could be easily reached. Via the Kleisoura pass, both alternatives linked Locris with the Phocian corridor of Cephisus (see route I in chapter 6).

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33 McInerney 1999: 272; Oulhen 2004: 416.

34 Due to its uneven orography we consider unviable an alternative pass between Mendenitsa and Teithronium through the Kleisoura gorge and the steep faces of Fourka and Isiomata. Although it has been related to the Kleisoura pass (Adam 2001: 372), it would not have been more than a goat-herding trail.

35 McInerney 1999: 273–274; Oulhen 2004: 426.

36 McInerney 1999: 275–277; Oulhen 2004: 409–410.

3. Fontana (Γ)

Also known by the name of Derveni,[37] this is the most central and clear of the Callidromus passes. Fontana was another of the links between Locris and Phocis, protecting Naryx (to the north) and aligned with the enclaves of Triteis, Pedieis and Neon-Tithorea (to the south).[38] What differentiates it from its counterparts Kleisoura or Vasilika, is that Fontana still serves as a pass in the present day. Thus, the aforementioned road which from the Kallidromo-Rengini intersection leads to Modi—it could be said—is its modern-day asphalted equivalent.[39] Made known scientifically by Pritchett (4.128–130, 135–136; 5.172–176), who crossed it on several occasions, its layout is as follows.

From Naryx, which as has been stated is the city which controlled the pass, a trail departed running parallel to the Fontanorema gorge leading to the entrance of the Fontana pass. The distance was short: scarcely 1.5 km separated the pass from the Paliokastro Rengini, the location of the *polis* of Naryx. Bear in mind that this *polis* was the headwater of the Boagrius; and therefore the finishing point of the trails which ascended this valley from the coast (see route G in chapter 6). The modern-day road runs parallel to the Fontana canyon, although several metres to the west, at a slightly greater height and with a more winding course. Upon a beautifully fractured peak, the pass stretches for approximately 4.5 km at an altitude of between 600 and 720 m. Its narrow course passes between the mountainous walls of Paliomodo (852 m) and Koukos (718 m), to the west, and the slopes of Paliolias (820 m) and Roka (650 m), on the eastern flank. At some points along the route, as in Tamburia, remains of *kalderimi* are still preserved (Pritchett 5.172; Adam, 2001: 387). Otherwise, the pass is dotted with springs and waterfalls (giving the place its name), with farms, arable land and several iconostases at the extremes (Adam, 2001: 386–387). At the feet of the

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37 In Turkish meaning "narrow" (Adam 2001: 386). *Derveni* is to the Turkish walker what *stenopos/stena* is to the Greek one.

38 An episode which has been related to this *saltus* (Buckler 1989: 96–97; 2003: 425–427) is in 352–351, the movements of the Phocian general Phayllus through the main Thermopylae-Naryx-Abae-Orchomenus route. Context and motive of the action is the Third Sacred War and the fight against Philip II of Macedonia and his Boeotian allies (Diod. 16.33.3, 37.1, 38.3–5).

39 One last *revival* is still worth noting, in this case subterranean: the recent opening of the Callidromus tunnel in the (programmed) high-speed rail link between Athens and Thessalonica. The tunnel (of 9 km, twice the length of the pass) crosses between the towns of Modi (south) and Rengini (north).

Plate 7.4. The Fontana pass. Seen from the south, with the inland Epicnemidian Locris at the north and the Malian Gulf in the background.

summit of Koukos the canyon transmutes into a hill which, along with the waters of the small streams which originate there, stretches until the town of Modi sheltering the old trail. The distance between Modi and the northern exit of the Fontana is 2 km (4 km following the road), which can be covered relatively comfortably.

A strategic balcony over the Cephisus, Modi marks the inflection on a progressively flat, farmed landscape towards the south. It is probable that the ancient Triteis was situated here, as amongst other evidence the walled precinct to the north of the town suggests (McInerney 1999: 281–282). The surroundings also afford the remains of fortifications related to the control of the pass, along with the aforementioned Kastraki and Skopia towers to the west of Fontana. From Modi, the Fontana trail split into three branches which crossed Phocis in its entirety.[40] The first, leading to the south-west, led to Amphicleia after crossing the Cephisus, and may have passed the ancient Pedieis (at the Vourlia district?);[41] before reaching Amphicleia a fork in the

[40] McInerney 1999: 51–56; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 308–316.
[41] McInerney 1999: 282; Oulhen 2004: 424.

Plate 7.5. The Cephisus valley from the Fontana pass. Seen from the north, the exit of the Fontana pass to Phocis with view to the Cephisus valley, the city of Elateia (at the left) and the Mount Parnassus at the background.

path connected it with the atrapos of Kleisoura following the Cephisus, which in turn led to Teithronium. The second branch from Modi was that which, in a straight line towards the south, like the modern road today, led to the ancient Neon-Tithorea, located at the foot of Mount Parnassus.[42] Finally the third branch, longer but no less important, led to Elateia to the south-east following the folds of the Callidromus. Elateia was precisely the southern gateway of the last mountain pass of the Locrians.

4. Vasilika (Δ)

Far from being a univocal mountain corridor, Vasilika was a complex network of passes and ravines converging on the hill of the same name. The various routes integrated within it served travellers of differing profiles, whether accommodating local journeys, migrating livestock, mule trains or

[42] McInerney 1999: 278–280; Oulhen 2004: 422–423.

armies. Like Fontana or Kleisoura, the gates of Vasilika also connected Locris with Phocis; concretely eastern Epicnemidia with the central valley of the Cephisus, their respective thresholds being Naryx and Anfitsa (to the north) and Elateia (to the south).

It should be underlined from the outset that the Vasilika was not an independent pass in the Callidromus network; quite to the contrary, it complemented other transverse saltus more or less close by and equally operative. We particularly support the idea that the Fontana and Vasilika were twin passes of sorts, taking into account that they acted jointly which would have been understood by many of those prepared to cross them. Therefore, the temporary closure of one of the passes due to natural causes (landslides, flooding, snowfalls …) or by military blockades, meant the necessary aid of the other, and vice versa. Not few military displacements to and from Epicnemidia were designed to cross and/or occupy both passes at the same time, securing effective territorial control which was a priority or principal aim. In light of this, and providing our first example, the passage of several military units of Xerxes' army after the battle of the Thermopylae (480 BC), simultaneously through the Fontana and Vasilika passes, is a viable hypothesis. Another more recent example can be taken from the Greek War of Independence. On the 26th of August 1821, the battle of Vasilika took place. Greek soldiers managed to defeat the Ottoman troops of Beiram Pasá, advancing from Lamia with powerful artillery (Pritchett 4.130–131; Adam, 2001: 225–231). The key to success was the systematic blockage of both passes—Fontana and Vasilika—by the Greeks, stationing themselves within them to confront their enemies. The parallel closure of both "Pylae" of the Callidromus reduced the Turkish army's options. A monument erected in 1930 with the names of the Greek leaders who took part in the battle commemorates the event (Adam 2001: 226, 384).

From Pritchett's observations (4.130–133, 136–138; 5.172–175), the great protector of the Callidromus gates, from Adam's compendium (2001: 366–367, 382) and from our own explorations, two main lines of passage can be distinguished in the Vasilika area. In reality these are two routes which each consisted of two canyons or passes strictly speaking. From the Locrian side, both departed from the unpopulated Anifitsa (also known as Palianifitsa). In effect, this knot of paths equidistant from the towns of Naryx (to the west) and Tachtali (to the west) were the focal point of the entrance to the Vasilika area (Adam 2001: 385–386). As has already been stated, in the Anifitsa area the main trails of eastern Epicnemidia converged (see route B final sector in chapter 6), of which four were of particular importance: that which from the Dipotamos valley (Agnanti) crossed the Tachtali plateau (route C.1, eastern

sector) (1), that which from the Cnemis (Karya) led through Velona to Vasilika (route C.3) (2), that which following the river Boagrius ascended from Thronium, the most important of all (route G.1) (3), and finally that which led to the west to Naryx and the Fontana gate (route B, eastern sector) (4). Therefore, Anifitsa (along with Naryx, rearguard of the twin pass) acted like a funnel or "bottleneck" for the routes which led to Phocis via the Vasilika.

Their starting points made clear, we shall now look at the two routes. The first followed the course of the river Dimosiorema—giving its name to the pass—and was the most westerly (Adam 2001: 366–367, 383–384). The path left from the old Anifitsa mill. This site, which was still operating until a few decades ago, is situated at the confluence of the Dimosiorema with the Xerias, the headwater of the Boagrius, also near the monument commemorating the battle of Vasilika (Adam 2001: 384, 386). From the mill, one of the trails[43] followed the aforementioned stream to the south and later to the south-east until Tsagalia. Here the first canyon began, straight and narrow, which ended at Vasilika hill. This spot lends its name to the whole area, Vasilika.[44] It is also the backbone of the various trails, gorges and passes which meet there. It is a long interior ravine (its height oscillates between 520 and 580 m) provided with good pastures, arable land and water sources; even in summer flocks of sheep ascend as much from the Cephisus valley as from the Boagrius,[45] a tradition which comes from far back in time. Vasilika is a hiatus between the two stretches which form the Dimosiorema pass or route. After crossing the hill, the stream enters a deep canyon between the Svarnia (to the east, 820 m) and Dokania (to the west, 722 m) massifs. This trail, of approximately 4.5 km, is marked by a dirt track which leads from the hill to the Agioi Apostoloi hermitage, even though the pass ends before

[43] There is another trail to the south-west leading to the Preka massif (670 m). Its continuation along the stream which circles Makria Rachi hill, and further ahead that of Kafiorema gives access to the southern slope of the Callidromus and on it the village of Panagitsa. Of uneven topography, its transit would have been mainly pastoral and it is associated with the use of seasonal pastures which are abundant in the area (Adam 2001: 366, 384). In any case it represents a lesser alternative to the principal passes of Vasilika, Dimosiorema and Tsakimeno amaxi.

[44] The name would appear to allude to the "royal path" which crossed it and constituted the most significant element of the landscape (Adam 2001: 382). In Roman-Byzantine terms, a *basilike hodos* was a public path maintained by the state (Lolos 1998: 274–275). As has been noted at various points, it is very probable that the Roman Thermopylae-Scarpheia-Elateia road (represented in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*) crossed the Callidromus through the Vasilika pass (Pritchett 3.228–232; 4.171–172, 175; Adam 2001: 366–367; see route G.1 in chapter 6).

[45] Zachos 1997: 75, 153; Adam 2001: 366, 382.

reaching it. The path then zig-zags towards the south until Alonaki, where 1 km to the south-west, along the Lefta trail, the site of ancient Elateia can be reached without difficulty.

The second route is given the name Tsakismeno amaxi ("broken cart") and crossed the eastern flank of the Vasilika (Adam 2001: 367, 383). It was the most used of the two, the main pass, especially for the transit of wheeled vehicles, as proved by the layers of *kalderimi* which still demarcate it. (That of the Dimosiorema, for its part, is more associated with local and livestock use). Also it departures from Anifitsa, in this case following the Xerias stream, the starting point of route C.1, until the farmsteads of Kanalakos. At this point the stream curves to the south-west and soon enters the "broken cart" canyon.[46] This is a gorge of 3.5 km, wider and more easily transitable than that of the Dimosiorema, and not excessively high (520–560 m); however, today it is practically in disuse. Bordering the north-eastern summit of Vasilika (669 m), the canyon opens out onto the hill at its eastern extreme. Here there are two possibilities for the traveller. The first—the western branch—follows the second stretch of the long Dimosiorema canyon mentioned earlier. The second—the eastern branch—continues to the south along the monopati coming from Stena Gremna on the right flank of the Tsakismeno amaxi, until reaching the spot of Koromtili pantria. Stena Gremna (the "crest pass" or "crag pass") is a sector included in the Vasilika complex, but unlike the Dimosiorema and Tsakismeno amaxi does not reach the southern slope of the Callidromus, for which it should not be considered as a pass into Phocis (Pritchett 5.172–173). However, owing to its north-easterly position, the Stena Gremna canyon is an operative link between Vasilika hill and the Velona district; an exit towards the Tachtali plateau, as Velona is one of the points along the trail connecting Anifitsa with Tachtali-Ities and the Dipotamos valley (see route C.1 in chapter 6). At various points along the Stena Gremna the remains of *kalderimi* can be found (Pritchett 4.136–137). Also, the southern exit of the "crest pass" coincides with another *tribos*: that of Polydendri, which from the central sector of the Dipotamos leads to the Vasilika hill (see route J in chapter 6).

[46] The origin of the name is not clear. Pritchett (5.173, note 9) echoes a popular belief according to which, after the Thermopylae, the Persians drove their war vehicles through here, thus giving the pass its name. A native of Rengini and well acquainted with local traditions, Adam (2001: 383) however relates it to the damage suffered by the Turkish war vehicles in the battle of Vasilika (1821).

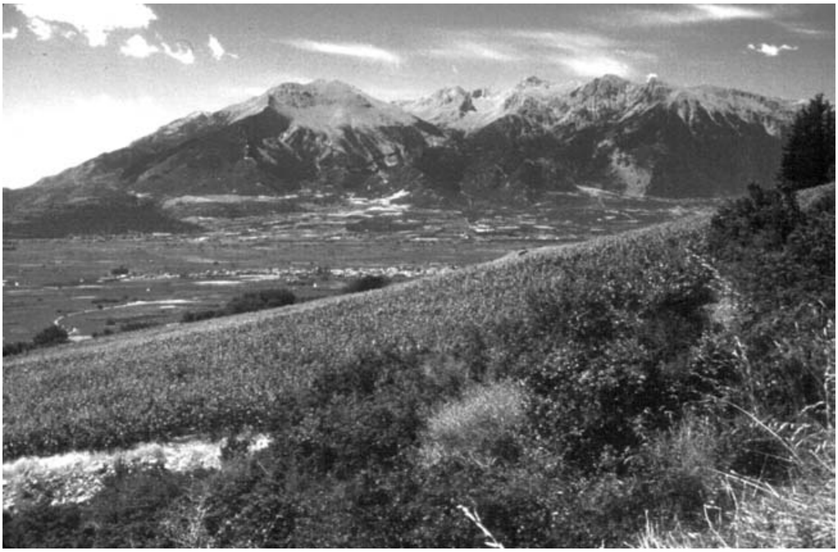

Plate 7.6. The southern exit of Vasilika pass. It corresponds to the Tsakismeno amaxi route (the eastern and more important pass of the Vasilika complex), with the Cephisus valley and the Mount Parnassus to the south.

Returning to the eastern branch of Tsakismeno amaxi, from Koromtili pantria, where several watercourses emerge, the trail turns to the south-east and negotiates the summit of Mount Dokania, after which a second canyon begins through which the aforementioned dirt track passes (to which another track joins originating in the Koutraika district), parallel to the river Lykoremata. The canyon is known as Karagouni chorafia. It is reasonably narrow, above all at both ends, and ascends from south to north. It continues over 4.5 km between the eastern peaks of Dokania (722 m) and Anemomilos (647 m), which constrict the pass to the west, and the lower slopes of Tsouka (841 m), on the eastern margin. After bordering the summit of Anemomilos, first to the east and later to the south, the canyon opens onto the southern slope of the Callidromus. Contemplation of the quiet Cephisus valley and Mount Parnassus behind, is the unequivocal sign that this long route is almost complete. From this point ancient Elateia is scarcely 1.5 km south-west.

Elateia was the key which opened the Vasilika gate to the south. The sentinel of its two passes, being equidistant from both exits: the eastern through Alonaki and the western through Anemomilos, corresponding to the Dimosiorema and Tsakismeno amaxi passes respectively. Classified

amongst the most important Phocian cities,[47] its remains are located in Alonaki, 2.5 km to the north-east of the modern-day town of the same name—in the Turkish era Elateia was known as Drachmani.[48] The surroundings afford a Neolithic site and an extensive Mycenaean and Protogeometric necropolis, which suggest a population related to the Vasilika pass since a very long time ago (Dakoronia 1987a: 231–234; 1988b). The strategic value of Elateia did not escape the notice of the ancient geographers and historians, who consider it fundamental in the territoriality of Hellas.[49] Strabo refers to it as such when he writes that it "has the most advantageous position, because it is situated in the narrow passes and because he who holds this city holds the passes leading into Phocis and Boeotia. For this, there are the Oetaean Mountains; and then those of the Locrians and Phocians, which are not everywhere passable to invaders from Thessaly but have passes, both narrow and separated from one another, which are guarded by the adjacent cities; and the result is, that when these cities are captured, their captors master the passes also" (Str. 9.3.2).

Logically, Elateia was joined to its neighbouring Phocian cities by the Cephisus (McInerney 1999: 45–57, 337). An outline of its main routes could be as follows. Towards the west, a trail along the southern flank of the Callidromus which today leads to Panagitsa, connected Elateia with Triteis (as already stated, the modern-day Modi: McInerney 1999: 281–282) and the southern entrance of the Fontana (see pass Δ). To the south-west, another trail from Elateia crossed the Cephisus heading to Neon-Tithorea and the northern slopes of Parnassus. Several kilometres to the south of Elateia Patronis could be reached, between the towns of Parori and Agia Marina (MacInerney 1999: 287–288), Daulis, in the town of Davleia (McInerney 1999: 297–299; Oulhen 2004: 411–412), and further to the east Parapotami, a short distance from the village of Anthochori (McInerney 1999: 293–294; Oulhen 2004: 423). No less important was the communication of Elateia with the east. The main route in this case was that which crossing the face of Psilorachi in its first stretch, and later the Sfaka-Stavros pass, led to the sanctuary of Apollo (or of Apollo and Artemis), situated on the outskirts of Kalapodi (Felsch 1996; 2007; Niemeyer 2006). This route corresponds, as we have seen, to the trail mentioned by Pausanias (10.35.1); that which from Elateia provided access to Hyampolis and Abae through the mountain foothills. Finally

47 Str. 9.3.2, 3.15–16; cf. Paus. 10.34.1–8.

48 Pritchett 4.170–172; Zachos 1997; McInerney 1999: 287; Oulhen 2004: 416–417.

49 Cf. Str. 9.3.2.

we reiterate that these two Phocian cities, in their function as watchtowers over the Hyampolis pass, opened up two essential communication routes in Central Greece. To the south to Boeotia, and to the north to the Euboean Gulf via the Dipotamos corridor (see route J in chapter 6).

To the north of Elateia, Vasilika … and beyond them Epicnemidia. The old Callidromus once more honoured its name. The mount of beautiful trails.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ: PLYING THE SEA OF THE LOCRIANS

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The Malian Gulf forms the northern boundary of what in Antiquity was known as Epicnemidian Locris. Strabo, an author who offers considerable topographical details of the region, called the waters that lapped those shores "the Sea of the Locrians" (9.4.13). On the other hand, the waters between Euboea and Boeotia, and even Opuntian Locris, were known as "the Euboean Sea". It seems that Daphnus, or rather the Cape Cnemis, marked the boundary between the two seas (9.3.1 and 9.3.17).

The aim of the following chapter is threefold. Firstly, by presenting a historical overview of navigation along the Euboean Gulf, the Malian Gulf and the Oreus Channel during the pre-Christian Era, we shall try to show just how important this stretch of sea that separated Euboea from Mainland Greece was for the ancient seafarers. The next section analyses various literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources in order to determine, as far as possible, what activities went on in the Epicnemidian ports. It should be said here that we shall allude only very superficially to the physical appearance of the Epicnemidian coast, since this topic is discussed at length in the chapter of this volume dealing with the geophysical characteristics of Locris. Finally, the last part of this chapter will examine the possible involvement or participation of the Epicnemidians in maritime trade, sea warfare and fishing.

1. Navigation off the Locrian Coast in Antiquity

It is clear from a study of the information deriving from numerous literary and epigraphical testimonia, together with the data from the archaeological record, that over the centuries seafarers from near and far sailed the waters of the Malian Gulf, the Northern Euboean Gulf and the Oreus Channel on

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vessels of very different types. Of course, a full analysis of the huge amount of material relating to this topic would constitute a major undertaking that goes far beyond the scope of this chapter. Here our sole intention is to briefly review some of that evidence, sufficiently to give an overall picture of this sea route's importance in Antiquity.

The discovery in areas near Epicnemidian Locris of several Neolithic settlements close to the ancient coastline suggests that the waters of the Northern Euboean Gulf and the Malian Gulf already supplied these communities with fish and shellfish to supplement their diet.[1] Recent excavations on Mt. Trikorfo revealed the remains of another Neolithic site.[2] The fragments of Cycladic obsidian found in some of these settlements could perhaps have been transported and distributed by boats of shallow draft used at that time.[3] Some scholars believe that before 3000 BC the Strait of Euripus was closed. In their view, it was at the beginning of the Bronze Age that the sea level rose and completely separated Euboea from Mainland Greece.[4] If that is the case, the Oreus Channel, the Northern Euboean Gulf and the Southern Euboean Gulf formed henceforth different sections of the same sea route. Ancient seafarers could sail in various directions (NW-SE and vice versa between the Lichades and Petaliae islands, SW-NE and vice versa between the Lichades and Sciathus) and in much better conditions than those prevailing out in the open Aegean. For example, vessels plying the waters of the Northern Euboean Gulf were shielded against north winds by the Telethrius and Candilion Mountains in Euboea and against south winds by the Locrian Callidromus and Chlomon Mountains. In addition they could take advantage of the alternating currents which even today change direction every six hours.[5] It should be pointed out that this sea route

[1] In Achaea Phthiotis a Neolithic site has been discovered near the modern town of Bathykoilo Pelasgias (Dimaki 1994: 99–100). In the case of Opuntian Locris, there are the sites of ancient Halae/present-day Agios Ioannis Theologos (Kendall 1998; Coleman 1992: 273–274) and Rachi Proskynas (Dakoronia 2002a: 26–27). In Euboea there are settlements, probably dating to that period, in Koumpi Aidipsou, Kastelli Gialtron and Kastri Lichadas (Sampson 1980: 52–53 and 90–91).

[2] Froussou 2004.

[3] For early Mediterranean seafaring, see Johnstone 1980: 55 ff. For the obsidian trade, Sampson 1980: 44–46 and Dakoronia 2002a: 26–27. However, it is extremely difficult to determine the frequency with which obsidian reached the Malian Gulf.

[4] Kambouroglou, Maroukian and Sampson 1988. See Stiros *et alii* 1993, on the consequences of tectonic activity in the area.

[5] The only wind that would have worried ancient seafarers in this area was the winter wind from the NW, which may have sometimes reached force 9 on the Beaufort scale.

permitted communication between the coastal regions. But, what is equally important, travellers disembarking at the mouth of the numerous rivers that empty into the Malian Gulf, the Northern Euboean Gulf or the Oreus Channel found themselves at the gateway to strategic overland routes. For example, several itineraries extended along the Spercheius valley towards the heart of Achaea Phthiotis, the region of Delphi, and even Hesperian Locris.[6]

In view of these advantages it is hardly surprising that during the Early Helladic the inhabitants of some particularly prosperous coastal communities (for example those of Manika in Euboea,[7] Anthedon in Boeotia,[8] Rachi Proskynas in Opuntian Locris[9] and Raches Fourni in Achaea Phthiotis)[10] would have used small boats to exchange goods such as pottery and metals with the inhabitants of other coastal settlements.[11] The concentration of people in sites along the shores of the Malian Gulf and Cape Lichada/Cenaeum during the Middle Helladic suggests that the local inhabitants regarded the sea as a source of food and a means of communication throughout the first half of the second millennium BC.[12] Seafaring became a very important activity for the inhabitants of some of the Late Helladic

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Heavy storms are nowadays rare on the coasts of what in Antiquity was Epicnemidian Locris (information provided by Apostolos Alexopoulos, fisherman from Kamena Vourla). With regard to the changes in direction of the tides, various ancient authors mentioned this phenomenon, particularly in relation to the Euripus: this is where the changes are particularly noticeable. See Eur. *IT*. 6–7; Pl. *Phd*. 90c; Arist. *Mete*. 2.8.366a; Str. 9.2.8 and Plin. *NH*. 2.100 [219]. In several of these accounts seven changes a day are reported.

6 See Béquignon 1937a: 21–43; Kase 1991; Pritchett 1996: 173 and ff.

7 Stos-Gale, Sampson and Mangou 1998 and Sampson 1993.

8 Cosmopoulos 1991: 11.

9 Zachos 2000. A fragment from an Early Helladic miniature clay ship was discovered in this site. It suggests that the inhabitants of the settlement practised some kind of maritime activity. See also Dakoronia and Zachos 2002. On other Early Helladic sites in Opuntian Locris, see Dakoronia 2002a: 28–31.

10 See Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 266. The site is shown on the Map 1 published in Dakoronia 1994: 234. On possible connections between this site and Manika, see Papakonstantinou-Katsouni 1989.

11 Once again, the discovery in some of these sites of artefacts originating in the Cyclades has led some researchers to assume that frequent trading contacts existed between such distant areas: see Coleman 1999, particularly pp. 128–129; Dakoronia 2002a: 28–31; Zachos 2000: 31.

12 For the coastal settlements in north Euboea in this period see Oikonomakou 1997: 27–28. In the case of Achaea Phthiotis, pottery fragments dating to the Middle Helladic have been found in Echinus (Blackman 1999: 73), in Megali Vrysi, in Raches Fourni and in Pelasgia (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 265–266). For coastal sites in Opuntian Locris (Cynus, Tragana-Mitrou), see Dakoronia 2002a: 31–33.

sites abutting the Northern Euboean Gulf.[13] There is an abundance of maritime archaeological material found in the Mycenaean settlement of Cynus in Opuntian Locris.[14] Late Helladic sherds were also found in Alponus.[15]

It is quite probable that some of the Aeolian migration waves at the beginning of the first millennium BC would have departed by sea from the coasts of Achaea Phthiotis, Eastern Locris and Boeotia.[16] These movements would not have had a long-term negative effect on the exchange and trading relations between the coastal settlements of the Northern Euboean Gulf and the Malian Gulf. In fact, the similarities pointed out by Irene S. Lemos in Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery from Boeotia, Eastern Locris, Thessaly and Euboea seem to indicate that there were strong links (exchange of ideas and goods) between those regions throughout the periods mentioned.[17] The archaeological record shows that the area of Pieria and Chalcidice was also in communication with Central Greece during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods.[18] Michalis Tiverios believes that certain materials (pottery and gold, amongst others) were bartered by the Protogeometric settlements of Lefkandi, in Central Euboea, and Dipli Trapeza Anchialou, in the Thermaic Gulf.[19] What is undeniable is that during the ninth and eighth centuries BC, sailing in the Euboean Gulf and the Oreus Channel was a well established activity. The Chalcidians and the Eretrians frequently followed this route to Chalcidice, carrying Euboean pottery and returning with metals.[20] We might also wonder whether the Locrians, for their part, had trading relations (direct or indirect) with the Near East, since various *orientalia* have appeared in Tragana (Opuntian Locris): they include a bronze phiale with an inscription in neo-Hittite hieroglyphics, an Egyp-

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13 On Mycenaean coastal sites in Eastern Locris see Kramer-Hajos 2008. Artefacts such as faïence seals and steatite "buttons" have been found in Tragana and Cynus; they perhaps arrived by sea. See Cline 1991: 360–361 (nº 158); Dakoronia 1997 and Dakoronia 1998.

14 See Dakoronia 1996a (in relation with several clay hand-made boat models) and Dakoronia 2002a (in relation with one more clay hand-made boat model and several sherds with nautical scenes).

15 See Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 264.

16 On Aeolian migration, see Vanschoonwinkel 2006. The Thessalian and Boeotian origin of (some of) the colonists is mentioned by Thucydides (7.57), Strabo (13.1.3–4) and Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 80).

17 Lemos 2002: 212–217.

18 Tiverios 2008.

19 Tiverios 1998: 249.

20 Soueref 1998, particularly p. 237.

tian blue quartz frit paste figurine, and several amber and faïence seals.[21] The route through the Northern Euboean Gulf and the Oreus Channel could have also been used in the late eighth century BC by the Boeotian mariners who, according to Fossey, were bound for the Black Sea.[22]

During the Archaic period a considerable amount of Corinthian and Attic pottery reached several settlements in Eastern Locris[23] and Thessaly,[24] presumably by sea. Sailing along the Euboean coast to Cape Lichada/Cenaeum seems to have been a common activity during this period, as can be inferred from an inscription found in Eretria (*IG* XII 9, 1273–1274).[25] From the seventh century BC onwards literary works of various genres also indicate that the stretch of sea between Euboea and Mainland Greece was an important avenue of communication: the *Cypria* possibly described how the Achaean troops, after mustering in Aulis, sailed twice along this strait bound for Troy,[26] and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (lines 218–220) seems to provide evidence of a route between Magnesia (Iolcus) and Euboea (Cape Lichada/Cenaeum) that crossed the Oreus Channel. The original version of the *Periplous* of Scylax of Caryanda very probably contained a description of the coasts of the Northern Euboean Gulf; it was later completed by other authors who added information to the original work (see § 60 and ff.).[27]

Numerous naval movements are also recorded during the fifth century BC in the Malian Gulf. Herodotus (7.172–173) tells us that in 480 BC the Greeks decided to send a contingent of troops to Tempe in Thessaly to halt the advance of Xerxes' army. These troops, he says, sailed up the Euboean Gulf and disembarked at Haleus, in Achaea Phthiotis. The Greek contingent then advanced on foot to Tempe but, finding itself in an unfavourable position in relation to the enemy army, returned to the Isthmus of Corinth without entering into combat, by the same route it had come.[28] Not long

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21 Onasoglou 1989: 21, 47–51 in relation with the phiale, and Pantos 1987: 237–238, with commentary on the Egyptian figurine.

22 Fossey 1994: 108 ff.

23 Dakoronia 2002a: 64–65, refers to Attic and Corinthian vases found at the sites of Halae/Agios Ioannis Theologos and Megaplatanos.

24 See, for example, in the area of Pherae, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1994: 78.

25 Cairns 1991: 310–312.

26 See Jouan 1966: 201–204 and 301–308. The route mentioned here would be the obvious one taken by the Achaeans' "black ships" that sailed for Troy, since, on their first attempt, they disembarked (mistakenly) at Teuthrania in Mysia and, on their second on, they stopped off at Tenedus, an island in the northern Aegean. For the route of the second expedition, see VV. AA. 1971: 283.

27 Peretti 1979: 480–482.

28 Robertson 1976, see in particular p. 108.

afterwards, once the decision to take on the Persian forces at Thermopylae and Artemisium had been taken, the Greek fleet anchored off the cape on the NE of Euboea awaiting the arrival of the enemy fleet. On this occasion Herodotus does not tell us the route taken by the Greek fleet, but he does say (8.1) that the fleet consisted of ships crewed, amongst others, by Opuntian Locrians, Chalcidians, Eretrians, Styrians, Athenians, Ceans and Aeginetans. So it is likely that the route taken by the fleet commanded by Eurybiades and Themistocles would have been that of the strait separating Euboea from the mainland.[29] He also tells us (7.183) that the Greek fleet initially abandoned its position at Artemisium falling back to Chalcis when it learnt about the huge size of the Persian fleet. Only the destruction of part of the invading fleet off the Magnesian coast in a great storm emboldened Eurybiades sufficiently to return to Artemisium soon afterwards (7.192): unlike the King's ships, the Greek vessels were undamaged because they had been at anchor in the harbours of the Euboean Gulf.[30] After the battle of Thermopylae, Xerxes' fleet sailed towards Athens down the Euboean Gulf, according to Herodotus (8.66).[31]

Naval activity in the Northern Euboean Gulf and the Oreus Channel continued during the *Pentakontaetia* that followed the defeat of the Persians. The expedition to Thessaly commanded by the Spartan Leotychidas[32] and the Athenian colonists who settled at Histiaea/Oreus in 446[33] probably sailed the gulf to their destinations. Later, during the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians sent fleets twice up the Strait of Euripus to inflict reprisals on the Locrian cities. In 430 thirty ships under the command of Cleopompus reached Thronium: the troops laid siege to the city and defeated a contingent of Locrians near Alope (Th. 2.26; Diod. 12.44). After their victory, the

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29 See for example Green 1996: 109–110.

30 Many scholars see with scepticism the fragments of Herodotus mentioned here, since it seems unlikely that the fleet commanded by Eurybiades and Themistocles would have withdrawn thus leaving Leonidas' troops in Thermopylae without naval support. On the different opinions on the subject, see Prentice 1920; Hörhager 1973; Hammond 1988: 551; Lazenby 1993: 119 ff.; Balcer 1995: 249 and 253; Green 1996: 123 ff.

31 The Persian king avoided the route along the east coast of Euboea because another storm had already completely destroyed a fleet of 200 ships that had been sent that way to attack the Greek troops from the rear (Hdt. 8.7, 14). On the route taken by the Persian fleet as it advanced towards Attica, see VV.AA. 1971: 318.

32 On this venture, see Lewis 1992: 97–99 and 499, based on texts such as Hdt. 6.72 and Paus. 3.7.9. Lewis includes a bibliography relating to the various opinions as to when the Thessalian expedition took place.

33 See *IG* I^3, 41; Th. 1.114; Plu. *Per.* 23; Diod. 12.22; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115, F 387.

Athenians believed they could keep the area safe by installing a naval base on the island of Atalanti (Th. 2.32; Diod. 12.44). However, this measure did not have the deterrent effect that Athens had hoped for. In 429 a second contingent, this time with twice as many ships, was sent under the command of Nicias to lay waste to the coastal areas of Locris (Th. 3.91).[34] Several years later, in the spring of 413, the Athenian assembly made Dieitrephes the commander of an expedition and directed him to sail north and take a contingent of Thracian allies back to their homeland. This fleet, which sailed along the Euboean Gulf, had orders to carry out raids on any enemy coastal settlement it found on its way (Th. 7.29–30).[35]

The picture painted so far suggests that anyone who used the Northern Euboean Gulf and the Oreus Channel for travel or trade in the fifth century BC risked encountering pirates or hostile fleets. However, the literary and epigraphical sources do not appear to imply that this danger was severe enough to deter neither the occasional traveller nor regular trade. References by Herodotus (7.147) and Thucydides (3.2), and two inscriptions with Athenian tribute lists (*ATL* II D 4 and D 21) have been interpreted by many scholars as reliable proof that by that century convoys of ships were carrying grain, and possibly also slaves, from the Euxinus to Athens and the Saronic Gulf.[36] One of the sea routes taken by craft that sailed between the two points was through the Euboean Gulf.[37] Athens also needed vast quantities of timber at that time, which reached Piraeus from Macedonia by sea; it was mainly used for constructing new triremes to expand the Athenian fleet.[38] Many vessels probably used this route to take Attic pottery to Thessaly and Locris, given the considerable quantity of imported black and red figure ware found in these regions.[39] Passengers whose destination was one

34 See below.

35 On this expedition, see Kagan 1981: 293–294.

36 On the various hypotheses concerning the beginning of grain importation into Attica, see Keen 2000 and Reed 2003: 16–19. The presence of Thessalian slaves in Athens is testified, amongst others, by Ar. (*Pl.* 500–527).

37 See Casson 1994: 521 on ships crossing the Aegean following the same route as Agamemnon. However, it was also possible to sail from Attica to the Sea of Marmara by crossing the Aegean from the south of Euboea (Cape Caphereus) to Chios, and from there, north to the Strait of the Dardanelles. The return voyage to Athens could also be done by stopping off in Lemnos, Scyrus and the Cape Caphereus, taking advantage of the currents and the Etesian winds. See Papageorgiou 2002: 176–190, 192–195, 285–303, 321–324.

38 Reed 2003: 19–20. This scholar includes commentaries on evidence such as, for example, *IG* I^3, 89 and 117.

39 With regard to Thessaly, see Papakonstantinou 1994. Attic vases (lekythoi and kylikes)

of the places along these shores would also have travelled on these ships: perhaps the Thessalian athlete awarded the Panathenaic amphora found in Amphanes was returning to his native land with his prize on a ship that plied the waters of the channel.[40] Thanks to Herodotus (4.33), we even know that the offerings dedicated to Apollo, carried along the famous Hyperborean way each year, were taken on board at the mouth of the Spercheius and were destined for Euboea.[41]

During the first half of the fourth century BC the strategic importance of the gulf had become so evident that all powers aspiring for hegemony in Greece tried to take control of the key settlements along its coasts. In this respect it is illuminating to observe that Histiaea/Oreus was disputed by Lacedaemonians,[42] Thessalians and Athenians: that Euboean city overlooked the entrance of the Oreus Channel and could thus keep watch on maritime traffic in the Northern Euboean Gulf. In 377 BC a Spartan garrison under the orders of Alcetas was stationed in the city. The harmost ordered the interception of two Theban triremes returning from Pagasae to Boeotia carrying Thessalian corn (X. *Hell.* 5.4.56–57). In the same period, Jason of Pherae sent troops to Histiaea/Oreus with the intention of installing a government conducive to his interests, while the Athenians, for their part, took up a position near the city with a contingent commanded by Chabrias (Diod. 15.30). In both cases troops would have been carried on warships.[43]

There was further armed conflict at sea in the Euboean Gulf during the period in which Philip II of Macedonia was trying to extend his influence in the regions of Central Greece. In 346 BC the Athenian assembly decided

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have been found in several settlements in Opuntian Locris, although not in such large numbers as in Thessaly. See Dakoronia 2002a: 68–70.

40 Valavanis 1986: 459–460. The fifth century inscription *IG* I^3, 41 lists passenger fares for sailing between Oropus, Chalcis and Histiaea.

41 Helly (1995: 138–140), based on a recent interpretation of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, thinks that the offerings were taken on board at the port of Aea on the Malian Gulf and carried directly to Euripus. On this port see below, in the section devoted to the port of Alponus.

42 The Spartans also aspired to exercise control over the Malian Gulf using the colony of Heracleia Trachinia as their base. This settlement, situated next to Thermopylae, was founded in 426. See Buckler 2003: 20–21. On the port, see below in the sections dedicated to the ports of Alponus and Nicaea.

43 See Sprawski 1999: 63–67. Chabrias' navy spread out along the coast of Euboea between Chalcis and Oreus and, after leaving a patrol in Metropolis of Hestiaeotis, went on towards Sciathus and Peparethus. This route, as we shall see later, is the same as that taken by the Athenian ships coming to Peparethus to load up amphorae with the famous local wine.

to send Proxenus to Alponus, Thronium and Nicaea (Aeschin. 2.132–134) with 50 warships (Dem. 19.322) to curb the Macedonian king's expansionist schemes. The Phocian commander Phalaecus, however, would not allow the fleet to enter the ports (Aeschin. 2.132–134), and Proxenus had to go on to Histiaea/Oreus and wait for further orders (Dem. 19.155).[44] While the armies of the various powers involved in the successive confrontations (Athenians, Phocians, Thessalians and Macedonians) were mobilising, heralds and ambassadors were sent to try and reach a diplomatic solution to the crisis. Although the written sources do not explicitly attest to this end in each case, these legates probably used ships as a rapid and safe means of transport for their respective missions, plying the waters of the gulf between Euboea and Mainland Greece. Thus the Athenian delegation that went to Pella in 346 to enter into an agreement with Philip II, sailed from Piraeus to Oreus and from there on to Haleus in Achaea Phthiotis. Only the last leg of its journey was overland (Dem. 19.155, 163).

Maritime trade using the gulf continued unabated during the fourth century BC. On account of the literary and epigraphical testimonia we know that in this century ships carried considerable quantities of corn from Cyrene and the Hellespont,[45] and timber from Macedonia.[46] Athens may have obtained wine by sea from Chalcidice:[47] the ships transporting it could have reached Piraeus and the other ports of Attica via the Oreus Channel and Euripus. The presence in the cities of Achaea Phthiotis (e.g. in ancient Antron[48]) and Macedonia (Olynthus, Aegae[49]) of Attic pottery would indicate that ships from the south reached their coasts.

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44 On the context of this action, see Hammond 1994: 85.

45 On corn being sent from Cyrene to Thessaly and Locris, see Tod *GHI* II, number 196 (pp. 273–276). On the Athenian demand for corn from the north, see Dem.17.20; 18.87; 20.29–33. The subject is discussed in Whitby 1998 and Reed 2003: 16–19.

46 From literary testimonia (X. *Hell.* 6.1.11; Dem. 17.28; 19.114) we know that Athens imported timber from Macedonia to build ships (Reed 2003: 19–20). It is also possible (see Buckler 1980: 162–163) that the Macedonian forests were the source of the vast amount of timber needed in 365/4 BC by Epaminondas to expand the Theban fleet by building 100 triremes (Diod. 15.78.4–79.1).

47 The wine from Mende (or from Chalcidice) was known to Attic playwrights (Cratin. *fr.*195 [183] PCG; Philyll. *fr.*23 [24] PCG) and to Demosthenes (35.10). Mendaean amphorae sherds have been found in the Athenian Agora. They may have arrived in Athens containing Mendaean wine, although we cannot be entirely sure. See in general Papadopoulos and Paspalas, 1999 with relevant bibliography.

48 Papakonstantinou 1994: 229–231.

49 Blondé 2000: 272–273.

The sea route through the Euboean Gulf and the Oreus Channel was, if anything, even more important in the Hellenistic period, because it was the fastest route between Macedonia and the south of Mainland Greece. It is no coincidence that all the kings of the Antigonid dynasty tried to gain control of the key settlements on their shores. Hence in 313 BC Antigonus I Monophthalmus sent a fleet commanded by his nephew Polemeus to wrest control of this route's key points from Cassander, his bitter enemy. Diodorus (19.75.7–8 and 77.4–6) recounts the successive strategic manoeuvres by both the kings' navies and their respective allies between Oreus and Chalcis.[50] Several years later in the mid third century BC, Antigonus II Gonatas, the grandson of Monophthalmus, tried to enforce Macedonian control over Demetrias in Thessaly, and Chalcis on Euripus.[51] The Macedonian king's attempts to take Athens by land were supported by convoys of ships (Paus. 3.6.4) that must have reached Attica by sailing down the Euboean Gulf. This stretch of sea was crossed in 227 by the impressive naval expedition launched by Antigonus III Doson against Caria (Polyb. 20.5.7–11).

Once again, the considerable strategic importance of the strait between Euboea and Central Greece was demonstrated in the subsequent Macedonian Wars. In 207, in the first of these conflicts, the fleets of General Sulpicius Galba and King Attalus I entered the Oreus Channel sailing from Peparethus. After taking Oreus and expelling the garrison of Philip V stationed there, the Roman and Pergamene troops continued their voyage through the Northern Euboean Gulf and laid siege first to Chalcis, an ally of the Macedonian king, and then Opus. The swift appearance of Philip V's army from the north forced the fleets of Sulpicius Galba and Attalus to withdraw. The Macedonian king not only reconquered the cities he had controlled previously, but also took others, such as Thronium, which enabled him to further reinforce his stronghold over the Northern Euboean Gulf (Livy 28.5.18–8.14). In the Second Macedonian War that followed, Philip V travelled from Demetrias to Thermopylae by sea to meet the Roman consul Flamininus (Polyb. 18.1.1–2).

The archaeological record also reveals the existence of trading contacts along the Euboean Gulf during the Hellenistic period. Attic and East Greek pottery dating back to that period has been found in several Thessalian

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50 Hammond and Walbank 1988: 158 ff.

51 See Hammond and Walbank 1988: 269 (with regard to the strategic importance of the two ports), 295 (on Gonatas' loss of Chalcis) and 305 (on the recovery of that Euboean city by Antigonus I).

settlements.[52] The Euboean Gulf was also used by craft carrying statues.[53] One (or more) of these ships sank off Euboea's Artemisium Cape, taking with them to the seabed the famous statues of the Bearded God and the Jockey, now in the National Museum of Athens.[54]

Everything we have seen in these pages suggests that the Euboean Gulf and the Oreus Channel together formed a major shipping lane in Antiquity, which most of the time offered excellent sailing conditions. Not only was it used for passenger transport and military expeditions but foodstuffs and construction materials, luxury goods destined for exchange and religious offerings also travelled from one of its shores to the other. So it is understandable that not only the inhabitants of the coastal regions along the strait (Euboeans, Boeotians and Thessalians) but also other more remote communities, *poleis* or states linked to this route in some way would have fought to control it at one time or another.[55]

2. The Ports of Epicnemidian Locris (See Figure 8.1 below)

A few brief references which are to be found in a limited number of literary works, constitute the principal sources of information for any researcher who wants to study the ports of Epicnemidian Locris. These testimonia mention the existence of docks at Alponus, Nicaea, Scarpheia and Thronium. They also inform us about the approximate location of these ports and record some particular occasions in Antiquity when the docks were used. They do not, however, describe the exact shape of the harbours, their dimensions or the constructions related to them such as quays, possible shipyards or stoas. So it is obviously risky to try to reproduce a complete picture of the economic activities taking place in the Epicnemidian ports by using these quotations.

Despite these limitations, we have to admit that the literary data are

52 See for example Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2000: 17 for a general look at Athenian imports in this area during the Hellenistic period. This article also gives specific information on Attic pottery in Amphanes, Echinus, etc. See also Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2004: 70 for "Ionian" pottery.

53 On vessels with similar cargoes, Pomey 1997: 181–184.

54 Hemingway 2004, especially pp. 35–43.

55 Apart from the Athenians, Spartans and Macedonians, who at some time posted garrisons in Euboea, Opuntian Locris or the Malian Gulf, the Phocians also tried to gain access to this stretch of sea by extending their control towards Daphnus (see Str. 9.3.1; Plin. *HN*. 4.27) or towards Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.176 describing the wall built by the Phocians).

of incalculable value, since other sources add little to our knowledge on the subject. Indeed, a review of the epigraphical documents relating to Epicnemidian Locris offers no further information on the activities in the Epicnemidian ports. Again, a study of the motifs depicted on the coins of the Epicnemidian Locrians might, in some cases, suggest that agricultural surpluses could have been exported to other Greek *poleis*, preferably by sea; but we would be wasting our time trying to find an inexistent harbour depiction of a harbour on any of the issues. Nor have the archaeological excavations undertaken to date in the region brought to light any man-made structure associated with the presumed ports along the Epicnemidian coast.

This last is certainly not surprising: trying to locate the exact position of these harbours is fraught with difficulties since Epicnemidia, particularly its coastline, has changed considerably over the centuries. As has already been stated in the chapter of this volume devoted to the geophysical study of the area, a combination of natural phenomena and human activities has caused the coastline to advance by up to 4–5 km out to sea and any remains of ancient structures previously situated on the coast will now lie below thick layers of soil. The natural phenomena that have led to this change include the previously mentioned fluctuations in sea level[56] and the deposit of vast quantities of alluvial sediment that have been washed down stream by the Boagrius, the Spercheius and the other nearby rivers over the millennia. The soil deposits that accumulated on the shore from the erosion of the mountainsides close to the coast (for example Cnemis) could also have helped to transform the appearance of the region's coastline. The effects of the earthquakes[57] that occurred in this area of intense tectonic activity, as described in some ancient written sources,[58] would have been no less important. Finally, human activity has also had considerable impact on the area.[59]

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56 For a sequence of sea level changes in the Northern Euboean Gulf, see Kambouroglou, Maroukian and Sampson 1989.

57 On the repercussions of the seismic movements on the outline of the coasts, see McGeehan Laritzis 1988/9: 50–52.

58 Demetrius of Callatis (*FGrH* 85 F 6 = Str. 1.3.20) says that a great earthquake caused a tidal wave that inundated many parts of the coast and reached twenty stades (*c.* 3.6 km) inland. The identification of destruction and considerable damage to archaeological structures in neighbouring areas of Epicnemidian Locris has led to speculation that intense earthquakes occurred in the fifth century BC and mid third century AD: see Stiros and Dakoronia 1989: 431–432 and Papakonstantinou-Katsouni 1988. Procopius (*Goth.* 4.25.16) mentions another tsunami that hit the Malian Gulf, possibly in AD 551.

59 See *supra*, in the chapter of this book dedicated to the natural landscape of the Epicnemidian Locris.

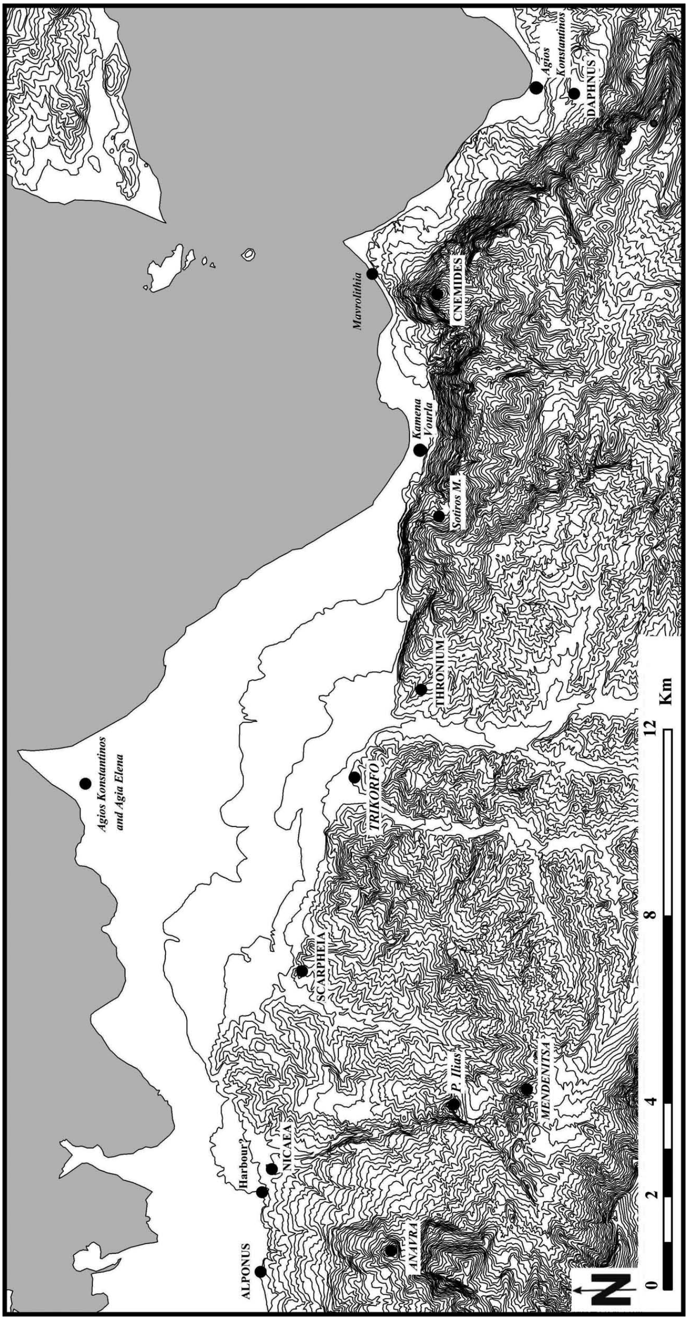

Figure 8.1. The ports of Epicnemidian coast.

Nonetheless, the archaeological record provides some evidence in order to infer the existence of ports in Epicnemidian Locris used for trading. Pottery from cities such as Corinth and Athens has been discovered in Epicnemidian coastal settlements. It could have reached these shores by sea. Some of the imports would have been redistributed to the inland settlements of Epicnemidia: sherds from Athenian vases have also been found in Naryca, in the Classical and Hellenistic site of Mendenitsa and in the site at Paliokastro Anavras.

1. *The Port of Alponus/Alpenus*

Strabo (9.4.17) clearly states that Thermopylae was considered the northwest frontier of Eastern Locris. We know that here were one or more ports through which travellers and goods could reach destinations such as the famous sanctuary of Demeter in Pylae, the Spartan colony of Heracleia Trachinia or the Malian city of Aea.[60] These ports were undoubtedly important, but we shall not study them in this chapter since the first truly Locrian city and port that the traveller from the west would reach was, as Herodotus says (7.216), Alponus.

Herodotus states that Alponus/Alpenus was a coastal city, with mountains behind it (7.176). According to Demetrius of Callatis, Alponus had its own port (*FGrH* 85 F 6 = Str. 1.3.20). This third century BC author also says that either around 426 or in the third century BC there was a tower at the port of the city. The tower, in our opinion, would have been used amongst other things as a look-out post.[61] The discourses of Aeschines (2.132–134) and Demosthenes (19.322) also suggest that there was a port at Alponus. These texts inform us that in 346 BC the Athenian general Proxenus unsuccessfully tried to dock in the harbour of Alponus some of the 50 ships he had brought in order to prevent the expansionist plans of Philip II of Macedonia.[62]

The site of ancient Alponus was possibly located on the hill known nowadays as Psylopyrgos, on the Km 196 of the Athens to Thessalonica motorway

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[60] On the ports of Heracleia Trachinia and the sanctuary of Demeter, see Th.3.92 and Str.9.4.17. With regard to their location, see Béquignon 1937a: 191 and Marinatos 1951: 67–68. On the city of Aea and its port, Helly 1995: 137–140, with an alternative interpretation of the Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*. Also Sánchez 2001: 52 and ff.

[61] This tower was destroyed by the tsunami that devastated the Locrian coast, according to Demetrius of Callatis. On towers in and near port installations see Hadjidaki 1988 [1992]: 27 ff., 73–79.

[62] See above. The sources provide insufficient information for us to determine whether the port of Alponus had the capacity to shelter an entire fleet of such a size.

and about three and a half kilometres inland of the present coastline to the south. In the sketch-plan of the site that Oldfather produced in 1937, the American scholar marked a stretch of wall that extended to the east of what he called the "Bastion Rock"—a clearly visible rock on the north side of the hill with a flat surface on its summit.[63] On this section of the wall, which ran parallel to the present coastline and marked the northern boundary of the settlement, Oldfather identified a gate. In his opinion this gate opened onto the settlement's harbour. Unfortunately, today virtually nothing remains of the wall that once protected the settlement, so we have been unable to confirm Oldfather's hypothesis. However, the modern morphology of the area suggests that at the time of Xerxes' expedition the sea could have reached the east, north and west sides of the foot of the hillock, which stands some twelve metres higher than the present sea level.[64] Hence the sea could have reached a few metres from the foundations of the stretch of wall recorded by Oldfather.[65] Given the position of the gate, it is logical to assume that it opened to a harbour. Nevertheless, the port could have equally extended to the west of the "Bastion Rock" since, as Oldfather showed in his sketch, the stretch of the wall here would have turned towards the south. Thus, west of the "Bastion Rock" there would have been sufficient space for a small quay and even modest installations built with some perishable material.

From the position of Alponus and the data provided by the archaeological record we can form certain hypotheses concerning the possible relationship of the local population with the sea. The abundant sherds dating back to the Middle and Late Helladic discovered by Hope Simpson on the Psylopyrgos hill indicate that there was a settlement on this site in the second millennium BC.[66] Small skiffs could have been taken out to sea from here to fish in the Malian Gulf.[67] Moreover, this settlement may well have been a port of call on the sea route between the sites of Echinus and Raches Fourni on the

[63] The plan was published in Pritchett 5.186. An excellent panoramic view of the present-day alluvial plain of Thermopylae and of the Euboean coast can be seen from the "Bastion Rock".

[64] The hill is surrounded by terraces growing hydrophilic plants and olive trees. The water table here is barely 3 metres below the surface.

[65] Petros Kounouklas, archaeologist of the Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Greece, has very kindly informed us of the existence of seventeenth century etchings which show that this area was marshy at that time. He has also told us that there are rings for tying boats in the rocky base of the Alponus hill, hidden today by vegetation.

[66] Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: 264.

[67] See below.

southern coast of Thessaly, and the communities of Northern and Central Euboea.[68] The Archaic and Classical Attic pottery, detected by our research team on the site, would also appear to indicate trading contacts by sea with other regions of Greece, at least in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Similarly the numerous amphorae sherds dating back to the Roman period which we came across on the surface suggest that activity at the port of Alponus went on after the Hellenistic period.

The inhabitants of inland areas near Alponus could also have benefited from the port in Antiquity. Our research team found Attic pottery, which could have been imported by sea, at the Late Classical and Hellenistic site of Paliokastro Anavras, some 3 km south of Alponus. According to the local people, an ancient paved road (*kalderimi*), still partly preserved today, connects the coast (Psylopyrgos) with the "acropolis" (Paliokastro Anavras).[69]

We believe that maritime activities must have played an important role in Alponus' economy, since at certain times during its history the city did not control a very large *chora* for cultivation.[70]

2. *The Port of Nicaea*

According to Aeschines (2.132–134), Nicaea was one of the three Locrian settlements that Proxenus planned to reach with his fleet of 50 triremes, when Philip II was advancing southwards. This would suggest that the city had a harbour in the mid-fourth century BC. However, the earliest explicit reference that has survived concerning a port dependent on Nicaea is rather later—a fragment of the *Perí liménôn* ("On harbours") treatise, composed in the first half of the third century BC by Timosthenes, a Rhodian commander of the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This fragment, as quoted by Didymus (*In. Dem.* 11.28–36), informs us that Nicaea was indeed a coastal city. The Rhodian admiral warned, perhaps from personal experience, of

68 See above.

69 Information provided by Petros Kounouklas.

70 As Herodotus (7.176) says, Alponus occupied a narrow strip of land between the foothills of the Callidromus and the coast. Although in the course of time the coastline gradually moved northwards, cultivable land would have been partly limited by the marshes which occupied much of the territory around the *asty* of Alponus, particularly in the west (see Paus. 1.4.1–4). The modest settlement of Alponus was, at the end of the Classical period and during the Hellenistic period, close to other more powerful *poleis* such as Nicaea, by some 2 km to the east, and the site of Paliokastro Anavras to the south so the land it controlled did not extend far in either direction.

the danger of running aground on a sandy cape which lay about 5 stades (0.92 km) from the *polis*. We can infer that the cape had been produced by alluvium washed down by nearby torrents of water. Timosthenes assessed that "long ships" could anchor up to 4 stades (about 0.73 km) off the city's shore.[71] The admiral also said that from Nicaea one could reach Thermopylae by sailing westwards; a small distance of some 20 stades (about 3.6 km) separated the two places. Although the text is partially preserved, it seems to read that anyone who wanted to travel between Nicaea and Thermopylae overland, rather than by sea, would have to cover a considerably greater distance, some 50 stades (9.25 km). This difference in the distances was possibly because there were marshes between the two places or, as Timosthenes himself says, sandy areas that would be impassable for wagons: travellers would probably have to go first south and then westwards to avoid them. However, we should be cautious of accepting the accuracy of the overland distances given by Timosthenes, since another source, a scholium to Aeschines (Schol. *in Aeschin*.2.132), gives 40 stades (about 6 km) as the distance on foot between Nicaea and Thermopylae. Timosthenes may have quoted distances using the Egyptian stade, which is shorter than the Greek stade, as the unit of measurement. If this is the case, the sandy cape referred to would have been about 0.78 km from Nicaea; the closest the long ships could have anchored would have been 0.62 km off the port, and the distances between Nicaea and Thermopylae would have been 3.11 km by sea and 7.78 km by land.

In addition, Polybius (10.42) and Livy (28.5) stated that in 209 the harbour of Nicaea (or the coast controlled by the city) sheltered both the fleets of king Attalus I of Pergamum and the Roman consul Sulpicius Galba. The two commanders decided to berth their ships here and then go to Heracleia Trachinia to confer with representatives of their allies, the Aetolians, during the First Macedonian War. One wonders why the Roman and Pergamene fleets did not berth in the very harbour of the Spartan colony, which is mentioned, with reference made to its considerable size, by Thucydides (3.92.6) and Strabo (9.4.17).[72] Perhaps the port of Nicaea, despite being flanked by marshland, could at that time hold more ships than the port of Heracleia Trachinia. This agrees in fact with the information given by Timosthenes.[73]

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[71] With regard to what Timosthenes referred to as "long ships", see the passage that J.S. Morrison devotes to Ptolemy Philadelphus' fleet (Morrison 1996: 37–38).

[72] See above on this anchorage.

[73] After this meeting with the Aetolians, the allied navy laid siege to and conquered the Euboean city of Oreus. Subsequently, Attalus I and Sulpicius decided to take Chalcis. It is clear

The six ships that accompanied Philip V to his negotiations with Flamininus in 198 BC also anchored off the Nicaea beach (Polyb. 18.1.1–14).[74] The Macedonian king, coming from Demetrias, decided not to disembark on the first day of negotiations,[75] but did agree to do so on the second day (Polyb. 18.8). We do not know why, but on the third day the negotiators met at Thronium, which was at least a day's journey from Nicaea by sea or land (Polyb. 18.9.3; Livy 32.36.1–4). Strabo confirms that Nicaea lay on the Locrian coast that is in the Malian Gulf, and that in his time it was fortressed (9.4.13).[76]

From the literary sources so far quoted, it seems that at least during the third and second centuries BC the harbour facilities at Nicaea were extensive enough to accommodate a considerable number of vessels, including large ships.[77] It is possible that the harbour was frequented by merchant vessels and that it was a busy trading port, with more commercial activity than neighbouring Alponus. Some of the goods that reached this coast were probably distributed inland, for instance to the Anavra area, where imported pottery has been found, as was mentioned earlier. There could have also been a route along the valley of the Latzorema (the torrent's mouth is close to Nicaea) that was used to supply ancient Mendenitsa with goods that came by sea from elsewhere.[78]

The site of ancient Nicaea may have been in the area known as Roumelio-Platanakos.[79] Perhaps its quays were located at modern Karava platania, a kilometre to the north of Roumelio-Platanakos. Nowadays the land surface here lies between 12 to 20 metres above sea level. It is very likely that the ancient harbour of Nicaea had a large breakwater to prevent it from

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from this that a shipping lane, which passed Nicaea, connected Peparethus with Euripus (see Livy 28.5.18–6.12).

74 Livy (32.32.9–16) says that on the first day the meeting took place at a beach in the Malian Gulf near Nicaea, and not in the city itself. On the second day, however, the negotiators met in Nicaea (32.35.2–12).

75 Conversations took place with Philip speaking from on board one of his ships and Flamininus speaking from the beach.

76 In Schol. *in Aeschin.* 2.139, it is also said that Nicaea is a "παραθαλάσσιος" city.

77 Buckler (1989: 118) asserts that the port of Nicaea was most important during the time of Philip II of Macedonia. This scholar believes that the port controlled the area's maritime traffic. In his opinion, neither the port of Alponus nor that of Thronium could match the strategic importance of Nicaea (see also pp. 94–95). Nevertheless, he admits that the city's harbour was in a fairly exposed, marshy place (p. 94).

78 See Sánchez Moreno's chapter in this volume.

79 See in other chapters of this volume.

silting up by the alluvium deposited by Latzorema.[80] However, this is an assumption that, in the absence of archaeological evidence, cannot be confirmed.[81]

3. *The Port of Scarpheia*

Scarpheia, a settlement that seems to have been inhabited for more than 1300 years,[82] was a few kilometres east of Nicaea. Strabo, our main source of information for topographical data, says (9.4.4) that in his days Scarpheia was some 10 stades, (i.e. about 1.8 km) from the sea. This is not a long distance compared to the 20 stades (3.6 km) that separated Thronium from a port under its control.[83] Paradoxically, Strabo does not mention the existence of any port under the control of Scarpheia, although he does say that the city was less than 30 stades (5.4 km) from a place, whose name unfortunately has been lost.[84]

Strabo's description might suggest that, at least during the time of Augustus, Scarpheia did not have a harbour of its own, and perhaps for this reason its inhabitants would have used that of Thronium or Nicaea. However, various sources lead us to consider a very different possibility. To start with, an inscription dating to the late second or early first century BC (*FD* III 4.1, number 42) provides evidence that Scarpheia's territory extended to the sea. This inscription records that neighbouring Scarpheia and Thronium disputed over the control of the boundary area along the Aphamius (modern Liapatorema) river basin.[85] Since this river runs into the sea (line 15 and ff. of the inscription) it would be logical to assume that Thronium's *chora* extended to the east of the river mouth, and Scarpheia's *chora* to the west. The part

80 See Blackman 1982: 186 and 199–202.

81 The present coastline and the ships that cross the northern Euboean Gulf can easily be seen from the summit of the hillock on which we believe the acropolis of Nicaea was located. Even today there is a small sandy cape on this stretch of the coast. It is called Bouka, and extends a hundred metres out to sea.

82 The earliest reference to this settlement was made in the *Iliad*, in the *Catalogue of the Ships* (2.532). Procopius (*Goth.* 8.25.6) reports that in AD 551 a tsunami destroyed much of the *polis*.

83 See below.

84 C.G. Groskurd was the first editor to try to fill this gap by including a reference to the port of Thronium (cf. Groskurd 1831). This restitution is accepted by scholars in general (see also the English edition in the *Loeb Classical Library* collection), although it is still not entirely safe.

85 Pritchett (6.116–118) also identifies the Aphamius with the river Andera, i.e. the Liapatorema.

of the coast controlled by Scarpheia could have extended to the mouth of another stream, the Latzorema, whose riverbed marked, in the opinion of our research team, the boundary between Nicaea's *chora* and Scarpheia's *chora*.[86] If this was the case, the coastal zone controlled by Scarpheia would have been about 6 km long. Yet a poem by Antipater of Thessalonica (first century BC)[87] also suggests that the inhabitants of Scarpheia did in fact build a harbour on this coast. According to the poem a certain Aristagoras, possibly a seafarer, drowned in the harbour (λιμήν) of Scarpheia. This would explain why in the first century AD, Pomponius Mela (2.45) included Scarpheia in a list of coastal place names in the Malian Gulf and the Northern Euboean Gulf.[88]

However, the people of Scarpheia could have built a port long before the days of Strabo. Numismatic studies demonstrate that around the fourth century BC this Locrian city began to mint its own bronze coinage, a measure which very probably reflects a period of economic prosperity.[89] In this period trade must have been very important for Scarpheia, a city linked with the Mendenitsa area by the river Potamia and with Naryca by the river Aphamius/Andera/Liapatorema (and from Naryca, up the Kleisoura and Fontana passes as far as the Cephisus valley). Other roads connected Scarpheia to Thronium and Thermopylae.[90] This being the case, it is difficult to imagine that the inhabitants of Scarpheia[91] did not realise the benefits of having their own port, as the city was less than 2 km from the coast. It is highly unlikely that the merchants of Scarpheia[92] would have chosen to travel a longer distance than that which separated them from the sea in order to reach the ports of Thronium or Nicaea, where they would

86 See in other chapters of this volume. The west bank of this river would certainly have been part of Nicaea's territory.

87 Antipater *fr.* 59 G.-P.

88 The inscription *IG* VII 24, which dated to 401/2 AD, states that Scarpheia exported to Rome large quantities of grain. This product may possibly have departed from the port of Scarpheia. See Pritchett 8.90 and n. 10.

89 Scarpheia and Thronium were the only two cities of Epicnemidian Locris that minted coinage. See Head *HN*^{2}: 337.

90 On these overland routes see Sánchez Moreno's chapter in this volume.

91 The population of this city must have been considerable. In fact, Demetrius of Callatis (*FGrH* 85 F 6 = Str. 1.3.20) says that no fewer than 1700 people perished in this city by an earthquake.

92 An inscription found in Molos dating to the late third or early second century BC (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 2038) records the granting of *proxenia* to a citizen of Thebes in Achaea Phthiotis by the Scarpheians. The *proxenos* was surely a benefactor who had helped Scarpheian merchants when staying in the coastal *polis* on the Pagassian Gulf.

doubtlessly have to pay some kind of tax (such as the *diapylia*) to come and go with the goods they were trading.[93]

However, as in the case of Nicaea, it is very hard to determine the exact position of Scarpheia's port between the fourth century BC and the first century AD. Our research team identifies ancient Scarpheia as the location that is today called Trochala/ Agios Charalambos,[94] a hypothesis shared by Buckler.[95] Throughout our survey at Trochala we spotted large quantities of Classical and Hellenistic sherds. Amphorae fragments were numerous, which was also noted by Buckler when he visited the area in the 1980s. Taking into account Strabo's words, we can assume that in the time of Augustus the coastline was more or less two kilometres north of Trochala, that is, roughly where the town of Molos is today. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gell referred to remains of fortifications between Molos and modern Scarpheia, which he associated with ancient Scarpheia.[96] We cannot rule out the possibility that these structures were connected with the port of Scarpheia. North of this area, Pritchett found sherds dating to the third and the fourth centuries AD. These finds may indicate the position of the port of Scarpheia in the Late Roman period.[97] It is very probable that between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD, the coastline at Scarpheia would have advanced to the north some considerable distance, as the mouths of four torrents were in this area (the Potamia, the Aivlasorema, the Liapatorema and the Platanias) and these rivers would have deposited large amounts of sediment. The port of Scarpheia must have been relocated accordingly.

4. *The Port of Thronium*

The settlement of Thronium is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships* in the *Iliad* (2.533). Nevertheless this work does not explicitly say that Thronium had a port. In this regard, our earliest source dates to the fifth century BC. Two references of Thucydides (2.26 and 2.32), which are supported by Diodorus (12.44.1), suggest that the city had a harbour and part of its population made their living from the sea. Thucydides records that in 430 BC an Athenian expedition of thirty ships was sent to punish the Locrian cities

93 On the taxes levied on exports, see Andreades 1979: 146.
94 See in other chapters of this volume.
95 Buckler 1989: 94.
96 Gell 1827: 236–237.
97 Pritchett 4.166–167; 5.177–178; 6.116–117.

that were terrorising the Euboean coast. Thronium was treated particularly harshly, which means that it must have played a key role in organising these attacks. What is more, the Athenians decided to take hostages from the families of Thronium, no doubt to ensure that its inhabitants would not continue to threaten Euboea or support other potential raiders.

The efforts of Athens to subdue the region suggest that Locrian ships presented a considerable threat to Attic interests. Apparently, the port of Thronium had developed significant activity during the Classical period. In fact, we doubt it was simply a coincidence that just at the time when Thucydides was writing his account, Euripides (*IA* 262 and ff.) depicted Aias, son of Oïleus—a native of Naryca in later sources[98]—as departing from Thronium in the direction of Euripus with (possibly) fifty ships to take part in the siege of Troy.[99] Thronium could also have had a port where imported products were unloaded for distribution towards the interior of Epicnemidian Locris, particularly in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC: it was during this period that Thronium enjoyed a thriving economy, reflected in its capacity to mint silver coinage.[100] The depiction of bunches of grapes on its coins suggests that the city produced considerable quantities of wine which were perhaps exported to other parts of Greece.

The strategic importance of the port of Thronium is also shown by the events of 346 BC, when Thronium, together with Alponus and Nicaea, was one of the Locrian cities to which Proxenus had intended to berth his fleet of triremes. Another period during which Thronium's harbour probably saw a great deal of activity was the first decade of the second century BC. In 198 BC Flamininus and Philip V of Macedonia went to Thronium from Nicaea, the latter by sea, for the last of the three consecutive days of peace negotiations (Polyb. 18.9–10; Livy 32.36). In 192 BC, Herodorus in charge of 30 ships with 600 Aetolian soldiers on board set sail from the port of Thronium. His objective was to take this contingent to Chalcis and sack the Euboean city (Livy 35.37.4–9 and 35.38.14). A year later, ten ships belonging to Antiochus' navy anchored close to the port of Thronium awaiting the outcome of the battle of Thermopylae between the Roman troops and the Seleucid king (Livy 36.20.5–6).

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98 Str. 9.4.2; Diod. 14.82.8; Ovid. *Met.* 14.468 ff.

99 Euripides gives fifty as the number of ships in the Locrian fleet, higher than that given in the *Iliad* (2.527–535) and in the *Epitome* of Apollodorus (3.11)—forty ships—or in the *Fables* of Hyginius (97.5)—twenty ships.

100 Head HN^2: 337.

Our research team (like most experts on the history of Locris) locates ancient Thronium on the hillock today called Bzika (or Palaiokastro ta marmara), some 2 km southwest of modern Kainourgio.[101] Pritchett[102] records that when he visited the site he found Corinthian sherds, which could mean that traders came to the city, probably by sea, with goods from the Peloponnese. Our survey on the hill also revealed numerous Attic sherds and various amphorae fragments.

But, where exactly was the port of Thronium? At the end of the first century BC Strabo says (9.4.4), possibly based on a *periplous*, that there was a port on the coast of Epicnemidian Locris some 20 stades (about 3.6 km) from the inland city. This port was about 20 stades from Cnemis, a fortress that could possibly be identified with the archaeological remains on the summit of Mt. Gouvali. Taking both distances into account we can calculate that the port referred to by Strabo was located northeast of Bzika, more or less in the area of the modern town of Kamena Vourla. Here there is an inlet well protected from the winds, with a rocky outcrop that Oldfather identified, followed by Pritchett, as a rock altar.[103] A port located here would not be visible from the Bzika hill, although it could be seen from the *phrourion* of Sidiroporton or from the coastal plain that extends immediately to the north of Bzika.

We have wondered whether there might have been a port in the latter place, that is, at a location closer to Thronium. The mouth of the Boagrius, a river that flowed past the *polis*,[104] would have been here. Given its seasonal variations (information supplied by Str. 9.4.4), we doubt that the Boagrius would have been navigable, but there may have been a road along its valley that connected the settlement with the sea.[105] Traders and inhabitants of the cities on the sides of the Callidromus (for example, Naryca) could have also used the river valley to reach the coastal plain.[106] If there was a harbour in the proximity of Bzika, then the passage in Pliny (*HN*. 4.27) identifying the port of Thronium with the city itself would be correct. However, a port at the

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101 See in other chapters of this volume. This place is also called Palaiokastro eis ta marmara.

102 Pritchett 4.154.

103 See Pritchett 5.177–181. This author goes further and suggests that the altar could have been dedicated to a chthonic divinity.

104 See Paus. 5.22.4.

105 On similar cases, see Blackman 1982: 186–187, 199–202.

106 See Sánchez Moreno's chapter on this route which passed through the ravine that cuts through Agios Ioannis-Platanias and continues through the Fontana pass. Its use is recorded by Livy (28.7.13).

mouth of the Boagrius would always be under the threat of silting up with alluvium carried by the river.[107] We do not have any archaeological material that would confirm that Thronium had two harbours at least from Archaic to Early Roman times. However, around the modern church of Agios Titos to the north of modern Kainourgio there are traces of an Early Christian Basilica and a church of the middle-Byzantine period. Surface pottery from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries AD is scattered around the church over a wide area.[108] Perhaps one of the ports of Thronium could be here at least in Late Roman and Byzantine times.

5. *A Possible Port at the Foot of Cnemis*

The *Periplous* of Pseudo-Scylax (§ 61) is the earliest literary source that refers to Cnemis. However, it is not clear whether this is the name of a coastal settlement or a geographical feature that served as a point of reference for seafarers (cape or mountain),[109] or both. Several centuries later Strabo (9.4.4) said that in his days there was a stronghold called Cnemis some 20 stades by sea from Daphnus. Unfortunately he did not describe the stronghold in detail, so it is impossible to tell from his account whether it was actually on the coast. The possibility that the stronghold had a port cannot be ruled out, since Strabo included nautical distances in this fragment and he has apparently used a *periplous* for compiling his account of the topography of this area.[110] Rather later, Pomponius Mela (2.45) mentioned various sites on the coast between Cape Sounion and Thermopylae, one of which was Cnemis.

Our survey leads us to identify the Cnemis mentioned by Strabo with the walled enclosure preserved on the summit of Gouvali, the modern name of one of the spurs of the Cnemis massif.[111] The site is located 615 m above today's sea level and was built strategically beside a road connecting ancient Daphnus with the cove of Kamena Vourla. Strabo mentions harbours at both Daphnus and in the area of the modern town of Kamena Vourla (9.4.4).

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[107] On the advantages and disadvantages of harbours located on a river mouth, see Blackman 1982: 186–187, 199–202.

[108] Gialouri 2009: 1254.

[109] See Morton 2001: 185–193.

[110] Strabo gives the distance between Cnemis and Cape Cenaeum, the tip of Euboea that is exactly north of Epicnemidian Locris, separated from it by the Euboean Gulf. He also (9.4.2) gives the distance between Cynus and Cnemis.

[111] Pritchett (5.188–189) says that when he visited the area he found no evidence of a settlement on Cape Cnemis.

Our search team confirmed that these harbours could be reached relatively quickly from the summit of Gouvali. T.D. Papanagiotou thinks that the fortress of Cnemis controlled a small port located at the foot of Gouvali, that is, between the harbour of Daphnus and the harbour at Kamena Vourla. This scholar claims to have located archaeological remains below sea level off the coast of Mavrolithia-Mavralitharia, between kms 173 and 174 on the national Athens-Thessalonica highway.[112] Some semi-submerged stones with an isodomic appearance are indeed visible there. They could perhaps form part of an ancient quay.

6. *Addenda: The Port of Daphnus*

As has already been said, the port of Daphnus was on "the Euboean Sea" rather than on "the Sea of the Locrians". Nevertheless, since Daphnus is close to the area we are studying, we think brief mention should be made of its port.

According to Strabo (9.3.1, 17 and 9.4.4), the port of Daphnus was some twenty stades from Cnemis by sea. Strabo says that in the past both the port and the *polis* had been in the hands of the Phocians. At that time goods probably were unloaded at the port for distribution onwards into the heart of Phocis through the Dipotamos valley. Strabo claims that in his time the Locrians held the area.[113] The city of Daphnus had been abandoned, although the port was still used. Presumably the harbour was then a point of supplies for a scattered rural population and a shelter for ships sailing between the Locrian settlements on either side of the Dipotamos.

The building complexes, houses, groups of groves excavated at Agios Konstantinos, as well the epigraphic documents (*IG* IX 1, 288–289), would indicate that the ancient port was located in the modern village, in the heart of the bay, close to the modern coastline at least from Late Roman period onwards[114] and probably also in Hellenistic time if the building discovered from this period was not an isolated construction.[115] The ancient port of pre-Hellenistic data could be lie at deeper levels or even further south, nearer the foothills of Mt. Cnemis, following the ancient coastline of the period.

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112 Papanagiotou 1971: 292–293.

113 It is surprising that, not long after Strabo wrote his work, Pliny (*HN*. 4.27) refers to Daphnus as the only Phocian *oppidum* on the coast. Could Pliny's source of information have been a document that referred to the political situation before the first century AD?

114 See Papakonstantinou and Zachos in Chapter 4.

115 Papakonstantinou *AD* forthcoming h.

A review of the heterogeneous sources presented here allows us to say that during the first millennium BC there were probably at least four ports along the approximately 30–35 km of Epicnemidian coast. Each port was controlled by a nearby city. The size of the Epicnemidian ports seems to have been modest—reflecting the size of the settlements associated with them. However, the possibility that occasionally ships of considerable tonnage would have anchored in these ports cannot be ruled out. How much these harbours were used would have fluctuated over the centuries depending on the political and economic factors in play at any given time. None of these anchorages could be compared with the larger and busier ports of Chalcis, Larymna, Halae or Phalara. Nevertheless, some of the ships that plied the Northern Euboean Gulf (on their route between Macedonia and Athens, between Attica and the Pontus, etc) doubtless called at the Epicnemidian ports, either to trade with the merchandise they were carrying or when they needed to take on supplies or were hit by a storm. In fact, these ports were used to hold supplies of imported products, not just for coastal communities, but also for neighbouring settlements inland (Naryca, the settlement at Mendenitsa, etc.). The strategic location of the coastal cities of Epicnemidia as bridgeheads to reach the middle valley of the Cephisus would also explain why certain powers were interested in controlling them.

3. The Locrian Seafarers

Having seen that the Epicnemidian Locrians controlled several ports, we shall now go on to consider their possible involvement in various seafaring activities. It should be mentioned, however, that it is not easy to reach unequivocal conclusions on the matter. There are very few references on the subject in the literary and epigraphic sources, and those that do exist are very general, and do not always specifically state which city the mariners came from. Neither do we have testimonia for all the periods into which historians traditionally divide the first millennium BC.

In some myths, we can discover, after careful epistemological filtering, certain indications of a first awareness of the Locrians' participation in maritime activities. Thus, a fragment of the *Catalogue of Ships* in the *Iliad* (2.527–535) informs us that the Locrians "that dwell over against sacred Euboea" (i.e. the Eastern Locrians) took part in the expedition to Troy by sending a fleet of forty ships. This is a considerable number of vessels that, while not equalling the number sent by the Athenians, Lacedaemonians or Boeotians, did exceed the contributions that came from Salamis, Rhodes or

Cephallonia. Whenever this chapter of the *Iliad* was written, the fact is that both the author(s) of the catalogue and his (their) audience believed that the Locrians were capable of having, at least in the past (but perhaps also during the historic period, since the Homeric works contain information that dates to Archaic period),[116] a fleet comparable with that of the Aetolians, Phocians, or even the Euboeans—the inhabitants of an island "famed for shipping" (*h. Ap.* 220). Perhaps the Locrians were known throughout Antiquity as people who had a certain flair for sailing. It should be noted that, of the eight Locrian settlements cited in the *Iliad* as governed by Aias, son of Oïleus, five were Epicnemidian: Bessa, Scarpheia, Augeiae, Tarphe and Thronium. The mention of these five sites suggests that they were thought to have supplied ships and warriors for the Locrian contingent, as Cynus, Opus and Calliarus did. Moreover, Thronium claimed the honour of being the starting point for the Locrian navy sailing for Aulis. This tradition, whose origins are difficult to trace, was recorded at the end of the fifth century BC by Euripides in his *IA* (262 and ff.).[117]

The *Odysseia* briefly refers to the return of the Locrians by sea to their homeland after taking Troy (4.499–511). We are told that the Locrian navy was the first to be lost in a storm near the Rocks of Girae, south of Euboea.[118] We learn of the fate of Oïleus' son, but not that of the other Locrians. In the second century AD, however, Pausanias (5.22) recorded a tradition according to which warriors from Thronium and Euboea, on their return from Troy, reached the coasts of Thesprotia and founded there a city that took the same name as the Locrian settlement.[119] In our opinion the likelihood of this colonising enterprise is very doubtful.[120] Nevertheless, the ancient Greeks could well believe this foundation myth, which possibly went back to a very ancient time.

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116 See Mazarakis Ainian 2000: 14–18.

117 The inland settlements of Augeiae, Bessa and Tarphe would have been expected to provide soldiers.

118 We do not think that this event should be interpreted as evidence of possible poor Locrian seamanship; the entire Achaean fleet suffered reversals during the return voyage to their homelands.

119 This Thronium would no doubt be located in Amantia, modern Ploça.

120 On the possible presence of Locrians in Thesprotia see Cabanes 1993: *passim* and also the final comment of Nerian Ceka to this study. We also have other information relating to a similarly doubtful Locrian colonising venture in the Pontus area. At the dawn of the Christian era, Memnon of Heracleia (*FGrH* 434 F28) reported that a contingent of Locrians from Nicaea accompanying Alexander the Great in Asia had founded the Nicaea in Bithynia, see Fernoux 2004: 24–25 and n. 8.

The picture that emerges from these mythological accounts is supported by other sources that inform us about historical events. Linked with the Trojan Cycle itself, for example, was the ritual of sending Locrian maidens to Troy,[121] a religious ceremony that possibly originated in the mid fifth century BC, if not before.[122] Each year two girls were chosen among the Locrian aristocracy in order to serve in the sanctuary of Athena in Troy. Locrian mariners took the maidens to the Trojan shore and returned with those whose year's service had just ended. The route taken by the Locrian sacred expedition would certainly have been the same as that taken by the Achaean troops led by Agamemnon. Although in the early centuries of this ritual the maidens were chosen from different Locrian settlements, from the third century BC onwards, Naryca voluntarily took on the responsibility for this *offering*, as shown by an inscription found in Hesperian Locris.[123] It would therefore be reasonable to assume that, at least during the ritual's later phase, the maidens' voyage to their destination began and ended at the port of Thronium. This was the closest harbour to Naryca and the place from which it was thought that Aias had left with his fleet, as we mentioned earlier.

Another example of Locrian seafaring is the foundation of Epizephyrian Locris, a Locrian colony in the south of Italy. It is an enterprise that must certainly have been undertaken using ships provided by the oligarchy of the Locrian *ethnos* (eastern and western) that governed various settlements. It is inconceivable that there were any other social groups in the first half of the seventh century BC that could have owned vessels with capacity to reach the shores of southern Italy.[124] These ships would generally have been used for the oligarchy's maritime ventures, i.e., exporting agricultural surpluses, voyages to reinforce the ties of friendship with other aristocrats through the exchange of gifts, and possible incursions into neighbouring regions that could be described as piracy.[125]

It is more difficult to determine whether the seven penteconters supplied by the Eastern Locrians to the Greek contingent that fought on the

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121 Reported by Lyc. *Alex*.1141–1173; Schol. *in Lyc. Alex*.1141; Tim. *FGrH* 566 F 146a; Apollod. *Epit*. 6.20–22; Polyb. 12.5; Plu. *Mor*. 557 D; Tz. *Ad Lyc*. 1141.

122 See Redfield 2003: 88. However, according to Polybius (12.5) this was a custom that predated the foundation of Epizephyrian Locris in Italy (seventh century BC).

123 *IG* IX 1^2 3: 706. Subsequent editions of this testimony and the related bibliography are discussed in Redfield 2003: 87 and n. 9.

124 As possibly happened with the foundation of other Greek colonies. On this topic, see Scott 2000: 94–95.

125 See Vélissaropoulos 1980: 26–28.

Artemisium Cape (Hdt. 8.1) also belonged to that aristocracy or formed part of a general Locrian navy that already existed at the beginning of the fifth century BC. In fact, we do not even know whether these ships were supplied solely by the settlements of Opuntian Locris (understanding this as the region that extended from Larymna to Daphnus) or also by Epicnemidian settlements.[126] Be that as it may, what is beyond doubt is that the Locrians as a whole mustered a relatively small number of ships in comparison with other Greek *poleis* and *ethne*. The impression that during that period the Locrian cities were not ready to take part in major naval battles is borne out by the type of ships that were available to them. At the beginning of the fifth century BC triremes were already an important part of the navies of the great maritime powers such as Aegina, Corinth and Athens, and also of the fleets of *poleis* that were far from being amongst the most powerful at the time (for example Ceos, Styra or Eretria).[127] The penteconters, on the contrary, were ships that had become obsolete and unsuitable for facing a major maritime threat. The Locrians lacked triremes, perhaps because they had insufficient economic resources to build and maintain such vessels. Of course, it would be logical to assume that the Locrians had more warships than the ones they sent to Artemisium: none of the Greek allies who participated in this *naumachia* sent their entire fleet.

Nevertheless, the Locrians built new ships of considerable size throughout the *Pentakontaetia*. Thucydides says that during the Peloponnesian War the Locrians not only supported the Lacedaemonian side by providing cavalry (2.9.1–4; 4.96.8), but made frequent incursions in the Euboean coast as pirates (2.32). As was mentioned in the previous section, the attacks were on such a scale that the Athenians were compelled to send punishment raids against the Locrian settlements, such as Thronium, that were used as a base by the marauding ships (2.26 and 2.32). We do not know exactly what kind of ships the Locrians used for their raids, but penteconters were ideal for attacks of this kind. With a crew of some 55 to 60 men that could be mustered quickly and without major difficulty, these manoeuvrable vessels were capable of anchoring in any bay, and, given their shallow draft, could enter places where triremes would have run aground. This feature was particularly useful in coasts such as that of Epicnemidia, which were plagued with

126 If one accepts the hypothesis of Nielsen (2000, particularly 118–119) Epicnemidian Locris was geographically part of a state called Opuntian Locris during the Classical period, in which case there would be no obstacle to favouring the second possibility noted here.

127 See the list included in Hdt. 8.1. In 5.99 Herodotus says that Eretria already had triremes in 499 BC.

sandbanks.[128] In addition, the penteconters were strong ships that did not need constant maintenance.

Another fragment of Thucydides (8.3) allows us to deduce that the Locrians may have had their own shipyards. In 413 the Spartans commissioned the Phocians and the Eastern Locrians to build 15 ships. These vessels, together with those supplied by Boeotians, Corinthians and other allies, would have formed a joint war fleet of some 100 ships. Kagan doubts that this navy was ever completed.[129] Even so, since the commission was made, it can be assumed that the Locrians would have built (new?) *neosoikoi* after the Locrian coasts had been repeatedly attacked by Cleopompus in 430 and Nicias in 429. Of course there was no shortage of timber for ship building in Epicnemidia since, as Strabo says (9.4.5–6), Bessa and Tarphe were surrounded by forests.

Unfortunately, no other literary or epigraphic sources have survived that are directly related to the subject we are discussing herein. Unlike the Thessalians and Boeotians,[130] the Locrians do not appear to have had an important fleet of their own during the fourth century BC and the Hellenistic period. We do not know the name of any important Epicnemidian *naukleros* or *emporos*. We only know, thanks to Livy (35.37.4–9 and 35.38.14), that there was a Cean merchant called Herodorus in Thronium in 192. However, Livy does not say whether Herodorus, who had great influence in Chalcis, normally did business in Thronium or simply used its port occasionally as the need arose.

In this situation and in order to advance in our knowledge, the only thing we can do is to form certain hypotheses based on a reconstruction of what Epicnemidian Locris may have looked like in Antiquity. The geomorphology of Epicnemidia suggests that the Epicnemidians often used the sea to reach nearby coastal areas, since the overland routes that connected this area with the west (Thermopylae) and east (between the sea and Mt Cnemis) were particularly narrow and difficult to cross,[131] especially during certain times of the year.[132] Whether one accepts the thesis of the group of researchers

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[128] Coates 1990: 115 includes a table giving a general comparison of penteconters and triremes.

[129] Kagan 1987: 14–15.

[130] Xenophon's account (*Hell.* 6.1.10 and 6.4.21) would seem to suggest that Jason of Pherae had a large navy. See Sprawski 1999: 96 n. 240; 108 and 112. For Epaminondas' Boeotian Confederacy navy, see above n. 43. On the historiographical debate on this subject, see Buckler 2003: 339–340 and note 48.

[131] See Sánchez Moreno's chapter in this volume on the road network.

[132] Thermopylae was an insalubrious place until half a century ago, due mainly to the

headed by Kase and Szemler,[133] or that of Pritchett[134] (two opposing opinions on the importance of the overland route between the south and north of Greece that passed through Thermopylae), the fact is that the transporting of heavy cargoes from Epicnemidia to other coastal areas of Greece must have been more likely by sea than overland. Contacts between the coastal cities of Epicnemidian Locris would usually have been by small craft, since the distances were travelled more quickly that way than on horseback or foot: see here the aforementioned reference in Timosthenes on the distance between Nicaea and Thermopylae by sea and overland.[135] It would be reasonable to assume that there were *lemboi* and *akatoi* in Epicnemidian ports, used to unload the goods that arrived in big merchant ships.[136] It is hard to believe that all the vessels available in the Epicnemidian settlement would have been in the hands of foreigners and devoted exclusively to trade.

Some of the coastal population of Epicnemidian Locris would be seasonally engaged in fishing, an economic activity complementary to farming.[137] Literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources testify that the Euboean Gulf was richly endowed with fish in Antiquity. Early evidence of fishing in these waters includes a fragment of a Late Helladic krater, found in Cynus and decorated with two human figures casting nets into the sea.[138] From ancient Acraephnium, a Boeotian city situated between Lake Copaïs and the Euboean Gulf, there is a third century BC inscription with regulations controlling the prices of a wide variety of fish sold there: most of the species cited (tuna, dogfish, skate, etc), lived in the salty waters of the Euboean Gulf.[139] For his part, Archestratus of Gela[140] attested in this same century to the existence of good bream (gr., φάγρος, lat. *Sparus pagrus*) in the waters of Eretria;[141] sole (gr., βούγλωσσον, lat. *Pleuronectes solea*) around Chalcis;[142] and a variety of hake (gr., καλλαρίας, lat. *Gadus merluccius*) in the waters of Anthedon that,

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nearby marshes, as emphasised by Marinatos 1951: 3–4. The area was plagued by mosquitoes in summer.

133 See Kase 1991 and Szemler, Cherf and Kraft 1996.

134 In the latter case, Pritchett 8.81 ff. with references to several of his previous articles.

135 The same conclusion is reached by Nielsen 2000: 92.

136 On boats of this kind, see Torr 1894: 105–106 and 115–116.

137 Agricultural produce (cereals, fruit, olives, etc) would have formed the basic diet of the local population during Antiquity. Fish would only partly complement their diet. See Gallant 1985: 43–44.

138 Dakoronia 2002a: 46.

139 Vatin 1971: 95–109.

140 On this author, see García Soler 2001: 30 ff.

141 Archestr. *fr.*26 Montanari (= Ath. 7.327d).

142 Archestr. *fr.*32 Montanari (= Ath. 7.288a–b and 330a–b).

although disparaged by him, were widely consumed.[143] Several centuries later, Athenaeus of Naucratis collected the commentaries of Archestratus and also reported another information that came from Antiphanes (fourth century BC) according to which in Scyrus and Carystus, that is, at either end of the Euboean Gulf, it was possible to catch crayfish (gr., κάραβος, lat. *Palinurus vulgaris*) and sprat (gr., μαινίδα, lat. *Sparus maena*) respectively.[144] Athenaeus also reported that the third century poet Dionisius Iambus said in one of his works that Eretrian fishermen caught pilot fish (gr., πόμπιλος).[145] Finally, the Boeotian writer Plutarch[146] claimed that particularly large quantities of fish could be caught between Aedepsus and Halae. Even today, and despite man's depredation of the seas over the last years,[147] fishermen still catch sea bass (gr., λάβραξ, lat. *Dicentrarchus labrax*), sargue (gr., σαργός, lat. *Sparus sargus*), herrera (a variety of sea bream, gr., ερυθρῖνος, lat. *Pagellus mormyrus*), llampuga (gr., ἵππουρος, lat. *Coryphaena hippurus*) and small tuna (gr., παλαμίς, lat. *Thynnus thynnus*).[148] All these species were known to the ancient writers.[149]

What we have seen in this chapter allows us to conclude that the small Epicnemidian settlements never turned their backs on what the sea had to offer. Every settlement would have had a small fleet consisting of vessels of very different types and sizes: from small fishing boats to a few penteconters, ships which could have been used for carrying goods but also for warfare and piracy. The Locrians may even have had a particular ship on which they took their maidens to the sanctuary of Athena at Troy every year. The relationship between the local aristocracy and naval activities seems to be close, particularly up to the Classical period. However, there is nothing to suggest that the Epicnemidians became a great naval or trading power at any point in their history, which is understandable in view of the modest size and importance of their cities. If Strabo (9.4.13) called the Malian Gulf "the Sea of the Locrians" it was purely for geographical reasons.[150]

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143 Archestr. *fr.*14 Montanari (= Ath. 7.315f–316a).
144 Antiph. *fr.*191 PCG (= Ath. 7.295d).
145 Ath. 7.284b.
146 Plu. *Sull.* 26.
147 Many fish and shellfish farms have been set up in the Oreus Channel, near Agios Serafeim. One unexpected result has been the appearance, unusual in these waters, of seals attracted by the abundance of food.
148 Information provided by the fisherman Apostolis Alexopoulos from Kamena Vourla.
149 See García Soler 2001: 176–178, 180.
150 I am grateful to D. Hernández for kindly reviewing the English version of this paper.

PART THREE

HISTORY

CHAPTER NINE

FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Sofia Dimaki[*]

The waste land[1]

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time

—T.S. Eliot, Little Giddings (Four Quartets)

Archaeological research has been going on in Phthiotis for over a century. However, until recently, the prehistoric bibliography was based on generic but fundamental work mainly relating to pottery that had been conducted in the first half of the twentieth century by Wace and Thompson, Arvanitopoulos, Sotiriadis, Goldman and Weinberg.[2] The establishment of the local Ephorate of Antiquities in 1973 with G. Hourmouziades as its first director[3] signalled the beginning of the completion of the archaeological map which could at that time be described as a *tabula rasa*. Rescue and systematic excavations, field surveys undertaken by both the Hellenic Archaeological Service and foreign schools and large-scale public works were the main factors that contributed to that outcome. In recent years the publication of articles, papers and postgraduate doctoral theses on this area, supported by background studies, has been gradually filling in the missing pieces of the puzzle which is, however, still far from complete.

[*] Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

[1] The title is borrowed from the poem of T.S. Eliot "Waste Land".

[2] *P–T*: Lianokladi, Manesi (modern Lefkochori), Drachmani (modern Elateia), 171–191, 202–205. Arvanitopoulos 1910: 198–199; Sotiriadis 1904, 1905, 1906a, 1906b, 1908a, 1908b, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912; Goldman 1940: 381–514 and Weinberg 1962.

[3] *AD* 29 1973–1974: *Chron.* 513.

The focus of this study is the Locris region,[4] which covers the southern part of Phthiotis. Its main geographical features are the mountain ranges, particularly Callidromus in the northwest, its extension Chlomon to the south and Mt. Cnemis in the east. To the north, the region opens up towards the alluvial plain of the Spercheius River while in the east it meets the coastline of the north Euboean and Malian Gulfs. Between these mountain ranges, there is a particularly diverse landscape, characterized by semi-mountainous and hilly areas, small lakes, rivers, small valleys and delta estuaries. The subsoil of the region contains old sediments dating from the Late Miocene, Plio-Pleistocene and Late Pleistocene ages in which various specimens of fauna and flora fossils have been found.[5]

The part of Locris called Epicnemidia includes the northern part of the region, whose natural borders are Thermopylae in the north, Cnemis to the south and west, and Mt. Callidromus, which separates it from ancient Opuntian Locris, northeast Phocis and Doris. While examining the region's sedimentation timeline, researchers face a particular challenge. Ancient sources such as Pausanias and Strabo, foreign travellers like Lolling, Leake, Gell, and scholars like Oldfather and Pritchett are only some of those who engaged in the ancient topography of this area. As far as prehistory is concerned, our knowledge is strictly limited to the combined contribution of a few survey finds and rescue excavations.[6]

Epicnemidian Locris was first settled in the Neolithic period. Public works and in particular the construction of the Tithorea/Lianokladi section of the new Athens-Thessalonica railway line stumbled upon an unknown archaeological site at the intersection of the road from the Athens-Lamia highway to the village of Rengini. The site is on the low hill of Trilofo near the Liapatorema, on river deposits. The structural remains of a villa rustica dated to late second-mid-third century AD were found at the highest point of the southern slope of the hill.[7] Along the eastern slope of this

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[4] Locris, together with Phthiotis, Doris and Parnassida became a province of the Phocis-Locris Prefecture in 1837. It was a province that included, according to the ancient topography of the historical period, Opuntian, Epicnemidian and Hypocnemidian Locris, northeast Phocis and Doris, and was abolished with the creation of the Capodistrean municipalities in 1997: Klados 1837.

[5] Athanassiou 2006: In the Locris region fossils were found of an Aceratherium (Agioi Anargyroi), Equus, Bos or Leptobos (Harma), Hippopotamus (Karavydia), 119, Eucladokeros sp. and a mammuthus; cf. meridionalis (Rengini), 123–126. Kranis 2007: 362 and figs. 2, 7: geological maps of the Locris Basin.

[6] Bibliography based mainly on GAMS and GAC I.

[7] Geological elements of the Rengini area: *supra* 5.2, 362. Papastathopoulou 2007: 143–153.

hill, which had undergone severe erosion, another site was found. This site seems to have been inhabited during the Early Neolithic period.[8] On the two lower levels of the excavated trenches, several finds were uncovered, including pottery, a lot of debris of raw material, several cores, chipped and ground stone tools, which included some chocolate-coloured flint and honey-yellow flint blades. Some clay spoons, two steatite beads and possibly an ear stud, animal bones and shells, some of them pierced, were also found.[9] However, it needs to be noted that this excavation did not uncover any structural remains apart from lumps of clay, some of them bearing the impressions of reeds and poles. The pottery from Trilofo includes a range of monochrome vessels, mainly fine ware open bowls, with surface colours varying from brownish red to light brown, both flat and ring bases, as well as either vertically- or horizontally-pierced knobs. A few sherds of imported rainbow pottery are also mentioned.[10] There is no decoration of any kind or the modelled knobs so commonly found in southwest Locris. However, the pottery from Trilofo is part of the Neolithic koine of the period.[11]

Further discussion of EN fine ware pottery use started back in the 1980s. According to K.D. Vitelli and C. Bjork, who studied the material from the early phases of Franchthi and Achilleion, the pots were not used for storing and cooking food but for food consumption and display. However, recent research suggests that although a small proportion were indeed used for exchange and as symbolic objects, most pottery was used to meet the everyday needs of the Neolithic community, for such purposes as preparing food, storage or transporting goods, but not as cooking pots.[12] Several studies of EN chipped stone have been carried out in recent decades, mainly in Thessaly, the Peloponnese and lastly in Macedonia. Preliminary reports and studies on Neolithic and Bronze Age assemblages have been conducted in

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8 Apart from the Boeotian Cephisus river basin and south/west Locris, no EN site has yet been found in the Spercheius valley. An EN site is referred to at Oiti/Panagia: *AD* 1978 *Chron.*: 158–159, 162–163.

9 *AD* forthcoming. Froussou 2004: 167–169; Froussou 2006: 641–656.

10 Supra 2.5: 171. Daux 1956: 223, fig. 11; French 1972: 5, fig. 2; Coleman, Wren and Quinn 1999: 294; Kendall 1998: 53, 54, 62.

11 The closest parallels come from Elateia/Gekas and Atalanti/Agios Vlassis: Supra 2.5: 167–172, pl. 53c. Dimaki and Souvatzi 2009: 817–818; id. forthcoming. For the distribution of EN pottery groups in Locris: Supra 10.3: fig. 16a. In Thessaly: Wijnen 1981: 26, fig. 11. For EN/MN connections between central Greece and the northern and eastern Peloponnese: Lavezzi 1978: 405–406, 427.

12 Vitelli 1989: 17–29; 1993: 184–199, 213–217; Bjork 1995: 86; Halstead 1995: 16. Yiouni 2004: 1–22. Increasing domestic use of pottery in LN period: Perlès and Vitelli 1999: 98.

relation to systematic excavation at the sites in the southeast of the area. At Atalanti/Agios Vlassis,[13] similar to Trilofo, small amounts of obsidian and honey-coloured flint (in 600 pieces: 84.2 % chert/flint, 10.24 % obsidian, 2.83 % honey flint) were found, in contrast to the larger proportion of obsidian found in EN layers in Elateia. Obsidian and honey-flint are imported raw materials and it is generally suggested that they arrived in settlements already processed. In Neolithic Halae opposite proportions are observed (of 73 pieces, 23 % are chert and 77 % obsidian).[14] The excavation finds also include the upper part of a shallow stone bowl. The production of stone vessels in EN is limited and they are considered objects of special value and the product of craft specialisation. Two other examples of marble vessels from Elateia and Agios Vlassis are mentioned.[15]

Finally, two broken hole mouth bowls are mentioned, one inside the other, one of which contains the remains of a cremation burial. Unfortunately there are no further details about the condition of the bones.[16] In addition to inhumation, cremation was also practised throughout the period. The same ritual, well known in EN Thessaly and recently in LN Macedonia, reflects the cosmology of the Neolithic community both through the specific mode of burial and the symbolic value of the objects that accompanied the dead.[17] To date, the Trilofo cremation is the earliest burial found in Locris. A child's burial dating to the MN has been mentioned at Halae as well as a LN child's burial at Elateia/Gekas. At Proskynas/Rachi a FN cemetery with inhumations and a child's cremation was also found.[18]

In fact, there is not a lot to say about the following periods of the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Our knowledge relies entirely on the work of Hope Simpson, Dickinson and Lazenby in the 1970s. The only site where EH pottery was found is on the southern border of the area at Tachtali.[19] The

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13 *AD* forthcoming.

14 Supra 2.5: 205–206, pl. 70e 1–3 and f, 2. Demoule and Perlès 1993: 383; O'Niell 1999: 327–328, tab. 3–7; Skourtopoulou 2000: 270, 275, 277.

15 For pottery, jewellery, obsidian and honey-flint blades, stone vessels etc.: Perlès and Vitelli, 1999: 97–98, 100–102, 106. Perlès 2001: 22, 202, 221, 223, 286–287. The vessel from Elateia was found in the topsoil, but there are no further details: Supra 2.5: 204. pl. 69, g, 1.

16 Supra 8.3: 646, figs. 7, 9.

17 Gallis 1979: 66–69; id. 1982: 58; Perlès 2001: 274–276; Triantaphyllou 2008: 150. Stratouli *et alii* 2010: 98–101.

18 Supra 9.4: 292, fig. 6. Sotiriadis also mentions two burials in Elateia/Gekas *supra* 2.3.1: 53–54. 2.3.2: 136, 2.3. 4: 307, 2.3.5:69. Supra 2.5: 163, pl. 50. Psimogiannou 2008: 37–38, 41, 99–100, 137, fig. 3.17; Papathanassiou 2009: 617–628; Papathanassiou, Zachou and Richards 2009: 223–234.

19 *AD* 25, 1970 *Chron.* 237.

nearest sites are those in Melidoni (EHI, EH III) and Atalanti/Agios Nikolaos (EH III).[20] At Atalanti a tumulus has recently been found with burial pithoi and Agia Marina/Kalyvia pottery.[21] At Tragana/islet of Mitrou a surface find consisting of a few sherds and plundered graves was found and part of an EH II settlement with structural remains, pits and open spaces was also discovered at Proskynas/Rachi.[22] Three sites dating to the Middle Bronze Age have been located: Alpenus/Psylopyrgos (MH grey and yellow Minyan ware), Rengini/Paliokastra (MH) and Tachtali.[23] The MH material in Locris comes mainly from graves, scanty structural remains and the settlement of Sotiriadis and a tumulus excavation in the Boeotian river basin of Cephisus. The extensive remains of a MH settlement recently excavated on the islet of Mitrou/Tragana have added to our local knowledge of the period.[24]

In the Trojan war, according to Homer's *Iliad* 2.531–535, lesser Aias, son of Oïleus, was the leader of the Locrians who lived in the towns of Cynus, Opus, Calliarus, Bessa, Scarphe, Augeae, Tarphe and Thronium. Despite the vast amount of research which has been done on the subject to date, scholars studying ancient Locris still face a significant challenge in matching the names of the towns mentioned in Homer's works to the towns found in the area; such towns include Scarphe, Augeae, Tarphe and Thronium, which are located in the territory of Epicnemidian Locris, the homeland of Aias. Nevertheless, LH pottery has been observed at three sites: Alpenus/Psylopyrgos (LH I/LHII?, LHIIIA-B), Rengini/Paliokastra (LH?) and Tachtali (LH).[25]

Research into the Late Bronze Age in the area has focused on rescue excavations of chamber tomb cemeteries to the west of Mt. Callidromus and to the south in the "Phocian Corridor" near or in the Dipotamos valley. In Cnemis, at the Agnanti/ Kritharia site, a LH IIIA-PG cemetery was excavated back in the 1970s.[26] The bulk of the pottery belongs to LH IIIC. Finds

20 GAMS 467, GAC 73. GAC 71. Supra 9.3: figs. 9, 11.

21 Pottery of the type-site of Agia Marina/Kalyvia (modern Agia Paraskevi): 2.3.9: 163. 2.3.10: 205. 2.3.11: 211, 270. P–T: 12. GAMS: no. 456. Supra 9.3: 20–21, fig. 16b. GAC 61. Supra 10, 2: 817, 819. Papakonstantinou forthcoming e.

22 Kramer-Hajos 2005: 173, 190–191, tab. 6a, 6b, 6d; Zachou 2009.

23 GAMS, 138–139. GAC, 264. Pritchett 5.167. Supra 18.

24 Supra 2.3.3: 142–144. 2.3.4: 402–404. 2.3.6:93–96,127–128. 2.3.9: 160–165. 2.3.10: 210–211. 2.3.11: 254–258, 271–272. *AD* 34, 1979 *Chron.* 186. Dakoronia 1987b: 55–64. Supra 21.1: 167,173, 190–197.

25 GAC 74. Supra: 22.2. Supra: 18. For the PG/G material: *AD* 1963 *Chron.* 144; 1964 *Chron.* 242; 1972 *Chron.* 330; 1973 *Chron.* 280. Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009: 1029–1042.

26 Supra: 22, 235–237. Supra 21: 110.

include bronze pins and fibulae, a steatite bead and buttons, a bone pin and a bronze, iron and gold ring. Other discoveries in this area have also been mentioned. One was reported by a local resident in 1957, who claimed to have found a sword with an engraved spiral on the ridge at the Ai-Lias site. It was taken to Athens and, after examination by Marinatos and Kontoleon, was dated to 1450 BC.[27] Ai-Lias is a conical eminence beside the Dipotamos River and is clearly visible, even from the national Athens-Lamia highway. The remains of dry-built concentric walls indicate the existence of fortifications. On examining the site, which is covered with thick vegetation, especially on the northern side, stones were found on the surface, suggesting the possible existence of destroyed walls. Coarse pottery was also found there. In the fields to the south and west of the eminence, there is sparse Roman pottery. These characteristics are strong indications that the sword was actually found elsewhere, maybe in the cemetery of Kritharia. The other site is Tachtali, a strategic location between Epicnemidian Locris and the "Phocian Corridor" where EH, MH and LH sherds are mentioned. The Kritharia cemetery and the settlement of Tachtali are 3 kilometres apart, which weaken the assumption that the two sites were connected.[28]

The sites in the Dipotamos valley and also closer to Zeli and Kalapodi do not belong to the Epicnemidian Locris region but are particularly interesting. On the eastern side of the Dipotamos River at Golemi/Agios Georgios, on the north side of the hill, a cemetery dating to LH IIB–LIIIC/Sub-Mycenaean has been partially excavated.[29] Recently, a new tomb was found at the top of the hill, about 400 m from the old tombs. It potentially expands the southeast boundaries of the cemetery and indicates its vast extent. MH grey Minyan pottery was observed northwest of the cemetery. The whole area, which lies on the limestone formation (Aspossara), has abundant PG/G cist graves and C/H pithos burials.[30] Southeast of the EN settlement of the Agios Vlassis site is a low mound located on the Atalanti-Levadeia road.

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27 The sword was kept in the Archaeological Museum of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens. Papanagiotou 1971: 285–286. Papanagiotou *PHTH* 3, 29–30.

28 Supra 21, 1: 110.

29 *AD* 40, 1985: 169–170, pl. 57; 43, 1988: 225–226, pl. 126; 44, 1989: 170–171, pl. 102; 46, 1991: 193–194, pl. 83; 47, 1992: 207–208; 51, 1996: 322–323; 65, 2010. Mountjoy 1999, 809, 812, n. 5. Supra 23.2, 105.

30 Palyvos 2001: 73, digital soil model and lithological map of the area: Σχ.2.1 and 2.1[A]. *AD* 65, 2010; 66, 2011.

There are two cemeteries near Zeli: Gvela and Agios Georgios, dating to LIIIC and LIIB–IIIC respectively.[31] Finally, in Kalapodi, two more cemeteries are located at Kokalia (Dalianis/Bakandritsos plot) and Vagia, dating to LHIIB-LHIIIA1 and LH IIIA2 respectively.[32] The tombs at Kokalia produced rich finds, indicating their elite status. The distance between these cemeteries and Zeli/Agios Georgios is less than 900 meters, so it is possible that they belonged to the same settlement. The sanctuary of Apollo at Agioi Apostoloi Kalapodi (or the Abae oracle, according to a new interpretation) produced a LHIIIC-PG pottery sequence.[33] Kalapodi is in the middle of the area and appears to be the site of a settlement that, at least during the Middle Helladic to Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, combined an important Post-Palatial cult centre with tombs in the cemeteries of Kokalia, Vagia, Zeli/Agios Georgios, within a radius of less than 900 m.[34] It may also have had close connections with other settlements such as Zeli/ Gvela, Golemi/Agios Georgios, possibly Tachtali, Kritharia and Exarchos and others in Boeotia and Euboea.[35]

We should not consider Epicnemidian Locris separately, but rather treat the whole Locris area as a unit in archaeological terms. As we pointed out earlier, this region, which extends to the east coast, is dominated by a mountainous landscape with limited arable land scattered along small valleys.[36] This diverse landscape, with its continuities and discontinuities, played an important role in the development of human/environment interaction.

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31 *AD* 41, 1986: B1, 68, pl. 68. Supra 8, 809. Supra 23.2,102. *AD* 32, 1977: 104, pl. 67; 33, 1978: 139, pl. 47; 34, 1979: 186, pl. 62; 35, 1980: B-1, 240–242, pl. 103; 40, 1985: 171, 173; 53, 1998. Supra 8, 809, 812, n. 6, 7. Supra 21:100, *nearest neighbour model* fig. 5.1, settlement-cemetery relations fig. 5.4.

32 *AD* 53, 1998: 394–395. Supra 23. 2, 93–97. Dakoronia 2007: 59–62. Dimaki and Papageorgiou forthcoming; *AD* 35, 1980: B-1, 242–244, pl. 104. Five new tombs have recently been excavated: *AD* 66, 2011. Supra 21.1: 99.

33 Jacob-Felsh 1996: 1–213; *Periphereia* I: 157–162; Felsh *Periphereia* I: 163–170; 2001: 193–199. *DAI* 77, 2006: 77–78; 78, 2007: 102 abb. 8; 79, 2008: 109, abb. 5. Livieratou 2009: 959–961, fig. 9–12.

34 No trace of EH occupation has yet been found. The MN Neolithic settlement is probably between Agia Irini and the sanctuary, the FN settlement near Vagia, for the MH at the height of Souvala south of the village: Felsh 1996: 308; *AD* 50, 1995 *Chron.* 338. The nearest sites are Hyampolis (EH, LIIIB, GAMS n. 455, GAC n. 60) and Exarchos/Smixi at the Lykoperasmata Pass on the road to Boeotia (EN-PG): *AD* 34, 1979, *Chron.* 186; 36, 1981 *Chron.* 228; 48, 1993 *Chron.* 213; 51, 1996 *Chron.* 31. Supra 10. 2:308.

35 Konstantinidi 2003: 75, 76. According to tab. 2, Elateia and Kalapodi are sites less than 5 km from a river. The same applies to Tachtali, Kritharia and Golemi/Agios Georgios. Zeli/Gvela is within the limits of the proposed distance, fig. 2, 3. Supra 21:138–139. Bintliff 2008: 218–220.

36 The opposite is the case with grain production in the Cephisus river basin: 75 % to 50 %, which is common in the ancient world: Zachos 1997: 71.

Natural processes occurring over time, such as eustatic movements or tectonic activity, which in some cases destroyed coastal sites such as Kyparissi, Cynus and Scarpheia, changes in sea level that turned peninsulas into islands, as in the case of Atalantonissi, Gaidouronissi and the islet of Mitrou, alluviation and soil erosion due to climate change and land use played a lesser role in the development of human activity in the long term.[37] To some extent this geographical heterogeneity influenced the pattern of settlement on coastal plains, valleys as well as on the mountainous areas.

Results based on the evidence provided by old and new finds and excavations both at coastal and inland sites indicate that during the Neolithic period there are six EN, thirteen MN and nine LN/FN sites on tells, low hills and, in two cases, in a cave.[38] The number of sites that belong to each phase of the Early and Middle Bronze Age (sixteen and nineteen respectively) is unclear due to the incomplete data obtained from the old excavations in the Cephisus River basin of Boeotia and the general reports by the *Archaeologikon Deltion*. The number of sites rises to thirty-two in LH.[39] Thus there are indications that several sites were newly occupied in the MN, while there appears to have been a decline in the number of sites in the later LN/FN phase which was followed by a gradual increase up to the LH period.[40] The west and south of Locris supported the highest density of human settlement, although all the sites seem to have shared the same "package" in each period, linked by a network of trade and exchange across their borders. This network was based on a multitude of roads, passes and paths through the Callidromus and Cnemis mountains and also on seafaring. The prehistoric sites of Locris seem to be on these routes, connecting people, products and ideas. They served basic needs: leading to water wells and fields or nearby villages, or were the means of communication with other regions, as documented by imports of exogenous materials and products. The centre point of this network of overland routes leading to the east and southwest

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[37] Dakoronia 1996d: 43–44; Stiros and Papageorgiou: 1992: 221–224, figs. 3–4. Papadimitriou and Papadimitriou *Periphereia* I: 5–6. Palyvos 2001: 97. Gaki *et alii* 1999: 109–110. Vouvalidis *et alii* 2010: 64–74. Papakonstantinou and Vouvalidis forthcoming. Halstead 1995: 15–16. The earthquakes of 426 BC and AD 515 caused tsunami and disasters in the North Euboean and Malian Gulfs which are mentioned by Strabo (1.3.20) and Procopius (*Goth.* 8.25.16).

[38] A MN clay figurine and LN pottery have been respectively found in two caves at Agia Marina and Kolaka.

[39] Bintliff 2008: figs. 2, 4, 12. Bintliff *et alii* 2006: 667–675.

[40] Bintliff 1982: 107–108.

is the Vasilika plateau: The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, (Dimosiorema/Vasilika Odos) extends from the Boagrius River through Vasilika and Elateia to the Cephisus River basin and Boeotia. The Vasilika plateau is also connected through Varvas/Zeli to Karya, Agnanti and Atalanti in the east. Several settlements and tombs (Alpenus/Psylopyrgos, Rengini/Paliokastra, Teithronium, Modi, Elateia, Tachtali, Agnanti/Kritharia Golemi/Agios Georgios, Zeli/Gvela, Zeli/Agios Georgios, Kalapodi/ Kokalia. Kalapodi/Vagia) are located on these roads and on the Phocian Corridor. Alpenus/Psylopyrgos in the north may be associated with the Kleisoura and Fontana Passes.

Besides the network of roads, the role of sea routes is equally important.[41] In prehistoric times the Euboean Gulf was a route for human movement and trade. Evidence of patterns of contact between land, coasts and islands such as Boeotia and northeast Phocis, Thessaly, Euboea, eastern Attica, Ceos, Aegina and the Cyclades is provided by the important coastal settlements in southeastern Locris:[42] From Larymna in the southeast to Thermopylae in the north, a line of several coastal sites (Larymna, Halae, Tragana/the islet of Mitrou, Atalanti/Agios Nikolaos, Livanates/Cynus, Melidoni, Alpenus/Psylopyrgos) can be seen. To the west, the Corinthian Gulf is similarly important as a corridor of communication between the Peloponnese, Central and Western Greece and further north to the Adriatic.

Little is known about the intra-settlement patterns of NL/ Bronze Age sites in Locris, mostly because, for various reasons, they have only been partially excavated. The inter-settlement patterns reflect interaction and relations via a regional and interregional exchange network. For the Early and Middle Bronze Age, last year's excavations in southeastern Locris provide us with new evidence on settlement remains and social practices.[43] Late Bronze Age material derives mostly from grave finds rather than settlement remains.[44] Nineteen chamber tomb cemeteries are scattered over the region and some of them indicate elite status, ethnic and social differences both in architecture and burials.[45] Nevertheless, new finds show evidence of the existence of a regional ruling elite in the early phases and the rise of local

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41 Berg 2007.

42 Lis-Rückl 2011: 163–165.

43 Supra: 21.2, 17–67,199–217.

44 Supra 21.1: LBA geological location of sites, 120–112, sites from LH–LIIIC figs. 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8.

45 Dakoronia 1996b: 1167–1173. The common type is the chamber tomb, but in Elateia/ Alonaki two other types of tomb have been found: Dimaki *Periphereia* II: 324; Dakoronia 2004: 185–186; Iezzi 2005; Iezzi 2009: 187, 189, fig. 11.1.

centres. The continuity of occupation at the end of the LIIIC phase and the transition to the Early Iron Age revealed by the sites of Tragana/islet of Mitrou, Livanates/Cynus, Kalapodi and Elateia, have added crucial material to our knowledge and have changed our picture of the *Dark Ages* in Central Greece.[46] In addition, pottery and background studies provide us with information about social differences, the economy, craft specialisation and indications of a large-scale exchange network that operated in Locris and adjacent areas.[47]

In conclusion, the patchy evidence that has been brought to light to date has allowed us to "describe the history" of the archaeological landscape of an area which was largely unknown. The most "civilized" parts were actually on or outside the borders, in the Spercheius valley to the north, the Boagrius valley and the Dipotamos valley to the south. Is Epicnemidian Locris a "Waste Land"? The discovery or excavation of old or new prehistoric sites may well lead to further major research projects in an area whose archaeological value has been underestimated and fill the *horror vacui* of this part of the region. As Levi-Strauss once said:

> All human societies have behind them a past of approximately equal length. If we were to treat certain societies as "stages" in the development of certain others, we should be forced to admit that, while something was happening in the latter, nothing or very little was going on in the former. In fact, we are inclined to talk of "peoples with no history". This ellipsis simply means that their history is and will always be unknown to us, not that they actually have no history.[48]

Despite the lack of evidence, there are indications that Epicnemidian Locris did have "peoples with history" and further research in years to come will reveal more about prehistoric human activity in this area.

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[46] Supra 32. Deger-Jalkotzy and Dakoronia 1992: 67–71; Lemos 2002: 78–79, 108–109, 171–172, 189, 204–205, map1; Dakoronia 2003b: 48–51; Deger-Jalkotzy 2004: 187–188; Van de Moortel and Zachou 2004: 44–46. Dakoronia 2006: 483–504; Kounouklas 2009: 989–997. Supra 33.8: 954–959, 96, figs. 7–10, and for the distribution of LBA-PG sites in East Phocis-Eastern Locris, figs. 1–3. Van de Moortel 2009: 370–372. Supra 21: 157–159; Deger-Jalkotzy 2009: 115–116; Rutter 2007: 292, 294–295; Van de Moortel and Zachou forthcoming.

[47] Pini *Periphereia* I: 331–338; Mommsen *et alii* 2001: 343–354. Supra 9.5; Pentedeka *et alii* 2009: 934–935; Vykukal 2011; Supra 38.

[48] C. Levi-Strauss 1995: *Φυλή και Ιστορία*, Εκδόσεις Γνώση, Athens, 29.

CHAPTER TEN

EARLY SETTLEMENT AND CONFIGURATION OF THE ARCHAIC *POLEIS*

Adolfo J. Domínguez Monedero*

In Epicnemidian Locris' neighbouring territories, Opuntian Locris in particular, evidence of the Mycenaean era is gradually increasing with the discovery and investigation of various necropoleis and places of habitation, such as the settlement of Cynus[1] and Mitrou.[2] However, traces of Mycenaean presence are still scarce in Epicnemidia itself. So far they are limited to some chamber tombs near Zeli,[3] chamber tombs and settlement remains around Agnanti,[4] some surface pottery in the Naryca area[5] and, according to Hope Simpson and Lazenby, some surface pottery in Alponus.[6] In any case, the absence of archaeological surveys and excavations greatly restricts our historical knowledge of this region and particularly affects both the Mycenaean era, the period that came after it and even the Archaic period itself. So to try to fill the many gaps in our knowledge we have to turn to other sources of information, which are very often beset by other problems.

The absence of archaeological evidence not only prevents us knowing much about the culture of Eastern Locris during the Mycenaean era but also how the transition to the Archaic period occurred in the so-called "Dark Ages". In neighbouring Opuntian Locris, while not abundant, evidence of the Submycenaean and Protogeometric period is beginning to appear[7] demonstrating that this region had connections with both Thessaly and Euboea, which at this time centred mainly on Lefkandi.[8]

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1 Dakoronia 1996b: 1167–1173.

2 Kramer-Hajos 2008: 37–40.

3 Kramer-Hajos 2008: 44–48.

4 Iezzi 2005: 29; Kramer-Hajos 2008: 71–72.

5 Pritchett 5.168.

6 Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1979: 138–139, 264. See lastly Dakoronia 2009: 277–281.

7 Fossey 1990: 105–107; Dakoronia 2002a: 48–51; Lemos 2002: 171–172.

8 Kramer-Hajos 2008: 145–146.

We do have a little more information for the Geometric period, for which we have two types of data to evaluate: archaeological and written sources. The latter are not always clear but certainly necessary, and come from the Homeric Poems and other ancient traditions.

The archaeological data relating to Epicnemidian Locris for the Geometric era are at present fairly limited and the data published (albeit fairly brief) are limited to two places, Anavra and Agios Dimitrios, close to the modern town of Kainourgio.

In Anavra an important collection of metal objects was found in 1959, apparently without a context, interpreted at the time as perhaps coming from a major sanctuary[9] which, to judge from subsequent finds in the same area, was probably not the case. Amongst the objects found were the remains of seven fibulae, a bracelet, four small bird figures, one of them triple, three horse figures, tweezers, a mirror and two pins. Judging from the parallels with Kainourgio site, which we will discuss later, and also other places, Kilian suggested that the collection could have come from one or more tombs.[10] Years after this first find (in 1977) and in the same area (in Φούρνος), 22 tombs belonging to a necropolis dating to the Late Geometric were excavated. They were very richly furnished, probably confirming Kilian's interpretation of the first collection of finds. Three of the tombs had been destroyed so, although some of the grave goods were recovered, it was not possible to determine which particular tomb they came from. The other tombs, which were cist tombs, were excavated systematically and yielded a major collection of artefacts, mostly metal. They included fibulae, numerous rings and hoops, items of adornment, some of them with images of horses, pins, beads of various materials, etc. There was very little pottery, and only a Late Geometric aryballos was recovered. Of all the material recovered from the tombs the most remarkable are the four *omphalos phialai*. Some tombs were more richly furnished than others, but one of them, number four, was considerably richer than the rest. It contained one of the bronze *omphalos phialai*, five bronze hoops with ferrules, thirteen bronze rings, a bronze disc with the schematic image of a bird on one of its edges, a bronze image of a bird, two bracelets, biconical bronze beads, two Thessalian-style bronze fibulae and some bronze balls.[11]

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9 Theocharis 1964: 242; pl. 286, β-γ.

10 Kilian 1975: 26–27, pl. 23–24.1; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979: 151, 184, pl. 48: 861-862-864, 58: 1112.

11 Dakoronia 1977b: 104–105, pl. 67 δ-ε.

Of the objects found in this necropolis, the bronze hoops of various kinds are particularly striking, because there are so many of them. There are three distinct types: some are clearly finger rings, and were in some cases even found on the fingers of the dead (type A). Others were too large to have been used as finger rings and were placed either on the chest of the dead or beside the skull (type B). Finally, a third type was usually larger and heavier and also had three or four appendices. These were usually found either in the *phialai* or next to the skull of those buried in Anavra (type Γ). While the use of the first type (A) would seem obvious, it has been suggested that the other two types (B and Γ) served a pre-monetary purpose, and a constant ratio has been established between their size and weight. It has been suggested that they represent a system based on a weight of 7 gr. which has been connected with the one used in Euboea. Hoops of these two types are also frequently found in sanctuaries, and a northern origin has also been suggested for type Γ.[12] Although the significance of these objects in the Anavra tombs continues to be debated, what does seem clear is that they were a status symbol for some of those buried in this necropolis, and demonstrate important links both with Euboea and the lands further North, including Thessaly.

The other place where Geometric period remains have been found is near the chapel of Agios Dimitrios, which belongs to the modern town of Kainourgio. In 1961, while construction work was being done on the national Athens-Lamia highway, the bulldozers brought to light a collection of objects at kilometre 180, mainly items of bronze from tombs that could not, however, be scientifically excavated. They included a phiale, fibulae, bracelets, pins, figures of a horse and birds, and the most outstanding item found: a pendent semi-circle skyphos.[13] Kearsley has not included this in her study[14] and the poor photography published does not give a clear idea of its typology. The pieces from this necropolis that have been published are very similar to those from the Anavra necropolis.

In 2004, during further work on the same road, another section of the necropolis was excavated. It contained 55 cist and pit tombs, most of them children's, and two cremations. Their grave goods included both pottery, with at least 6 pendent semi-circle skyphoi, and bronze, including necklaces, figures of birds, fibulae, pins, hoops, small swords, etc, which closely

12 Dakoronia 1989a: 115–120.

13 Theocharis 1964: 242, pl. 285 β-γ, 286 α; Kilian 1975: 4–5, 112, 161, pl. 46:1325, 62:1884; Kilian 1975: 27, pl. 24, 2–8 y 25, 3–4; Kilian and Dirlmeier 1979: 151, pl. 48: 865.

14 Kearsley 1989.

resembled the objects found in the Anavra necropolis. The tombs were grouped within a *peribolos*, the oldest apparently dating to the early Protogeometric and the most recent to the late eighth or early seventh century, in the Late Geometric.[15]

With the exception of this latter sector of the Agios Dimitrios necropolis, which has been published in some detail, there would not appear to be any plans to publish the other part of this necropolis or the two sectors of the Anavra necropolis in the foreseeable future, so we have no other details about how society was organised in the Geometric period in Epicnemidian Locris. In any case, we find the most obvious parallels for these necropoleis in the Tragana necropolis of Opuntian Locris, part of which was excavated in 1981, although other tombs were found in the vicinity subsequently.[16] Unlike the necropoleis in Epicnemidian Locris, the predominant type of burial in Tragana was deposition in pithoi; there were hardly any cist tombs, but there were some cremations. The tombs are fairly rich in bronze artefacts and some spectacular ones such as the Π-9, the tomb of a young woman, contained four pairs of fibulae, eight pins, twenty rings, two necklaces and two phialai, one of which is possibly of north Syrian origin and bears an inscription in neo-Hittite. This necropolis in Tragana was in use from the Middle to the Late Geometric,[17] so its chronology is fairly similar to the two found in Epicnemidian Locris, with which it has many features in common. Amber beads and small anthropomorphic figures of faïance from Egypt were also found in the tombs explored recently.[18] Some of the materials found in these necropoleis suggest clear links with Euboea[19] and also demonstrate that the Locrian coast belonged to the exchange networks that had developed between the Euboean settlements and various parts of the Mediterranean from the tenth century BC onwards and that have come to be called "Euboean *koine*".[20] Other examples are to be found in necropoleis dating from the late tenth century to the middle of the ninth century that were excavated some time ago in Atalanti and published recently.[21]

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15 Papakonstantinou and Sipsi 2009: 1029–1042; Papakonstatinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

16 Papakonstantinou-Katsouni 1986: 74; Pantos 1987: 235–238.

17 Onasoglou 1981: 1–57.

18 Pantos 1987: 235–238.

19 Morgan 2003: 201.

20 Lemos 2002: 212–217.

21 Dakoronia 1993a: 119–120; 2006: 483–504.

The location of the two Geometric necropoleis in Epicnemidian Locris suggests that the one in Anavra could be associated with a settlement that has not yet been found. This may have been in the area that was still inhabited in the Classical and Hellenistic period, when it was strongly fortified, but whose ancient name we do not know. The Geometric necropolis is not far from where the Classical and Hellenistic city would have continued to bury their dead.

In the case of the necropolis in Agios Dimitrios, there is little doubt that it is associated with what would in time become the city of Thronium, less than two kilometres southwest of this necropolis.

The little we know of the period suggests that the area was occupied by human groups that were widely dispersed throughout the territory and consequently buried their dead in their own cemeteries. These were probably indicated and marked off from the outside by visual markers, as the *peribolos* discovered in the 2004 excavations in Agios Dimitrios suggests. However, the close similarities between the two Epicnemidian Locrian necropoleis and the one in Tragana in Opuntian Locris suggest that the whole of this territory was part of the same network in which goods and, possibly, people circulated. Finally, this was not an isolated region but, on the contrary, because it was on the coast the two parts of Eastern Locris obtained goods from Attica, Euboea, Thessaly and, perhaps, from other parts of Greece and, naturally, the Near East and Egypt. The extraordinary accumulation of objects in some tombs, such as number 4 of Anavra and Π-9 of Tragana, which appear to have been female, suggests that in the course of the eighth century a process of social and economic diversification was taking place. In other parts of Greece this process would be evidence of the development of complex structures that would lead to the appearance of the *polis*. The same phenomenon probably occurred in Epicnemidian Locris too, although from what the literary sources tell us, in this region the phenomenon must have been accompanied by the development of a suprapolitical identity based on the *ethnos*, a factor that would bind the various parts of Locris together, including western or Ozolian Locris.

The fact that an ethnic identity coexisted with the *poleis* in Locris is recognised in the oldest literary account we have for this territory, the Iliad, particularly the part known as the *Catalogue of Ships*, which supposedly listed all the contingents that took part on the Achaean side in the war against Troy. The relevant passage says:

> And the Locrians had as leader the swift son of Oïleus, Aias the less, in no wise as great as Telamonian Aias, but far less. Small of stature was he, with corselet of linen, but with the spear he far excelled the whole host of Hellenes and

> Achaeans. These were they that dwelt in Cynus and Opus and Calliarus and Bessa and Scarphe and lovely Augeiae and Tarphe and Thronium about the streams of Boagrius. With Aias followed forty black ships of the Locrians that dwell over against sacred Euboea. (*Il.* 2.527–535; trans. Loeb)

This list of cities contains some that are mentioned by authors of the fully historical period who identified them with others for which this passage is the sole reference, which considerably complicates our task of establishing their true location. Strabo in his geographical work made his own attempt to associate the names in Homer with what he perceived to be the true situation in his time (Str. 9.4.1–6).

Clearly, Opus and Cynus do not belong to Epicnemidian Locris and their location in Atalanti and in Pyrgos-Livanates, respectively, seems fairly likely.[22] Similarly, Scarphe and Thronium are obviously in Epicnemidian Locris because they are close to the Boagrius, whose location in the region has not been questioned (Str. 9.4.4).

Calliarus, Bessa and Augeiae were already uninhabited in Strabo's time (9.4.5) which makes it difficult to identify them and determine which part of Eastern Locris they belonged to. There are few possibilities for Calliarus, but Augeiae seems to have been in Epicnemidian Locris, since the Scarpheians controlled its territory in Strabo's day, if we accept the restitution proposed by Meineke for a lacuna in the text.[23] In any case, none of these three Homeric cities appears again in our sources, which would suggest that either they were abandoned, or that they changed their name or that, if they did exist, they ultimately lost their separate identities and were absorbed by more powerful neighbouring *poleis*. The last of the Homeric cities, Tarphe, presents a different problem because Strabo (9.4.6) gives much more precise information. He says that in his day Tarphe was called Pharygae, it was on a rise some 20 stades (about 3.7 km) from a place whose name has not survived—although Groskurd inserts Thronium. However, this assertion is not universally accepted. Its location, despite various attempts, some quite elaborate,[24] has not been found.

There is also an additional problem with regard to the cities mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships that cannot be satisfactorily resolved either, which is the period this information relates to: the Mycenaean era or the time when the surviving poems were composed and written down. The standard

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22 Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 47–48; Dakoronia, 1993a: 115–127.

23 Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 48.

24 Pritchett 4.155–156; 5.167–171.

works on the *Catalogue* assume that either “there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the view that the *Catalogue of the Ships* in the second book of the *Iliad* in some sense preserves a memory of Mycenaean Greece”[25] or, on the contrary, reject any relationship with the Mycenaean world and incline instead to the thesis that such a *Catalogue* would reflect the situation in Greece in the Geometric period[26] or the Middle Archaic in general.[27] Finally, there is the middle road which, while not rejecting Mycenaean origins, accepts some intervention in the *Catalogue* by Archaic communities to serve their own interests.[28]

The middle road, qualified to a greater or lesser extent, is probably the most likely, since the Homeric account which was achieving its more or less definitive form in the course of the eighth century, would have had to maintain a tension between the description of a remote period, such as that of the Trojan war, and the contemporary situation in a Greek world that was starting to need legendary traditions to anchor it to a glorious past that would validate the present. Since it seems unreasonable to assume that the population of the Mycenaean era survived unchanged into the Geometric or Archaic period, and since the listener of the eighth or seventh century would not have understood a panorama completely dissociated from the one that existed in his own day, we must assume that the poets, even when they were perhaps working with old king lists and place names inherited from the Mycenaean era, would have adapted them to the perceived reality of the eighth and seventh centuries. However, some names that were no longer relevant would have been preserved because ultimately the poet was still describing episodes from an increasingly distant past. Hence the Homeric Catalogue of Ships makes sense only if it is treated not as an “archaeological” piece with no links to the present, but, on the contrary, as a vestige of a past interwoven with the present.

Hence the Locrian landscape described in the *Catalogue of Ships* may not have reflected historical reality in the strictest sense, since it does not coincide with either the increasingly well-known panorama of the Mycenaean era or what is known for the Archaic era. The eight place names mentioned, of which four can be interpreted fairly reliably (Opus and Cynus in Opuntian Locris, Scarpheia and Thronium in Epicnemidia), are considerably

25 Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 10.
26 Anderson 1995: 181–191.
27 Giovannini 1969.
28 Fossey 1997: 139–148.

fewer than those known for the Mycenaean era[29] and, of course, far fewer than those known for the Geometric and Archaic period.[30] However, they do contain the most important places in the whole of Eastern Locris: Opus, which was its hegemonic centre and gave its name to the entire region (at least as far as the outside world was concerned), and its access to the sea, Cynus, and also the two most important cities of Epicnemidia, Scarpheia and Thronium. The fact that the other four places have hardly been mentioned in later sources may be because they served, in the Homeric account, as a series of names inherited from the Mycenaean past but which were no longer relevant in the Archaic era. Whether, by the time the *Catalogue of Ships* was composed, the division (not political, but geographical) between the two parts of Eastern Locris existed and the poem implicitly alluded to this, is something that for the moment we are unable to confirm.[31]

In any case, we still know so little about the Locrian territory and so many settlements have been located that we cannot yet give a specific name to that all this must remain in abeyance. Neither should we lose sight to the fact that "the evident obscurity of at least half the places listed suggests that the cataloguist is doing his best to magnify a small and peculiar contingent",[32] which, furthermore, was lightly armed, with bows and slings (*Il.* 13.709–718), like its leader, who wears a corselet of linen (λινοθώρηξ) (*Il.* 2.529) instead of the usual bronze armour (χαλκοχίτωνες) worn by the major heroes.

As has frequently been noted, the *Catalogue of Ships* only mentions the Locrians "who dwell over against sacred Euboea", ignoring those who lived in the Gulf of Corinth, doubtless as a way of emphasising, in that not always easy dialogue between the Archaic present and the remote past to which the events described in the Poems allude, that the scene is placed before the emigration of the Locrians to those other regions. Apart from that, the Locrians are characterised as a people, in the same way as others who appear the Catalogue, such as the Boeotians, the Phocians or the Aetolians, whose names would also be associated with the territories they settled.[33] And as the people (*ethnos*) that they were, the Locrians must have developed the history of their own foundation, details of which we learn from later authors;

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29 Fossey 1990: 103–105.
30 Fossey 1990: 107–111.
31 Kramer-Hajos 2005: 263–264.
32 Kirk 1985: 203.
33 Giovannini 1969: 46–47.

the fact that these authors were not Locrian in origin may have introduced some details or information from outside the Locrian tradition itself, taking into account the way many of the first writers produced their material. However, it is useful to take a look at some elements of these traditions that, without doubt, must already have developed in the Archaic period.

As in many other ethnogenic histories, the people's name derives from its ancient king, whose name becomes that of his people. This seems to have been the case of the Locrians, who would have been the people ruled by Locrus, who led a group of Lelegians to the territory they gave their name to. Already the Archaic *Catalogue of Women* (*Fr.*234 Merkelbach-West = Str. 7.7.2), attributed to Hesiod although not necessarily the work of this author, describes this fact. The Lelegians were the men born from the stones thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha to repopulate the earth after the flood. The Locrians' link, via Locrus, with this tribe and its change of name (Ps.-Scymn. 587–591; Plin. *NH.* 4.7.27) suggests that they had developed their own myth to explain their origins, based on Deucalion and his descendants, but that it was never widely accepted outside Locris.[34]

These mythical traditions show how the Locrians perceived the diversity of territories they occupied and their peculiar geographical distribution and, at the same time, left room to emphasise the main political centres that arose in their territory. Thus already in Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrH* 1, F 16) Locrus appears as the brother of Ion (eponym of the Ionians), both sons of Physcus. Locrus is also the son of Physcus in the Pseudo-Scymnus (587–591) and in Plutarch (*Mor.* 294 E), who makes Opus the son of Locrus. The whole of the genealogy that begins with Amphictyon (son of Deucalion), father of Physcus, who is in turn father of Locrus who is the father of Opus, is recapitulated in Eustathius' Commentaries on the Iliad (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1, p. 425, l. 18–24). Naturally, it will be Locrus' journey from his native land, in Eastern Locris, to the Gulf of Corinth that would explain the existence of the Ozolian Locrians in this region. In the same way, Opus, Locrus' son, would found Physcus in the West, which would in time become the seat of the *koinon* of the West Locrians.[35]

It hardly needs to be said that these traditions, which possibly served the Locrians of the Archaic and Classical Periods to explain their origins, do not really help us understand the historical processes that took place in Eastern Locris and Epicnemidia in particular at the beginning of the Archaic Period,

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[34] Hall 2002: 31.
[35] Lerat 1952: II.55–56; Domínguez 2010: 75–83.

since they are only reflections and erudite reconstructions intended to make sense of origins lost in the mists of time.[36]

Another thread amongst the legendary traditions, but one involving historically verifiable facts, is linked with the hero Aias, son of Oïleus who, as we saw, appeared in the *Catalogue of Ships* as head of the Locrian contingent that sailed to Troy. According to tradition Aias was guilty of raping of Cassandra, who had sought safety in the temple by clinging to the statue of Athena Ilias during the sack of Troy by the Achaeans. To expiate this terrible affront to the gods the Locrians, as Aias' people, had to send a tribute of two maidens to Troy each year to serve in the goddess's sanctuary. Naturally, the story contains a large number of legendary elements, but this is not the place to consider them.[37] However, what interests us here is seeing how the social groupings of Archaic Locrian society could have been determined, in some sense, by updating what is no doubt a foundation myth.

Certainly the obligation to provide maidens to fulfil this duty imposed by the gods appears to have been circumscribed to a group of families that extended through the whole of Locris. These families, one Hundred of them, where known as the "Hundred Houses", and the reality of the ritual, and its development over the centuries is attested by the numerous literary and even epigraphical references.[38] Consequently, archaeology has been used to try to corroborate the antiquity of the relationship, thanks to the find in Troy of a number of amphorae dating to the Middle Protogeometric (tenth century BC) thought to originate in the coastal region of Locris or Thessaly; an example of these amphorae even appeared in Agnanti.[39] Catling expressed this idea when his archaeological analysis led him to suggest that "it is tempting to argue that the occurrence of these amphorae at Troy is not the consequence of simple commercial transactions, but could be associated in some way with the famous tradition of the Locrian maidens [...] There are good grounds for believing that the practice (alleged to have begun three years after the sack of Troy) was of great antiquity [...] Yet it is hard not to link this tradition to the close similarities observed between our Group I amphorae and comparable material from Locris and northeast Phocis. Adhering to the main thrust of the tradition, it can be suggested that

36 Domínguez Monedero 2006a: 147–170.

37 The bibliography on the "Locrian maidens" is extremely abundant and I shall not mention all of it here; the most recent study devoted to the subject, with previous bibliography, is Redfield 2003.

38 Vidal-Naquet 1983, [1981]: 224–241; Ragone 1996: 7–95; Ragone 1999: 163–235.

39 Catling 1998: 162–164; Lemos 2002: 57.

the amphorae and their content were sent as a form of material tribute to supplement the temple service of the two maidens".[40] The relationship of the Trojan region with the area generically referred to as Euboean-Thessalian appears to have continued over the following centuries.[41]

Obviously, it would be hazardous to base the origins of a tradition whose legendary overtones are so evident on finds that, in general, represent only a small proportion of the objects found in the context concerned.[42] However, it was a tradition that must have been important throughout the subsequent history of Troy if it justified curious architectural and religious forms in the organisation of the third century BC temple that the excavators could only explain on the basis of the tradition of the Locrian maidens. This is also the case of the well Ba found between the temple of Athena and the altar to the goddess. It is still doubtful whether the well was there before the last remodelling, which would be of major historical and religious significance.[43] In any case, what these archaeological data do is furnish evidence of different periods that, while it does not corroborate the literary traditions, does at least serve to provide a material context for that information.

One of the most important of these traditions for our purposes is that recounted by the historian Polybius in the second century BC in relation to the foundation of a Locrian colony in the south of Italy, which provides interesting details for reconstructing the Locrian society of this period at the end of the eighth and early seventh centuries BC. We shall not stop to consider the Locrian colonisation itself in this chapter, so we shall only refer to those aspects that concern our present task. Polybius states that "for instance, there were amongst the Locrian aristocracy the members of the 'Hundred Houses'. These 'Hundred Houses' were the most highly born amongst the Locrians before the colonists left Locris; according to an oracle, the Locrians had to choose from them the virgins to be sent to Troy. However, some of these maidens left with the emigrants and, still today, their descendants are counted amongst the nobles, under the name of 'those of the Hundred Houses'" (Polyb. 12.5. 6–8). The interesting point about the information provided by Polybius—who seems to have had access to Epizephyrian Locrian sources—is that even before the colonisation Locris had an aristocracy based on birth, perhaps in both East and West. It seems

40 Catling 1998: 164.
41 Catling 1998: 177–179; Lenz, Ruppenstein, Baumann and Catling 1998: 189–222.
42 Chabot Aslan 2002: 90–91, 95.
43 Brückner 1902: II.554–572; Rose 2003: 56–58.

this aristocracy extended throughout the whole of Locrian territory, creating a structure that was political and, from the time that maidens were sent to Troy onwards, also cultic. It took in the East and West Locris and, Polybius also asserts, also extended in some way to the colony ruled by the aristocracy of the "Hundred Houses". There are no reasonable grounds for rejecting Polybius' information, either in relation to the existence of the tribute or to the aristocracy of the "Hundred Houses" before the Locrian colony was founded in Italy[44] despite the doubts expressed, based on very little, by any occasional author.[45] On the contrary, some authors have emphasised that this aristocracy probably developed as a result of the very fragmentary character of Locrian territory which, just as it would have prevented the emergence of a palatial centre in the Mycenaean period, later prevented the formation of a single *polis* with a large territory.[46]

The date when the colony of Epizephyrian Locri was founded is usually put in the first quarter of the seventh century, although archaeological finds in the necropolis excavated appear to suggest that the first generation of colonists had already settled in the last quarter of the eighth century.[47] As has been observed on a number of occasions, Epizephyrian Locri is the only colony that does not take its name from the topographical of its surroundings or foundation or from the metropolis or one of the cities involved in its foundation, but instead the name of the whole *ethnos*.[48] This suggests that at the end of the eighth century it was the *ethnos* that mattered from an organisational point of view, perhaps over and above the cities that would only just have been emerging in Eastern Locris and perhaps took somewhat longer to appear in the West. In the same way, the function of the aristocracy of the Hundred Houses and the role it played in fulfilling the tribute of the maidens suggests how it, together with a possible cult to Aias, may have acted as an important element in establishing the Locrian identity.[49] We should not lose sight of the fact that Aias "was venerated in Locris like a god" (Schol. *in Pind. Ol.* 9.166), that the Locrians of Italy also

44 Walbank 1982: II.334.

45 Walter 1993: 132 who says that the "Adel der sog. "Hundert Hauser" stellt ein Phantom dar, er existierte nicht."

46 Kramer-Hajos 2005: 298.

47 Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 32.

48 Musti 1977: 25–27.

49 Domínguez Monedero 2006a: 147–170; Cabanes 1989: 73 have observed how the *ethne* demonstrate their continuity by tracing their origins back to the heroes who took part in the Trojan War.

invoked him in battle (Paus. 3.19.12) and that when the Opuntian Locrians started striking silver coinage in the fourth century they chose Aias as the motif for the obverse of all its series.[50]

What we have seen so far shows us the Eastern Locrian world, and perhaps also the western—although this is not the time to consider the latter—organised around a territory that, in Eastern Locris, extended from Thermopylae to Larymna in which the aristocracy of the Hundred Houses exercised political and social control. This aristocracy owed its pre-eminence to the fact that the maidens that had to be sent to Troy each year to expiate the wrong committed by their mythical king, Aias, were chosen from it. It is clear that, far from being ashamed of him, the Locrians were proud of their ancient king, to whom they accorded religious honours and, in the course of time, depicted on their coins. It is, in some way, pointless to ask ourselves whether the aristocracy of the Hundred Houses existed before the *votum* that fell on them for being the most distinguished families was established or if, on the contrary, the ritual responsibility it assumed led to the consolidation of this aristocratic group.[51] They are surely two sides of the same coin, in which the community's military and, in all probability, religious obligations are assumed by the aristocratic circles of a community whose political development was based both on the *ethnos* and the *poleis* emerging in the course of the eighth century. Both *ethnos* and *polis* appear to have coexisted throughout the whole of the Archaic Period, at least in Locris: as Morgan has recently shown, "poleis were entities with which their members could identify in a different (complementary or conflicting) way than with the *ethne* to which they might simultaneously belong".[52]

The importance of transmitting nobility (εὐγένεια) through the female line (Polyb. 12.5.5, 11), which has given rise to so many discussions in the course of time,[53] is not surprising in an aristocracy that had to provide the maidens for a ritual, who, as has been suggested, once it had been performed and they had returned to Locris, would hold an important position.[54] The actual reference made by Polybius (12.5.9–12) to the fact that in Epizephyrian Locri a woman acted as "cupbearer" (φιαληφόρος), perhaps for the cult

50 Head *HN*^{2}: 336–337; cf. *SNGCop* 42, 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 62.

51 Walbank 1982: II.334.

52 Morgan 2003: 6; also p. 113: "poleis and ethne [are] nested tiers of identity rather than mutually exclusive state forms"; cf. Morgan 2006: 234. *Vid.* also Cabanes 1989: 71–72.

53 Walbank 1982: II.333–337; Redfield 2003: 289–291.

54 Redfield 2003: 110–118.

of Persephone,[55] was not a complete innovation because important priesthoods were also in female hands in many Greek cities. In the Locrian case the importance of women as transmitters of nobility could have been rather more visible since it was women who had to perform the ritual of the maidens in the heart of a markedly patriarchal society. As Gernet's studies have shown, traces of possible lines of female descent can be detected in the Homeric Poems, but systems of descent should not be confused with the mechanisms for holding authority and power.[56] In the Homeric Poems the role of some women as transmitters of honours and privileges (γέρας) is clear. Thus Penelope was, through her dowry, the source of Odysseus' royalty[57] and in the country of the Phaeacians, Alcinous offers Odysseus a house and treasure (οἶκον δέ κ' ἐγὼ καὶ κτήματα δοίην) if he marries his daughter Nausicaa, (*Od.* 7.308–315). The laws of Gortyn imposed limits to the gifts that a woman could receive compared with a more favourable earlier situation, but they recognised her right to unrestricted use of her property and, according to Link, it appears that in Crete the husband never had a *kyrieia* over his wife with regard to her freedom to dispose of her property.[58] Crete was a very conservative territory where very ancient customs and characteristics seem to have survived, which the Gortyn law code may have tried to modernise, at least in part, and this suggests that Locrian society, which was also very conservative and archaicising, may have retained vestiges of customs that went back to a much earlier time, and which were gradually being lost in other parts of Greece, such as Athens. However, even here at a later date it can be seen that some women, particularly those with aristocratic status, could exercise a degree of power through the institution of the dowry. It was certainly this, which never formed part of the husband's property and which was passed on to the children,[59] that shows how in some cases (perhaps more than those one might think) mechanisms

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55 Walbank 1982: II.336.

56 Gernet 1983: 185–187; cf. Mossé 1983: 150–151.

57 Westbrook 2003: 11: "The dowry, rather than the line of male succession, was the source of Odysseus' kingship. The transfer of political power through the medium of a dowry is attested both in ancient Near Eastern and Homeric sources" (http://www.chs.harvard.edu/_/File/_/women_property_westbrook.pdf); cf. Wagner-Hasel 1988: 56–58.

58 Link 2003: 8–9, 14 (http://www.chs.harvard.edu/_/File/_/link.pdf).

59 Lyons 2003: 3: "This view of the economic exclusion of women, based largely on literary representations, has recently been challenged by social historians of classical Athens who argue that a degree of power was available to some aristocratic women through the institution of the dowry"; cf. also pp. 22–23 (http://www.chs.harvard.edu/_/File/_/women_property_lyons.pdf).

guaranteeing female transmission of both property and status could have existed (and survived).[60]

Locrian colonisation may also have related to the disruption caused by possible mixed marriages in this closed Archaic society, in which the desire to preserve "pure" lineages may have triggered the process,[61] but where economic motives may also have been present.

With regard to this latter question we should not lose sight of the fact that amongst the causes argued to explain the colonisation is the union of freeborn women to dependent individuals (οἰκέται) (Polyb. 12.6b.10) who were not at that time—late eighth and early seventh centuries—slaves in the strict sense, but whose status was somewhere between servitude and slavery, who appear to have continued to exist in Locris (and other parts of Greece, such as Crete) until the end of Archaism.[62] This other social component, linked with the aristocracy but dependent on it, although not necessarily slavery, makes it possible to complete the picture of the social framework of the early Archaic period. It is always difficult to determine the precise relationship between information learnt from the literary tradition and data obtained from archaeological excavations, but the tombs of the Geometric necropoleis we have analysed in Epicnemidian Locris and their direct parallel in the Tragana necropolis display considerable levels of inequality, which makes it all the more noticeable that amongst the richest in terms of the quantity of metal objects, which we must assume were most highly valued, are the female tombs. Vases of high ritual value such as phialae were moreover concentrated in female tombs. Some of them are exotic artefacts that perhaps arrived in Locris as a result of its inhabitants' activities overseas (or, at least, of regulated exchanges between the Locrians and other peoples much more involved in navigation, such as the Euboeans, for example). Such vases would, perhaps, be an appropriate nuptial gift to a wife of high status. Although we cannot be sure how the north Syrian omphalos patera mentioned earlier reached tomb Π-9 of the Tragana necropolis the fact that it bears a neo-Hittite inscription with the name Muwazi, perhaps that

60 It is curious how Cabanes 1989: 72–73 also relates this role of the woman with territories where organisation in *ethne* lasted longer, for example, in Epirus: "pour s'en tenir à cette dernière région, au pays de l'*ethnos*, la femme y apparaît comme capable de disposer, seule, de ses biens, achetant et vendant ses esclaves, leur accordant la liberté sans la présence d'aucun tuteur; elle transmet, à l'occasion, la citoyenneté et peur même servir de témoin dans des décisions d'affranchissement".

61 Domínguez Monedero 2007.

62 Domínguez Monedero 2007.

of one of its previous owners, reminds us of the Homeric passage in which mention is made of the krater that the Sidonians give as a gift (δῶρον) to Thoas, king of Lemnos, from whom it was passed on to Patroclus and was later offered by Achilles as a prize at the funeral games in his friend's honour, and won by Odysseus (*Il.* 23.743–749, 778–779), or the silver krater with rims of gold that Menelaus had received from the Sidonian king Phaedimus and would in turn would give to Telemachus (*Od.* 4.615–619; 15.111–129).[63] The Tragana patera may also have been acquired as plunder, but its deposition in an extremely rich female tomb is simply proof of the object's value and, by inference, that of the woman who received it as a funerary offering.

The existence of female tombs of extraordinary wealth is not a phenomenon restricted to the Locrian world and, without wishing to give an exhaustive list, we could mention those of the rich female tomb beside an equally rich male tomb in the Middle Protogeometric Lefkandi building[64] and other rich Protogeometric tombs in the nearby Toumba cemetery.[65] For a period closer to that of the Locrian tombs an important element of comparison is the so-called "Tomb of the Rich Lady" found in the area to the southwest of the agora of Athens, and datable to around the mid-ninth century BC (in the Early Geometric II). It is certainly much richer than the richest of the contemporary Locrian tombs,[66] both in objects of gold and pottery and the interesting quintuple granary found in it which has led to the suggestion that this lady (who today we also know was pregnant when she died) played some kind of economic as well as social role in the Athens of her day, probably as a member of one of the families or *gene* that governed the city.[67] Neither should we overlook the fact that, according to the *Constitution of the Athenians* written by Aristotle (or his school), before the time of Draco the offices in Athens were filled on the basis of excellence and wealth (ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην) (*Ath.* 3.2) and in this female tomb, symbol of her family and the future of her line cut short with her premature death and that of her unborn child, both elements are combined in an extraordinary

63 Other examples of these precious objects, especially kraters, that passed from hand to hand can be found in *Il.* 6.219–220; 24.228–235; *Od.* 4.589–591; 8.430–432; 9.202–205; 15.80–85; 24.273–275.

64 Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993.

65 Lemos 2002: 161–168.

66 Dakoronia 2006: 483–504.

67 Smithson 1968: 77–116; Coldstream 1995: 391–403; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004: 7–38; *vid.*, however, on the interpretation of the set of five granaries as beehives Williams 2000: 388–396.

way. Very recent research suggests that this and other rich tombs of Athens provide evidence that "for several centuries, from c. 1000–750, the women of a small elite group of Athenian families achieved prominence *in their own right*".[68]

In the Locrian society of the Geometric era, no doubt linked to much of the Greek and Aegean world and dominated by a lineage aristocracy bound together by its shared participation in a ritual that linked it to the heroic deeds of a past perceived as glorious, the woman, the star of that ritual which brought glory and prestige to her family, became the guardian of riches that accompanied her in the tomb. Whether this wealth was part of the dowry that her father provided at the marriage ceremony or, on the contrary, came from the property that her husband gave her so she could perform the duties implicit in her role as guarantor of her sons' and daughters' legitimacy, their accumulation in her tomb emphasised her role as mediator between one generation and the next and transmitter of nobility, the εὐγένεια emphasised by our sources or, if one prefers, the promise of the next generation cut short by death.

The Geometric necropoleis together and the written sources describing the Locrian world of the eighth century, on the eve of the Italian colony's foundation, agree on the solidarity of the *ethnos*' response to the challenge of meeting its obligation to the sanctuary of Athena Ilias at Troy. They also reveal the importance of an aristocracy centred on the "Hundred Houses" and the accumulation of wealth seen in some of the known tombs, doubtless related the aristocracy's role in trade and exchange in Locrian territory at this time.

Before considering the Epicnemidian cities in the Archaic era, I think we need to return to the role played by the *ethnos* in structuring Locrian political organisation in the Archaic era. As Larsen observes in his fundamental work for understanding the Greek federal states, "the normal Greek federal state was a sympolity or federation of city-states which had developed with little or no direct break from one of the tribal states set up by a group of Greek conquerors. The city-states had grown up within the tribal state, but the latter had never completely lost its unity and at some point had been given a closer organization based on a union of cities or other local units".[69] This evolutionary model appears to fit well with the situation in Eastern

68 Langdon 2003: 20, (http://www.chs.harvard.edu/_/File/_/women_property_langdon.pdf).

69 Larsen 1968: 3.

Locris, in which an *ethnos* probably organised on the basis of reciprocal ties amongst the members of the ruling aristocracy would gradually give rise to the emergence of *poleis*, possibly as a consequence of the increased population and the development of a more complex productive economy if not the pressure of powerful external neighbours (Thessalians? Phocians?). The fact that when the colony was founded it was given the name of the *ethnos* suggests that the *ethnos* had more influence at that time than the individual cities, a situation which, as we shall see later, still seems to have been the case in some respects at the end of the Archaic Period.

An extremely ancient supraterritorial organisation which certainly recognised the importance of the *ethne*, perhaps before the consolidation of the *poleis*, was the Amphictyony of Anthele, based at its sanctuary of Demeter beside the strategic pass at Thermopylae. The subsequent success of the Amphictyony in also controlling the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi would ultimately distort to some extent the primitive organisation of the peoples of central Greece who had created it. The founder of the Amphictyony had been king Amphictyon (Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 63), who as we saw earlier was the son of Deucalion and thus intimately connected with the foundational traditions of Locris.

The various traditions, frequently contradictory, concerning the origins and meaning of this league of peoples (*ethne*) in relation to a sacred place has also been the subject of many modern and even recent studies that have the merit of looking broadly at the various sources and abundant historiography generated in the last hundred and fifty years.[70] Several ancient authors list the peoples or *ethne* that sent their representatives (two per *ethnos*) to the spring and autumn Amphictyonic Council meetings (*pylaeae*) in Anthele and Delphi and, curiously, the Locrians did not attend all of them. Thus in Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 63), for example, they are not there, but according to Aeschines (2.115–116) and Pausanias (10.8.2) they did attend, and they are also recorded, naturally, in the epigraphic sources, but the earliest of these dates to 342.[71] These latter documents indicate that in the Classical and Hellenistic periods the Locrians were represented by one member for each of the two Locris (East and West), although we do not know exactly how the representation of the *ethnos* was shared between them once the cities had become fully consolidated. This is yet another indication that the Amphictyony originated at a time before the cities enjoyed

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[70] Roux 1979; Léfevre 1998; Sánchez 2001.

[71] Sánchez 2001: 37–41, 515.

sufficient weight when possibly the families of the *ethne*'s ruling aristocracy acted as representatives, perhaps based on a system of rotation or lot. It has been suggested that the first Amphictyony in Anthele may have originated around the eighth century BC., but this has yet to be decisively proved.[72]

The functions of this supraterritorial organisation may have ranged from avoiding conflict between the various tribes by encouraging arbitration, to mutual defence against external enemies, without overlooking the great attraction exerted by religious celebrations in the Greek world and their stimulus for the development of the economy. In the opinion of Sánchez, this may have been the initial function of the Amphictyony: "Célébrer un culte commun, organiser les panégyries et les marchés, et peut-être garantir à tous le passage dans les défilés: voilà quelles étaient, je crois, les fonctions primitives du Conseil amphictionique d'Anthéla. L'enjeu n'était pas tant stratégique—les délegués n'avaient pas les moyens de s'opposer à une invasion ou à une occupation armée du sanctuaire—qu'économique: il fallait empêcher que l'un des États de la région ne s'approprie le contrôle du sanctuaire et des revenues dégagés par les foires bisannuelles".[73] One can understand the importance to the Locrians, especially the Epicnemidians, of this fledgling religious and political organisation, even in its "minimalist" interpretation: the region's close link with Thermopylae throughout its history made it the obvious beneficiary of this situation, deterring possible interference from its more powerful neighbours. It is not very likely, in our opinion, that the Locrians would have tried to take sole control of the area, something that could not be said, however, of their neighbours. For example, at the time of the Persian invasion of 480 the Spartan defenders and their allies found an ancient wall in the defile which had been built by the Phocians to keep out the Thessalians (Hdt. 7.176.3). Whenever this wall, which was abandoned and unused in 480, may have been built, the fact is that both Phocians and Thessalians appear to have tried to control the pass and, although we know no more than this, it is not unlikely that it was the Amphictyony that resolved the conflict between two of its members for control over a place so near the sanctuary of Anthele.

The extension of the Amphictyony's powers to the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi seems to have taken place at the beginning of the sixth century as a result of the so-called "First Sacred War", which some authors have tried to

72 Sánchez 2001: 44.
73 Sánchez 2001: 55.

deny occurred[74] but which other arguments appear to confirm took place.[75] Be that as it may, what does seem certain is that the old Amphictyony of Anthele would ultimately control Delphi and the land of Cirrha, which had been destroyed, mainly to the detriment of the Phocians[76] and perhaps the West Locrians (Amphissa?, but we have no precise data). The extension of the Amphictyony to these new areas would have permitted the inclusion of other Greek territories (such as Athens) and perhaps the reorganisation of the way the *ethne* were distributed and represented, which in the case of Locris would have meant redistributing its two votes between the two parts (East and West) of the *ethnos*[77] although not all authors are in agreement on this point.[78]

In any case, the important role of the *ethnos* that, with time, was giving way to the cities, although without being eclipsed entirely[79] must have left its imprint on the earliest times of Eastern Locris.

Having analysed these problems, let us see how much we know about the Archaic *poleis* in Epicnemidian Locris. Before we start we should point out that there have been no systematic archaeological excavations but only emergency campaigns in response to external circumstances. Most of the data available to us come from the fieldwork that Oldfather carried out in the 1910s and 1920s, Pritchett's surveys of the 1980s and 90s, published in several of his volumes of *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, and our own observations on the ground.

We will analyse the coastal and inland sites from west to east. The first place known to us is Alpenus or Alponus. It certainly seems to have existed in Archaic times because at the end of that period, Herodotus mentions it in relation to the Persian Wars, although he is imprecise about its status, since on one occasion he refers to it as a *polis* (Hdt. 7.216.2) and on another simply as a *kome* (Hdt. 7.176.5) although we do not know why.[80] The importance of Alpenus, even though it would not have been particularly large in the Archaic period, must have been considerable since it controlled the eastern

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74 Robertson 1978: 38–73; Kase and Szemler 1984: 107–116.

75 Rousset 2002: 284–286.

76 McInerney 1999: 156: "The confirmation of Delphi as a Panhellenic sanctuary, under the control of the Amphictyony, exposed the inability of towns throughout the Parnassus district to shape the affairs of their region".

77 Léfevre 1998: 16.

78 Sánchez 2001: 467.

79 Léfevre 1998: 18.

80 Nielsen 2004: 667.

end of the pass at Thermopylae and the end of the inland route known as the Anopaea path (Hdt. 7.216), and it also had a port (Str. 1.3.20). Near it was the Melampygus rock, associated with the myth of Heracles and the Cercopes (Hdt. 7.216)[81] and during the Thermopylae campaign it seems to have been used as a place for allied soldiers to rest and recuperate, to judge by the episode told by Herodotus of the Spartans Eurytus and Aristodemus (Hdt. 7.229).

Alpenus' position on the Psylopyrgos hill is today undisputed, despite the various alternatives put forward in the past[82] and the fact that the hill is now some 3 km from the sea. This is explained by the changing coastline, which is analysed in another part of this work. The various surface surveys have detected no pottery fragments that could be ascribed beyond doubt to the Archaic period and our own survey had very little success in this respect, since most of the fragments dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. This would contradict Pritchett's opinion[83] that after the earthquake and tsunami of 426 the population of Alponus moved to the Palaiokastro of Anavra. Our survey once again refutes this view, which Pritchett later reasserted.[84]

There are, however, unresolved questions on this western border of Epicnemidian Locris. These concern the relationship between the Geometric necropolis in the Fournos district of Anavra, the city of Alponus and the subsequent fortified settlement of the Palaiokastro of Anavra, whose ancient name we do not know. The absence of literary and archaeological data deprives us of any coherent overview but it seems fairly probable that the community of the Geometric period that was buried in the necropolis of the Fournos district was in contact both with the Euboean world by sea and with Thessaly, either by sea or because of its obviously strategic position controlling the routes and tracks into Locris from the Oeta and Malis,[85]

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81 This curious myth may well reflect the dangerous nature of the pass because of brigands (personified by the Cercopes) later defeated by the civilising hero under the name of Heracles. On this myth and the iconography associated with it, *vid.* Lastella 1997: 45–75.

82 Pritchett 4.160–162.

83 Pritchett 4.165.

84 Pritchett 6.1992: 148–150. Consequently if, as some authors have recently suggested, the earthquake mentioned by Thucydides (3.89.5) as occurring in 426 BC is not the same one mentioned by Diodorus weakened even further. *Vid.* Papaionnou, Papadopoulos and Pavlides 2004: 1477–1481. On the other hand, on the problems of establishing correlations between known earthquakes and their archaeological traces, *vid.* Buck 2006.

85 Béquignon 1937a: 38–43.

which had always been linked with Thessaly.[86] The community or communities of the Geometric era could have been the direct predecessor both of the settlement on the Palaiokastro, which would have been fortified in the fourth century, although there may be earlier data,[87] and the coastal city of Alponus, which we know existed from the literary sources at the end of the Archaic Period. In any case, the distances are not great, since Fournos is only about 3 km. from Alponus as the crow flies and there is a clear line of sight between the Palaiokastro and Alponus. Although perhaps *poleis* existed in both Alponus and the Palaiokastro in the Classical period we do not know if this was the case in the Archaic Period. Taking into account the literary sources in particular, it seems likely that the polis would have been founded on the coast in the Archaic Period at Alponus although it is also possible that even in the late Archaic Period the Palaiokastro may have become the urban nucleus of that *polis* (or that a *polis* might have emerged there, whose name we do not know) and that Psylopyrgos gave it access to the sea. This would explain Herodotus' imprecision, already mentioned, variously describing it as a *polis* and a *kome*. As Hansen has demonstrated, the use of the term *kome* can imply dependence,[88] although not necessarily on Opus, as Nielsen[89] has suggested, but perhaps on the *polis* that developed in the Palaiokastro of Anavra. Herodotus could be using sources of various origins that give Alponus a different status, perhaps following internal dynamics of the Locrian world about which we have no information. We could also suggest, although once again without much evidence, that Alponus was a *kome* until the time of the Persian invasion, but became a *polis* some time in the fifth century (as described by Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 12), and was still a *polis* when Herodotus was writing. It would have retained this status thereafter, as a Delphian inscription of the third century BC indicates (*CID* II, 126). If we continue eastwards, Nicaea would not seem to have existed in the Archaic Period, at least to judge both from the literary sources and the archaeological data. In the case of Mendenitsa, situated inland, at the place occupied by the thirteenth century AD castle, we do not have definite data either for the Archaic Period, despite the identities that have been suggested for the site. Many authors believe it to be the Tarphe mentioned by Homer, but this was rejected by Pritchett[90] although in favour of an alternative that is con-

[86] Béquignon 1937a: 49.
[87] Dakoronia 2002a: 58.
[88] Hansen 1995: 73–75.
[89] Nielsen 2004: 667.
[90] Pritchett 4.156.

siderably harder to accept[91] whilst others such as Buckler identify it with Argolas, which is only mentioned by Diodorus (16.30.3–4) as a hill in a context datable to 355 BC.[92] In the absence of more precise data it is difficult to identify this major site as definitely one or the other, and it is also unfortunate that there is no evidence for the Archaic Period, a time when the site may well have existed in view of its importance for controlling the passes leading into Phocis[93] and the route from Anavra in the west to Naryca in the east along the foot of the northern slopes of the Callidromus. At the same time, Mendenitsa would have protected the coastal city of Scarpheia from movements through the Callidromus passes. However, there is no reason why the Archaic settlement necessarily has to coincide with the fortified site of the Classical and Hellenistic periods and more surveys will be necessary to determine the site of the Archaic settlement. Neither have any remains dating to the Archaic Period been observed on the hill of Profitis Ilias, some 2 km. to the north of Mendenitsa, which also has fortified remains dating to the Classical or Hellenistic periods, and which controls the route to Scarpheia and Nicaea through the valleys of the rivers Potamia and Latzorema.

Continuing our journey we come to the city of Scarpheia, one of the major *poleis* of Epicnemidian Locris. Its name comes from Homer's Scarphe, and it is mentioned on numerous occasions in the literary sources, although not strictly in relation to the Archaic Period. However, the continuity of names between the Homeric city and the one attested for the Classical period, which was hit by the earthquake and the tsunami of 426 or in the third century BC with the loss of seventeen hundred lives (Str. 1.3.20), seems to confirm its existence during the Archaic Period even if we have little archaeological data to support this. Strabo says that Scarpheia was ten stades from the sea (about 1.8 km) and thirty stades (about 5.5 km.) from Thronium (Str. 9.4.4). On the basis of this information and that supplied by Gell's travels in the early nineteenth century, Pritchett suggested that the city of Scarpheia would be found in the region between the modern towns of Anderas (renamed Skarfeia in recent years) and Molos. Gell's testimony asserts that at 24 minutes' march (about 2.3 km) westwards from Anderas

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91 Pritchett 5.169–171.

92 Buckler 1989: 41–42.

93 Pritchett 4.125–138; it was doubtless its proximity to Thermopylae and its position guarding the passes that justified the construction of the castle and the creation, in 1204 AD of the marquisate of Boudonitza. *Vid.* Miller 1908: 234–236.

there are "vestiges of fortifications crossing the road. These walls are probably connected with the ruins of the town of Scarphia",[94] leading Pritchett to assume that the city was here. Pritchett's mistake was not having considered that Scarpheia could be in the opposite direction, since he devoted himself to exploring the area around the site of the modern town of Scarpheia, and in particular, around the "Thermopylae" telecommunications satellite station, but found no pre-Roman remains.[95] It cannot be ruled out that as the area gradually silted up, the new lands won from the sea were perhaps occupied in the first centuries of the Christian era. It is difficult to know what remains Gell saw in the vicinity of Molos, but they need not necessarily have been fortifications. They could have been port buildings or dikes for controlling the course of the river. Pritchett is right in identifying the river shown on modern Greek maps as the Liapatorema as the ancient Aphamius, the frontier between the cities of Scarpheia and Thronium.[96]

Similarly, and in the area of Molos, the Fourteenth Ephorate has found remains of Roman era tombs,[97] including an important sarcophagus dating to the second-third century AD.[98] These suggest that for the Roman era, at least, although possibly before, Molos was linked to Scarpheia which it could have served as a port, as Oldfather himself had already suggested.[99] This association of Molos with the sea, at least for the Classical or Hellenistic period, would be reinforced by the existence of a building in which there was a frieze depicting the marriage of Amphitrite and a profusion of marine motifs (Nereids, hippocamps, etc.).[100]

Reading Pritchett one gets the impression that Scarpheia had not been found and, even that it never would be, because it was buried under the great mass of alluvial soil in the region.[101] Nothing, however, could be further from the truth.

From his initial evidence on Scarpheia, Pritchett has the information he needs to find its correct location, but does not see it, possibly because of his erroneous interpretation of the surroundings. In fact, on collecting the evidence on Scarpheia he states: "A single inscription with the word Σκ[αρφεῖς]

94 Gell 1827: 236.
95 Pritchett 4.166–167; 5.176–177.
96 Pritchett 6.1989: 116–118; *FD* III, 4.1, 42.
97 Dakoronia 1978a: 137.
98 Dakoronia 1996c: 324–325; 1997: 444–445.
99 Oldfather 1927: 461.
100 Daniel 1904: 56–57; Demangel 1932: 498; Béquignon 1937a: 240.
101 Pritchett 6.116.

has been found in the plain of Molos (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 2038)." It was copied by Lolling who reported that it was located in a region called Trochala, east of a church of Agios Athanasios. The date is of the third century BC Oldfather says that Trochala is "10 minutes south and slightly east of Molo".[102] Thus there is a contradiction in Pritchett's evidence, because if the inscription in question, which would identify the site with Scarpheia was found in Trochala, it cannot be on the plain of Molos. Pritchett's mistake was to look for the city on the modern alluvial plain, instead of to the south of it, in the hills that overlook the plain, which is where the data available to the ancient investigators tended to put it. Thus, Scarpheia is situated in a wide sweep of hills that starts in Trochala, little more that one or two kilometres to the southeast of Molos and overlooking the present national highway,[103] although the city or parts of it extend southwards to the area of Agios Charalambos, covering a considerable area. Our survey of this area detected vast quantities of pottery (those which Pritchett never succeeded in finding) from a great number of periods, including the Archaic, although we cannot establish more precise chronologies in the absence of its systematic study. The necropolis, or at least one of them, was at the foot of the hill, east of it and close to the course of the Aivlassiorema. Remains probably dating to the Archaic Period and also subsequent periods, including the Roman and late Roman era, appear on the surface. In any case, this would attest to Scarpheia importance as one of the main cities that structured the pattern of settlement of Archaic Epicnemidian Locris. It is curious that, despite Buckler's identification (and ours) Pritchett rejects it with the—inaccurate—argument that the pottery on the hill is late Roman and medieval.[104] It may be in some places, but this is not true of other parts of the extensive archaeological area of ancient Scarpheia.

The other major centre of Epicnemidian Locris is the city of Thronium which, as Strabo asserted (9.4.4) and modern observations confirm, was some thirty stades (about 5.5 km) from Scarpheia. It was next to the final stretch of the river Boagrius, just as the Homeric Poems say (*Il.* 2.533) and Strabo confirms (9.4.4). That it was also close to the sea is indicated by the fact that it was affected by the earthquake and tsunami of 426 or in the third century BC in which some nine hundred people perished (Str. 1.3.20). The location of Thronium in the hills on the right bank of the final stretch of the

102 Pritchett 4.167–168.
103 Buckler 1989: 94–96.
104 Pritchett 8.148–150.

Boagrius (now the Platanias) has been known since the eighteenth century, thanks to inscriptions found (*IG* IX 1^2 5:2031).[105] Various pieces of information from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveal the progressive deterioration of the site, with the disappearance of the most visible architectonic remains,[106] so that now hardly any of them are visible on the surface. However, the whole of the area of the ancient city is covered with pottery of different periods, including the Archaic, which testifies to occupation of the hill on which the city was built during this period. There is little doubt that the Geometric necropolis found in the area of the chapel of Agios Dimitrios, next to the national highway, is associated with the population of the area where the *polis* of Thronium would have been. However, we know of few other remains for the Archaic Period.

Thronium was probably already the most important city of Epicnemidian Locris in the Archaic Period, particularly because of its position at the mouth of the Boagrius, which made it possible, by travelling up the river valley and through Naryca, to reach Phocis through the Fontana pass or via Vasilika, a route that, as we know, was the one used by Flamininus in 197 (Livy 33.3.6). Its importance during the Archaic Period would mean it was the first place in Epicnemidian Locris to issue its own silver coinage in the fifth century, perhaps in the first half of that century.[107] It is impossible to know with certainty whether the other points detected in Thronium's territory were occupied in the Archaic Period, either the area of the port (Str. 9.9.9) (probably modern Kamena Vourla), one of the sacred extra-urban areas, near the present monastery of the Metamorphosis tou Sotirou or the chorion on the Trikorfo hill, between the courses of the rivers Boagrius and Aphamius.[108] Only the previously-mentioned necropolis of Agios Dimitrios provides any evidence that the area was inhabited since the Late Protogeometric to the Late Geometric and early Archaic Period. Following the Boagrius upriver, and ignoring the possibility that there may have been ancient remains in Komnina, which is by no means certain,[109] we reach Naryca, which kept watch over the path from Thronium in the north, and the Fontana pass just to the south

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105 Leake 2.177–178; Pritchett 4.151–152.

106 Pritchett 4.152–155.

107 Head *HN*^{2}: 337; Babelon 1914: II.3, 381–384, pl. CCVII, 32.

108 Our survey detected a few ancient surface remains on the western slope of this hill, called Trikorfo or Trilofo. Excavations carried out between 2000–2001 on the northeast slope brought to light remains possibly dating to the Archaic period, and also Neolithic remains. *Vid.* Froussou 2006: 641–656.

109 Pritchett 4.155–156; 5.167–168.

of the ancient city as well as and the roads leading westwards to Mendenitsa and eastwards to the Vasilika pass and the road to Elateia, in Phocis.[110]

The city of Naryca was reputed to be the birthplace of Aias, the leader of the Locrian contingent in Troy (*Il.* 2.527–530) according to authors such as Diodorus (14.82.8), Ovid (*Met.* 14.468) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Νᾶρυξ). According to an inscription from the Hellenistic period (*c.* 280 BC) found in Ozolian Locris (Vitrinitsa, ancient Oeanthea) (*IG* IX 1^2 3: 706), even at this time there was a family or tribe (Serv. *In Aen.* 1.41) in the city of Naryca called *Aianteioi*, and a letter sent by Hadrian to the city (137–138 AD) implies that it was the birthplace of heroes such as Aias, and possibly Oïleus and Lelex.[111] Although we must treat these data with due caution, it does not look as if we should doubt the antiquity of the city of Naryca, apparently steeped in mythical traditions deeply rooted in the Locrian identity.[112]

It was established that the Paleokastro of Rengini was the site of Naryca as early as the 1920s, thanks to the nearby find of an inscription dating to the Roman era that mentions the city.[113] Pritchett covers the city in his studies on ancient topography, recording the remains that were still visible, such as fortifications, tombs, pottery and other material from very different periods, from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine period.[114] In addition, the excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service through the Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in response to clandestine excavations or building work in the area have led to the publication of some tombs of the Hellenistic, Roman, palaeo-Christian era and remains of later structures.[115]

The survey we made on the ground demonstrated that what is usually considered the acropolis had remains of surface pottery from very different periods, including the Archaic. However, one of the most outstanding remains is a partially exposed stretch of wall of polygonal type which appears to have protected the southern part of the acropolis and, possibly, also served as a retaining wall since it gives the impression that only the outside consists of large polygonal blocks. The wall is more than three metres

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110 Pritchett 4.125–138.

111 *SEG* 51.641; Jones 2006: 151–162. I should like to thank Prof. Christopher Jones, who allowed me to see his study before publication and the fruitful exchange of views maintained with him; *vid.* also Knoepfler and Pasquier 2006: 1–34.

112 Domínguez Monedero 2006a: 147–170. An isolated find, perhaps of Geometric date, is mentioned in the chapter 4 of this volume.

113 Pappadakis 1920–1921: part. 141–143.

114 Pritchett 4.108–109; 5.168–169.

115 Dakoronia 1988a: 224–225; Pantos 1990: p. 180, pl. 85 β-γ; Dakoronia 1992a: 201–202.

thick and has a filling of medium-sized stones, reinforced on its inner face with larger and more regular stones, and on the outer, as well as stones of this kind, with large polygonal blocks that are as much as 50 cm thick. Perhaps the polygonal wall of Naryca was one of a number of fortifications that used this technique known at various points in Opuntian Locris (Larymna, Kolaka, Kyparissi, Melidoni, Nyichori, Skanderaga), and which Fossey suggested should be related with the generalised process of fortifying key points of the region in relation with liberation from Thessalian rule[116] although other possibilities have also been advanced, such as that this process can also be seen in other parts of central Greece and its origin must be sought in the process of consolidation of the *polis* from the late seventh century onwards.[117] A close parallel, in geographical terms, with this polygonal or "Lesbian" masonry wall[118] is the Archaic wall of Abae in Phocis, which does not offer many internal elements for dating it either, but whose Archaic or, at the latest, early Classical character, is generally accepted.[119] The only case in the region for which there is any archaeological data are the stretches of polygonal wall found in the Halae excavations. These are considered to have been built in "sixth century or possibly earlier",[120] and the most recent revision considered that their "construction can be reliably assigned to the late 7th or very early 6th century BC", with some later phases of construction but certainly before the second system of fortification (with regular ashlars) that can be dated archaeologically to the early fifth century BC, between 480 and 470.[121]

In the area in which Pritchett suggested the city's theatre might be, to the southeast of the acropolis,[122] no stones are in fact observed, although in the lowest part of this area there are numerous worked stones, that have either fallen from higher up or were brought here for some reason. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing if they belong to buildings of the Archaic Period or later.

In any case, we have considerable evidence for the occupation of Naryca and its importance during the Archaic Period, which is clear from the huge

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116 Bouyia 2000: 67–75.

117 Bouyia 2000: 67–75.

118 Des Courtils 1998: 125–137.

119 McInerney 1999: 341; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004: 129–138.

120 Walker and Goldman 1915: 432.

121 McFadden 2001: 68; *vid.* in any case, Winter 1971: 95–100 on the difficulty of dating many polygonal walls without archaeological data.

122 Pritchett 5.168: "facing the north is what we took to be the semi-circular auditorium of a large theatre, although no stone remains".

polygonal wall, unfortunately exposed to the elements and the pressure of the earth against it, which means that it is deteriorating rapidly without it having, as far as we know, been subject to any archaeological analysis.

The traditions concerning the origin of Aias' city, and its key role in the network of communications between Epicnemidian Locris and Phocis (particularly with the area around Elateia and Abae) and with Thermopylae, either through Thronium or Mendenitsa, clearly show that even during Archaic Period the local inhabitants were interested in controlling the strategic routes.

While, as we saw, towards the west Naryca's basic point of reference is the route that skirts the foothills of the Callidromus and leads to Mendenitsa, to the east it is the communication with the Vasilika pass and, from there, with Phocis, that marks the city's role. It is in this direction that archaeological elements have appeared that demonstrate the importance of this route between Locris and Phocis.

Leaving aside some remains of the Roman era some 2.5 km to the southeast of Naryca, on the route towards the Vasilika pass,[123] there appear to have been a good many finds about two km further east, on the same route. Four fifth century BC pithos tombs were detected in Pisorema, about 4 km east of Naryca.[124] Nearby is St. John's Church, also known as the Ancient church of St. John's (Παλαιοαγιάννη). Much of the façade of the church, and the door jambs have been built from stones worked during Antiquity and on its main façade (the north) there is even the shaft of a column. It seems that a funerary inscription published by Oldfather[125] was found in this area, but Pritchett[126] mistakenly states that an inscription dedicating the city of Naryca to Hadrian published by Pappadakis in 1920–1921 was found here (*IG* IX, 1^2, 5, 2019). The latter author also says it was found beside a church of St. John's, but at the foot of the Paleokastras of Rengini.[127] Just to the south of this church there is a hill where pottery remains from the Archaic and Classical periods were found, and it is possible there were buildings here from which the stones reused for the church were taken.

123 Pritchett 5.173; Adam 2001: 385.
124 Dakoronia 1992a: 202; Adam 2001: 44–45.
125 Oldfather 1915: 335, number 19.
126 Pritchett 5.173.
127 Pappadakis 1920–1921: part. 142: ὑπὸ τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον ἐρειπιῶνα ῾Αγιάννην; cf. Adam 2001: 99.

Finally, a little further east, no more than eight hundred metres away, are the places called Kalyvia and Anivitza (or Anifitsa)[128] where ancient remains have also appeared, including some funerary inscriptions (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 2022, 2034, 2035).[129] Although it is difficult to know exactly what kind of settlement existed here in the various periods of Antiquity, it seems clear that its purpose (as well as farming the area) was to control the route to Vasilika that, from this point onwards, goes in a distinctly southerly direction to cross the Callidromus towards Elateia. The presence of some Archaic materials near the church of Agios Ioannis suggests that from this period onwards the area were occupied by Locrian people, who would have taken advantage of the exchanges between their territory and that of Phocis. Even today the land around Vasilika is worked jointly by the inhabitants of Rengini and those of Elatia.[130] This was no doubt one of the main passes used throughout Antiquity to link the two regions and, in the broadest sense, Thessaly and northern Greece with central Greece, Boeotia and Attica.[131] Locris was also connected with Elateia by another route through the Stena Gremna pass to Karya and from there down the hill to the Monastery of Metamorphosis tou Sotiros of Kamena Vourla and Kamena Vourla itself.[132] Another route goes from Karya southwest to Naryca. There are fourth-century remains beside this route near Karya[133] and we also detected the remains of a small settlement dating to the Classical Period where it goes through the Kato Velona area. This evidence shows that this route was usable, at least for this period, and possibly also in the Archaic Period, although the evidence in the latter case is rather more uncertain.[134]

Continuing inland to the eastern frontier of Epicnemidian Locris, there are signs of another settlement that could have been occupied in the Archaic Period. This is Tachtali or Ities, spread out on the southern slope of Mount Dasos. It is on a route that joins two other routes: its western end joins the road from Elateia to Karya we mentioned earlier and the eastern end, the road from Kalapodi to Zeli and then on to Agnanti and Daphnus.[135] We shall discuss this latter point, and its strategic importance later. It is a

128 Adam 2001: 385–386.
129 Pritchett 4.137; 5.174.
130 Zachos 1997: 75, 153.
131 McInerney 1999: 55–56.
132 Zachos 1997: 139.
133 Zachos 1997: 139.
134 Zachos 1997: 140.
135 Zachos 1997: 138.

little more than 3 km from Tachtali to Agnanti along a road that follows the foothills of Mount Dasos. In the cultivated areas that extend to the south of the present unmade road agricultural work brings to light remains of very different periods, from the Classical to the Byzantine at least. Amongst the pottery remains that can be observed some could come from the very end of the Archaic Period or the very early Classical period. The ancient site may be on the flat area south of the present road, although we have not found any evidence for it beyond what our survey has revealed. So we do not know if there was a city in the area or, on the contrary, a smaller settlement. In any case, while it was inhabited it would have been of some importance, since the cross-country route between the Naryca region and the area around Agnanti and the Dipotamos valley passed through one of the less rugged areas to the south of Mount Cnemis, and although it is uninhabited today, the signs are that, as we have said, it was occupied during Antiquity and later.[136]

In the same way, on Mount Tachtali, in a different place from the one mentioned earlier, south of Agnanti, there are surface remains that extend from the early Helladic to the Hellenistic Period. However, we have found no more specific references to this site.[137]

The last place we shall mention is Daphnus, identified on the heights to the south of Agios Konstantinos,[138] which overlooks what must have been one the Eastern Locrian ports and which remained in use after the city ceased to exist (Str. 9.4.3). As Strabo himself says, the distance between the port of Daphnus and Elateia is 120 stades (= 22 km) inland by foot. This fact is interesting because it demonstrates the relationship that existed between Phocian territory and the Locrian coast,[139] as Strabo remarks in another context. In effect, this author tells us:

> (Phocis) stretches towards the north alongside, nearly from sea to sea; it did so in early times, at least, for in those times Daphnus belonged to Phocis, splitting Locrian into two parts and being placed by geographers midway between the Opuntian Gulf and the coast of the Epicnemidians. The country

136 During part of the Ottoman period, between the late fifteenth century and the late sixteen century, Tachtali was a town of some size, with up to 291 homes and was a prosperous farming community until it was abandoned in the crisis of the seventeenth century. Throughout the whole of that period it was more important that the closest town which still exists, Agnanti; *vid.* Kiel and Sauerwein 1994: 73–74.

137 Kramer-Hajos 2008: 71.

138 Pritchett 4.149–151.

139 Fossey 1990: 11; Zachos 1997: 138.

> now belongs to the Locrians (the town has been razed to the ground), so that even here Phocis no longer extends as far as the Euboean sea. (Str. 9.3.1)

And in another passage, he adds:

> Daphnus is now razed to the ground. It was at one time a city of Phocis, bordering on the Euboean Sea; it divided the Epicnemidian Locrians into two parts, one part in the direction of Boeotia, and the other facing Phocis, which at that time reached from sea to sea. And evidence of this is the Schedieium in Daphnus, which they say, is the tomb of Schedius; but as I have said, Daphnus "split" Locris on either side, so that the Epicnemidian and Opuntian Locrians nowhere bordered on one another; but in later times the place was included within the boundaries of the Opuntians. (Str. 9.3.17)

From Strabo's information it can be gathered that Daphnus originally belonged to the Locrians, but when it was conquered by the Phocians it separated the two parts of Eastern Locris, although subsequently, and clearly before it was destroyed, it had become part of Opuntian Locris. However, it is difficult to know exactly which period Strabo is referring to and whether that Phocian control was exercised at one particular time or in various periods and for how long in each case. The criticism has been divided between those who claim the Phocians controlled it during the Archaic Period[140] and those who believe this occurred at a time of Phocian expansion during the fourth century, specifically during the time of the Third Sacred War,[141] although none of the campaigns of that war specifically suggest this.[142] The ancient Phocian traditions had included the conflict between the Phocians and the Locrians for possession of Daphnus in their own foundation legends.[143]

Our survey in the area around Daphnus, as well as revealing some blocks of stone and pottery from various periods, although not apparently Archaic, did not detect any other data consistent with occupation. However, excavations carried out by the Fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities south of the site from 2005 to 2007, where a new motorway has been built, have brought to light what was, at least in later times, an Asclepieion. Although the preserved buildings were built in Classical (Building B) and Hellenistic times (Building A) there are remains which show that the area was used for ritual purposes already from the end of the sixth century BC. There were found also a monumental altar, an *eschara* full of ashes

140 Kase and Szemler 1982: 358–259; McInerney 1999: 79–80.
141 Fossey 1990: 141, 182.
142 Buckler 1989.
143 Schol. in Il. 2.517b; Schol. in Eur. Orest. 1094; cf. Ellinger 1993: 36.

and seven *bothroi* next to the later buildings; it seems that the place began as an open-air place-cult. The sanctuary has not been still fully published.[144]

In other sites in Epicnemidian Locris, such as Cnemides,[145] our survey did not detect any remains dating to the Archaic Period. Finally, the river Dipotamos, as well as mount Cnemides itself, must have served as the boundary between Opuntian Locris and Epicnemidia, which must have been established during the period(s) when the Phocians controlled Daphnus.[146]

As Fossey has shown for Opuntian Locris, the Geometric and Archaic Periods were a time of economic and demographic growth in this region[147] and this was no doubt also the case in Epicnemidia which, it is believed, would have experienced similar development at that time, since its inhabitants were members of the same *ethnos*, ruled by the aristocracy of the Hundred Houses, and would have had dealings with each other through sharing the same festivities. This process saw the concentration of the population into larger settlements that would become *poleis* in the course of the eighth or, more probably, seventh century. This was when the Locrians founded a colony in Italy, as mentioned earlier.

Although remains of other kinds (necropoleis, religious buildings, houses) can certainly tell us about the birth of the *poleis*, an important sign that helps us identify them, if only because of what it meant in terms of communal work and availability of resources, is the existence of city walls.[148] Dakoronia, who knows Eastern Locris well, mentions four places where Archaic fortifications have been detected: Anavra, Kastraki or Gardinitsa in Kyparissi, Halae and Atalanti.[149] To this list we should no doubt add Naryca and the polygonal enclosures that Fossey refers to in his analysis of Opuntian Locris. However, virtually no continuous or systematic excavations have been carried out in any of them. Only Atalanti—ancient Opus—has been excavated, and these excavations have been done mainly on an emergency basis, since its ruins are under the modern city[150] and, in particular, Halae, in Agios Ioannis Theologos.

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144 Papakonstantinou forthcoming f, 2009, 2010; Papakonstaninou and Zachos, chapter 3 in this volume.

145 Pritchett 5.187–189.

146 Fossey 1990: 11.

147 Fossey 1990: 107–111; cf. Dakoronia 2002a: 48–55.

148 Ducrey 1995: 245–256; Camp II 2000: 41–57; Hansen 2004: 135–137.

149 Dakoronia 2002a: 59; cf. also Bouyia 2000: 67–75.

150 The progress of these excavations is published regularly in the Chronicles section of the journal *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

Despite the fact that Halae is not in the territory we are studying, we shall stop to consider this city for a moment because it can tell us something about the whole of Eastern Locris' urban structure. The archaeological materials seem to suggest that while other Locrian cities such as the ones mentioned in the Homeric Poems that survived into subsequent periods (Opus, Cynus, Thronium, Scarpheia), if fairly precariously, the same is not true for Halae. Although there are signs of a Protogeometric and Geometric settlement in the vicinity of the Halae site, as the finds on the Mitrou peninsula indicate, which appears to have been occupied only until the Subprotogeometric, little more than traces were found for later periods.[151] The same is true of the Geometric necropolis of Tragana, whose settlement would be in the vicinity and the site of Halae itself, where the Archaic settlement in the acropolis is superimposed, without any intermediate levels of occupation, on a Neolithic settlement. This was detected in the excavations that took place between 1911 and 1935 that uncovered the Archaic city walls and two phases of the temple of Athena and also remains of subsequent phases.[152] The late twentieth-century excavations of the acropolis have confirmed this hiatus between the Neolithic and first Archaic levels of the city.[153] The city emerged as a new foundation in the late seventh or early sixth century at the time when the wall was built, the urban layout determined and the cultic area in at the northwest end of the acropolis established.[154] The acropolis remained in use until it was destroyed at the beginning of the fifth century, and was not reoccupied until the Hellenistic period, although the rest of the city was no doubt still inhabited, to judge by the continuity of the necropolis.[155]

Researchers have proposed different interpretations for the appearance ("foundation") of this city, although they are not mutually exclusive:

> Perhaps the foundation of Halae was a response by Opus, the capital of Eastern Locris, to this era of colonization, reorganization of cities and commercial expansion generally accepted as falling between 850 and 650 BC.[156]

> Its foundation is likely to be connected with increases in trade and communication by sea at that time as a result of Greek colonization in the northern Aegean and the Black Sea area.[157]

151 Kramer-Hajos and O'Neill 2008: 165–250.
152 Goldman 1940: 381–514.
153 Coleman 1992: 273.
154 Coleman 1992: 274–275; Coleman, Wren and Quinn 1999: 298–301.
155 Coleman, Wren and Quinn 1999: 301–313; Haas 1998.
156 Wren 1996: 9.
157 Coleman, Wren and Quinn 1999: 298.

Another hypothesis, which is rather more difficult to accept, is that proposed by Katsonopoulou, who suggests "that the establishment of the Locrians in the region east of Opus was facilitated by the decline of power of their strong neighbours, e.g. the Orchomenians".[158] The region around Halae had in fact been occupied from the Mycenaean period onwards, with continuity up to the Protogeometric (Mitrou) and Geometric (Tragana) periods, so it cannot be said that Locrian occupation began at a particular time, but rather that the forms of occupation changed, and therefore the structures, organisation and size of the settlements changed too.

It is not improbable, then, that Halae was a new foundation and some elements of a possible ritual character found in the excavations could even point to heroic cults in honour of the founder.[159] It would be more difficult to say for certain whether it was founded by Opus or the Locrian *ethnos*. In any case, what happened in Halae may also have occurred in other parts of Locris, including Epicnemidia: the emergence of organised centres of population that provided a structure for complex farming territories when economic conditions began to improve from the eighth century BC onwards. This process of forming *poleis* could have started around the ancient centres that had existed since the Mycenaean era, some of which may have survived, more or less tenuously, through the dark ages, and are referred to in the frequently mentioned and problematic Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, but many others could have developed *ex novo* as a result of the concentration (called "synoecism" by the Greek sources) of communities that had previously been scattered through the surrounding territories.

Halae may have been typical of the process that affected not only Opuntian Locris but also Epicnemidia by which *poleis* gradually appeared and began to introduce a new element into the looser structure that existed previously. The polygonal city walls which, as we saw earlier, started to be built in several of these cities in the course of the sixth century also appeared in Epicnemidian Locris in Naryca. The cities that were consolidating as the Archaic Period advanced would have been sited to take into account, as the pre- or protourban centres of the Geometric Period had done, not only nearby farming resources that would be exploited, but also the new economic possibilities stimulated by more advanced cities such as Corinth or, later, Athens and, not forgetting the regional context: Boeotia, Phocis and Thessaly.

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158 Katsonopoulou 1990: 121.
159 Wren 1996: 60–98.

In this way, coastal communities, such as one of the most important, Cynus, and perhaps Thronium and Scarpheia, were able to take advantage of both factors: the agricultural and the commercial. For its part, Opus, through its relationship with Cynus, always assumed to be its port (Str. 9.4.2), would obviously have been involved in controlling the Atalanti plain and access to the sea. Nevertheless, we should not overlook the fact that recently some authors have tended to place Mycenaean Opus not in modern Atalanti but on the Mitrou peninsula, where surveys[160] and initial excavations have detected continuous occupation from the late Mycenaean to the Protogeometric.[161] If this is confirmed it would demonstrate that the new city that grew up in Atalanti perhaps "inherited" the name and traditions of the Mycenaean Opus of the "Homeric" and dark ages.[162] But in the Geometric Period other coastal settlements, such as Tragana in Opuntian Locris, for example, and others nearby but further inland, such as Anavra in Epicnemidia, began to appear next to these "Homeric" cities. It would be during the seventh century (and perhaps, as has sometimes been suggested, encouraged by the lessons of colonisation) that in addition to these more "traditional" points others appeared, gradually shaping the Archaic pattern of settlement of Eastern Locris.

By the end of the seventh century places such as Halae were emerging on the coast, and this was also perhaps when Thronium and Scarpheia were consolidated in Epicnemidia. If Halae controlled the eastern part of the protected Opus Gulf (Str. 9.4.2; Plin. *NH.* 4.27.3) cities such as Thronium or Scarpheia kept watch on the access to the Gulf of Malis and the Oreus Channel and the northern Aegean. The fame of Locrian pirates, remembered by Thucydides even in 430, seems to have extended to the whole of Locris: "Atalanti also, the desert island off the Opuntian coast, was towards the end of this summer converted into a fortified post by the Athenians, in order to prevent privateers issuing from Opus and the rest of Locris and plundering Euboea" (Th. 2.32). As Thucydides himself tells us, in Greece's remote past

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160 Kramer-Hajos and O'Neill 2008: 163–250.

161 Iezzi 2005: 25–26; Van de Moortel and Zachou 2005: 39–48.

162 Certainly, the finds dating to the Mycenaean age on the site of the modern city of Atalanti seem to be fairly scarce and, at least for the moment, not very consistent: Dakoronia 1993a: 115–127; Dakoronia 1996b: 1167–1173. It has been suggested, although on the basis of little evidence, that the necropolis belonging to Mitrou could be at Tragana, in spite of the distance (3 km.) between the two: Kramer-Hajos 2008: 49, and that Opus in the Mycenaean era must always have been "in or near" Atalanti, despite the lack of archaeological evidence: ibid., p. 107.

piracy was not considered dishonourable by those who practised it but, on the contrary, bore the stamp of glory, as it still did in some parts of Greece (Th. 1.5.1–2) and there is no doubt that the perception of individuals or a group as pirates by others depends on whether or not they benefit from the spoils.[163] It is not clear, however, how the Locrians managed to engage in piracy if, as it would seem, their sea power was so limited that they could only supply seven penteconters for the Greek contingent in the battle of Artemisium of 480 BC (Hdt. 8.1). The penteconter was a ship already behind the times compared with the more modern and powerful triremes, but had proved very serviceable in the past when used, for example, by the Phocaeans for their long voyages (Hdt. 1.163), which combined trade and piracy (cf. Hdt. 1.164–166).

While the Locrians were beginning to control their seaboard with new settlements such as Halae[164] or by consolidating others that had existed since previous times, they did not ignore the hinterland or other points of particular importance. Thus Naryca ultimately controlled one of the main routes that connected the Locrian coast with the heart of Phocian territory, while all the overland traffic between north and central Greece went through Alponus, where the route from Thermopylae was only wide enough for a single carriage (Hdt. 7.176). In the same way, perhaps a similar establishment in Anavra kept watch over the mountain passes, used since time immemorial by those who lived on Mount Oeta to reach the coast. The best known of these was the Anopaea path, used by the Persians, guided by a Malian, in 480 BC (Hdt. 7.213) which connected various places, one of which was Anavra.[165]

Controlling the main points on the coast where ships called to take on supplies and also the key centres of overland communications were two parts of the same strategy. As Katsonopoulou has emphasised, "they possessed good harbours which they seem to have exploited for controlling traffic instead. In a similar way, that is by blocking roads and controlling traffic, they must have exploited the interiors of their countries".[166] What

163 Ferone 1997: 181–187.

164 Kramer-Hajos 2006: 85–92 puts forward the hypothesis that Halae could have emerged by moving to its Archaic site before people came in from the surrounding area. These would have given the new site that pre-existing name, because the name Halae may have been amongst the Mycenaean Tablets of Thebes. However, according to this author Mycenaean Halae's location in Mitrou cannot be asserted with complete certainty either.

165 Burn 1951: 482, 488.

166 Katsonopoulou 1990: 14.

needs to be clarified however—although this task is probably impossible at the moment for lack of data—is whether these sites were chosen by the people who lived in the area and became concentrated through a process of synoecism or if, on the contrary, they were determined by a higher authority, either the Confederacy of the Eastern Locrians, or simply the aristocracy of the Hundred Houses exercising its authority over the Locrian *ethnos*. Since we do not know when the first was organised, perhaps it is more prudent to assume it was the second, if only as a hypothesis.

The subject of the birthplace of Aias could be relevant in the context of the emergence of cities in Archaic Locris. If a series of four successive structures discovered in the Halae excavations have been identified correctly as platforms for some kind of ritual of the heroic type, perhaps in honour of the city's *oikistes*,[167] it would seem that this new city would have taken on some symbolic element that would link it with a real or imaginary past. The impression is that, in contrast with what happened in the colonial world, in Greece itself the *poleis*, apparently more susceptible to the process of synoecism, did not develop under the direction of real individuals converted into heroes on their death but directly by ancient heroes who were attributed with having first organised the *polis*. We do not know who was honoured as the hero who founded Halae, but in the case of Naryca we can well imagine that this honour was attributed to Aias, although the sources are quite meagre in this respect and usually allude to the fact that the hero was born there, as we saw a few pages back, and although the recently published inscription of Hadrian's time (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 2018; *SEG* 51.641) may not corroborate this, it does at least suggests it.[168] There are, however, other legends about the hero that make him a native of Thronium (Eur. *IA*.262–264), which could be due to the fact that at the time Euripides was writing Naryca had become dependent on Thronium or because the Locrian contingent led by Aias would have embarked in Thronium, which was the city on the coast. Finally, festivals were also celebrated in honour of Aias (Aeanteae) around his altar (Schol. *in Pind. Ol.* 9.166) in the city of Opus, which could have been the capital of Aias' kingdom,[169] which suggests that the national hero received special treatment in this city too. This might be connected with its status as federal capital or, perhaps, with its attempt to take over an origin cult of one of the cities of Epicnemidian Locris. In any case, and together with the con-

167 Wren 1996: 60–98.
168 Jones 2006: 156–158.
169 Dakoronia 1993a: 117.

stant appearance of the hero Aias on Locrian silver coins bearing the name of the Opuntians or the Locrians from the fourth century onwards, the city of Scarpheia adopted the same motif when it began minting bronze coins in the first half of the third century[170] and the existence of the Aianteans in Naryca in the third century BC would support the hero's importance for that city.

What we have seen could suggest that in this process of consolidating Locrian political structures from the seventh century BC onwards, heroes such as Aias were appropriated by one or more cities as a way of endowing themselves with illustrious ancestors to emphasise their claims to a certain pre-eminence in the territory as a whole. The processes that took place in these centuries in Opuntian Locris[171] would thus have affected the territory as a whole which, at least during the Archaic Period, would have maintained its political cohesion, perhaps sometimes disturbed by external factors, which we shall return to later.

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170 Georgiou 2009: 81–95; I should like to thank Ms. Georgiou for allowing me to see her work before publication.

171 Fossey 1990: 107–111.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE LATE ARCHAIC PERIOD

Adolfo J. Domínguez Monedero*

The picture we have presented in the previous chapter of Archaic Epicnemidian Locrian settlements is fairly bleak since none of the cities has been scientifically excavated, which means our hypotheses and theories have to be based solely on surface materials, which is always hazardous. Moreover, there is little other direct information apart from the historical data cited in the previous chapter. However, here we shall look at some other material that, although it does not always mention Epicnemidian Locris directly, must have affected it. Finally we shall mention the limited information about the Locrians in one of the major historical events at the close of the Archaic Period, the Persian Wars.

We shall start by considering the relations between the Locrians and the Thessalians. It is true that other than some archaeological materials found in Locrian necropoleis dating to the Geometric, which appear to be of Thessalian origin, or were inspired by them, we have no direct evidence of relations between them. However, Thessalian territory reached practically to the borders of Locris[1] and its presence from the beginning in the Amphictyony of Anthele demonstrates its early interest in the lands on its southern border. These interests would have extended further south after the First Sacred War, in which they played a fundamental role (Polyaen. *Strat.* 6.13; Str. 9.3.4; Schol. *in Pynd. Pyth.* b). In addition to episodes directly involving Phocis, and therefore no doubt Locris too, in the sixth century the Thessalians were frequently active in other parts of Greece, such as Athens, where they had excellent relations with Pisistratus, who even named one of his sons Thessalus (Th. 1.20.2; 6.55.1) or when King Cineas (of Gonnus? of Condea?)[2] sent Hippias aid in the form of 1000 cavalry to fight the Spartans in 510 (Hdt. 5.63–64; Arist. *Ath.* 19.5).

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1 Stählin 1924: 191; Béquignon 1937a: 2, 49; Helly 1995: 140–142.

2 Helly 1995: 103–104.

Compared with their friendly terms with the Athens of the tyrants, the Thessalians had imposed their sovereignty over Phocis and probably also Boeotia, although the surviving sources do not make the exact nature of their rule clear, referring more to the final episodes of their hegemony and the disastrous consequences of Thessalian enmity for the Phocians during Xerxes' invasion (Hdt. 8.27). It was obvious to everyone, then, that for Thessaly to control these territories it also had to control Epicnemidian Locris, site of the Thermopylae pass which was the gateway to those lands, as we shall see later.

It is in relation with Xerxes' invasion that Herodotus mentions, in passing, the long-standing animosity between Thessalians and Phocians: "There had once been a wall across the opening; and in this there had in ancient times been a gateway. These works were made by the Phocians, through fear of the Thessalians, at the time when the latter came from Thesprotia to establish themselves in the land of Aeolis, which they still occupy. As the Thessalians strove to reduce Phocis, the Phocians raised the wall to protect themselves, and likewise turned the hot springs upon the pass, that so the ground might be broken up by watercourses, using thus all possible means to hinder the Thessalians from invading their country. The old wall had been built in very remote times; and the greater part of it had gone to decay through age" (Hdt. 8.176). The period to which Herodotus alludes is, obviously, remote, since it refers to the time when the Thessalians had emigrated from Thesprotia to Thessaly, which would have been after the Trojan war, since the Catalogue of Ships in the Iliad does not mention the Thessalians, although it does refer to part of the territory which would later be Thessaly and tribes such as the Perrhaebeans and the Aeniaeans still lived around Dodona (*Il.* 2.750–751).[3] Thucydides (1.12.3) claims that the Boeotians emigrated from Thessaly sixty years after the Trojan war and Diodorus (4.67.2) says that what would later be called Thessaly was called Aeolis at that time (cf. Paus. 10.8.4). On the basis of these dates it would be difficult to accept that this wall was Phocian, although once they had thrown off the Thessalian yoke, the Phocians would probably have put the origin of their conflict in the remote past, and have commemorated it with great offerings at Delphi (Paus. 10.1.10).

If we interpret Herodotus' information from a more "rationalist" perspective, we might assume that at some point in the sixth century, and perhaps

[3] Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 149; Hall 2002: 152. On the problems raised by the Thessalian case in the *Catalogue of Ships*, *vid.* Giovannini 1969: 34–40 and Helly 1995: 69–96, sometimes taking a position opposed to that of Giovannini.

faced with the inaction of the Locrians, who were not the target of the Thessalians or may even have been their allies or collaborators (as perhaps they continued to be in 480: Hdt. 7.132), Herodotus thought that the Phocians built a wall at Thermopylae to try to prevent one of the Thessalian incursions. Some of the ancient authors' accounts, even when written long after the events, convey something of the way they saw the relationship between the Thessalians, Thermopylae and the Phocians. Hence, for example, the following account by Strabo "Elateia is [famous] because it is the largest of all the cities there, and has the most advantageous position, because it is situated in the narrow passes and because he who holds this city holds the passes leading into Phocis and Boeotia. For, first, there are the Oetaean Mountains; and then those of the Locrians and Phocians, which are not everywhere passable to invaders from Thessaly, but have passes, both narrow and separated from one another, which are guarded by the adjacent cities; and the result is, that when these cities are captured, their captors master the passes also." (Str. 9.3.2, which can be complemented with 9.3.15, which says that Elateia commands the passes from Thessaly). However, we should not lose sight of the fact that, as Strabo himself observes, Thermopylae allowed invasions from Thessaly into the land of the Locrians, not directly into Phocis (Str. 9.4.12) and that according to many authors Thermopylae was in Thessaly (for example, Schol. *in Eur. Orest.* 1094).

It hardly needs saying that today we reject the hypothesis put forward by the Phocis-Doris Expedition, which believed that Thermopylae was closed to traffic until the fifth century[4] as other authors have done,[5] and even those who expounded this theory subsequently recognised that it was impossible to demonstrate.[6]

From what has been said so far it would seem clear that the occupation and possible fortification of the Thermopylae pass by the Phocians was undertaken to keep out the Thessalians and perhaps also the Locrians themselves, who may not have raised any objections to them passing through. In this respect, the excavations carried out by Marinatos in 1939 raise some problems, but perhaps also the solution.[7] Apparently, the wall would have faced south, which would not make much sense for repelling an enemy such as the Thessalians coming from the north, despite the efforts that the

4 Szemler 1991: 76–77; Cherf 2001: 355–361.
5 Pritchett 5.190–216.
6 Kraft, Rapp, Szemler, Tziavos and Kase 1987: 181–198.
7 Marinatos 1940: 333–341.

excavator and Pritchett, amongst others, have made to fit the material remains to Herodotus' text.[8] However, Pritchett has no alternative but to recognise the evidence and say that "the defenders of the tower and of the wall had their backs to the north, i.e., to Thessaly. Their faces were toward Phocis"[9] and at the same time he observes that "the ancient road ascended the so-called Phocian wall hill (56 m) *south* of the preserved wall along the side of the mountain".[10] So, contrary to ideas that are still sometimes maintained, the wall did not block the way, but controlled it from the north,[11] which would appear to undermine the claim that it was Phocian. It is true that no conclusive proof was found as to its date beyond stating that it was a polygonal wall, which would suggest a date in the Archaic Period. The reason I have stopped to point out something not usually taken into account, the early dating that Herodotus attributes to the wall and which corresponds to the era of migrations, is to demonstrate that he would not appear to have had reliable data about the time the wall was built and so could have been tempted to regard it as built by the Phocians in view of the (probably recent) fighting between them and the Thessalians; however, because it was a polygonal wall and not very well finished,[12] Herodotus would have put its construction in the remote past. Since it would seem beyond doubt that there was an old wall here (but how old?) that Leonidas used for his defence, this would not have been unreasonable, since Herodotus had assumed that the very ancient fortifications in the pass had been built by the Phocians to defend themselves against the Thessalians, as he reasserts in a later passage (Hdt. 7.215).[13] With regard to the direction it faced, I do not think it was built (or restored) by the Trachinians after the Persian Wars to protect themselves against the Locrians, as Kirsten has suggested,[14] but there is no reason why

[8] Pritchett 1958: 203–213.

[9] Pritchett 1958: 212.

[10] Pritchett 5.208; cf. Marinatos 1940: 336: "Wenn wir aber auf Grund einiger Stützmauern annehmen dürfen, daß die alte Straße dicht unter der Mauer verlief, so erklärt sich nicht nur jene Tatsache, sondern auch die west-östliche Richtung der Festung".

[11] Meyer 1956: 105: "Immerhin erklärt sich diese Frontstellung auch, wenn wir das erhaltene Stück der Mauer nicht als eigentliche Sperrmauer auffassen, sondern als Festung über der Straße zu ihrer Beherrschung".

[12] Pritchett 1958: 212–213: "The stones often do not fit closely together; the joints are sometimes quite open. The masonry is of a very rough Lesbian style; portions are of a rubble type".

[13] If, moreover, as Bury 1895–1896: 83, suggests, Herodotus did not personally know the place, the specific details may have escaped him because they were not the subject to his "autopsy"; however, not all authors share this view. In this respect see Hammond 1996: 12.

[14] Cited by Pritchett 1958: 212.

the Phocians would necessarily have built it during their revolt against the Thessalians shortly before the Persian Wars, as McInerney thinks.[15] This wall, possibly overlooking the road that ran along the foot of it and out towards the mountain, makes sense if enemies were not expected to come along the road, but from inland, so it could well have been built by the Locrians or even the Thessalians to keep watch against threats to those who used the pass. Such a threat could have come from the Phocians themselves,[16] whose territory extended almost to that very area, according to Herodotus, who says that in the battle of 480 they defended their own country from the position they occupied to cut off the pass from Hydarnes' troops (ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην) (Hdt. 7.217). The apparent ignorance of the Greeks of the existence of the Anopaea path until the Trachinians told them about it (Hdt. 7.175) is also suspicious, when we know that the Phocians sent a thousand hoplites to Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.203) and it was the Phocians who were responsible for defending this path, being stationed on the highest part of it where they could be deployed for a battle on open ground (Hdt. 7.212, 217–218). This shows that of all the Greeks present at Thermopylae the Phocians not only knew the path existed, but that they also knew the best place on it for confronting an enemy force, which is hardly surprising since, as we have just seen, they were on home ground. It is also rather suspect that the Thessalian troops with the Persians (Hdt. 8.31) would not have known the paths that would enable them to outflank Leonidas and his men,[17] particularly when they included Thorax, who was a member of the Aleuad *genos* (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F 13) and no doubt hostile to the Phocians.[18]

The suggestion that the purpose of the so-called Phocian wall needs to be reconsidered and its construction attributed to the Thessalians (or the Locrians) is no more than a hypothesis, but in view of Herodotus' chronology of the wall and the circumstances of its construction, I see no reason why we should accord him absolute authority on this point and its very orientation would make it difficult to keep out an invasion from the north. Of course, this means rejecting Herodotus' account, which always

15 McInerney 1999: 175.

16 This idea has already been suggested by Marinatos (cited by Pritchett 1958: 212): "das heisst als ob die Mauer von den Thessaliern gegen die Phokier errichtet worden sei".

17 Some modern authors claim that Xerxes knew of the pass in advance; *vid.*, for example, Munro 1902: 312–313; Maurice 1930: 235; Hignett 1963: 145. Others, however, reject this, for example Green 1996: 138.

18 Westlake 1936: 22.

raises problems, but it is well known that not all his data are reliable, as some authors have argued (sometimes to excess).[19] It is even possible that the Phocians themselves ultimately appropriated its construction as part of the creation of their anti-Thessalian "National Legend".[20] Presumably when Leonidas rebuilt the wall (Hdt. 7.176.4) he would have tried to overcome this initial disadvantage, although it is clear that the wall served only to protect the defenders when they were not fighting since the Greeks were not trying to make it the key to their defence since they left it to fight the Persians in the pass itself (Hdt. 7.223.2–3). Furthermore, as modern surveys have demonstrated, there are many walls and remains of fortifications along the whole of this western stretch of the Callidromus,[21] perhaps relating to various other passes through the mountains as well as the Anopaea path, that are mentioned by the Byzantine writer Procopius (*Goth.* 2.4.10; *Aed.* 4.2.7–8) and also Pausanias (10.22.8).

This said, Herodotus was well aware of the rivalries and even hatred between the Thessalian and the Phocians (Hdt. 8.27.1) so his explanation of the wall is reasonable enough although, as we say, his information about its construction was not necessarily accurate. The enmity between the Thessalians and the Phocians was also known to other authors, as one of the annotations to the Iliad demonstrates: "In ancient times the Phocians had had disputes with the Thessalians; for this reason the Phocians occupied Thermopylae: certainly, they control the entrance from Thessaly" (*Schol. T in Hom. Il.* 13.302).

So if Thermopylae played an important role in the relations between the Thessalians and the Phocians, it would have been difficult for Locris, and particularly the part of it closest to the strategic pass, to have been uninvolved. Herodotus tells us, to explain the hatred between Phocians and Thessalians that "not many years before this invasion of Greece by Xerxes, the Thessalians, together with their allies, invaded Phocis with all their forces, but were defeated by the Phocians in an engagement in which they suffered a serious reverse" (Hdt. 8.27.2). We do not know how long before

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19 *Vid.*, for example, Evans 1968: 11–17; Fehling 1989. *Contra* Pritchett 1993. See also Szemler *et alii* 1996: 51–53 and, lastly, Domínguez Monedero 2011: 59–72.

20 Cf. Ellinger 1993: 208–212. This author makes sense, within his structuralist analysis, of the opposition between this wall and the hidden ditch mentioned in another account of the wars between the Phocians and Thessalians, which will be mentioned later and which would all form part of that Phocian "National Legend".

21 MacKay 1963: 241–255; on the dating of at least one of them to the time of Justinian; *vid.* Cherf 1984: 594–598.

the invasion Herodotus is talking about, since he says no more on the matter, but he does indicate that it was the most recent of the reverses that the Thessalians suffered in Phocis, so, although he mentions it first, the order of events is that given by Pausanias. This Phocian victory reported by Herodotus involved a stratagem in which six hundred Phocian foot soldiers smeared themselves and their weapons with chalk and under cover of darkness attacked the Thessalians who fled terrified, leaving four thousand dead behind them (Hdt. 8.27.3–5). Polyaenus (*Strat.* 6.18) says that the Phocians were under siege in Parnassus, while Pausanias, who reduces the number of Phocians involved to five hundred, puts the action at the "gates of Phocis" (Paus. 10.1.11).

Herodotus and Pausanias also relate another episode in this or another war, this time involving the Thessalian cavalry, which had invaded Phocis and had already reached the defile near Hyampolis. In this case the Phocians dug a trench which was filled with empty wine jars, and covered them with earth, so that when the horses charged over them they broke their legs in the trap (Hdt. 8.28). Pausanias, who relates this episode before the other one which we will comment on later, in chronological order, agrees that it took place in Hyampolis, although he says that the Phocians were expecting the Thessalians to invade their land, and instead of wine jars says the Phocians used water-pots to lay their trap (Paus. 10.1.3).

After this episode and before relating the one about the night attack by the Phocians covered in chalk, Pausanias mentions another cause of conflict with the Thessalians. On this occasion it seems that the Thessalian threat was immense, since, according to Pausanias "they gathered together forces from all the cities and marched against Phocis". After the death of the advance guard sent by the Phocians, "the latter gathered together in one spot their women, children, movable property, and also their clothes, gold, silver and images of the gods, and making a vast pyre they left in charge a force of thirty men". If the Phocians lost the battle, this squad had orders to kill the women and children and throw them all onto the pyre. In the battle, spurred on by this threat, the Phocians achieved victory (Paus. 10.1.4–9). Plutarch in his brief treatise, "On the virtues of women", furnishes one more piece of information: firstly he tells us the cause of the wars, namely that the Phocians had overthrown the Thessalian tyrants and governors from their cities, which led to the death of the two hundred and fifty Phocian hostages held by the Thessalians and the consequent Thessalian invasion. On the other hand, he gives us a significant detail, which is already implied by what we have seen so far, but that Plutarch states explicitly, and that is that the whole Thessalian army crossed Locris and reached a place near Cleonae

of Hyampolis where the battle was fought. Plutarch also relates, although with slight variation, the episode of concentrating the women and children in one place to be burnt on a pyre if they were defeated, although he says that the women and children voted in favour of the decision (Plu. *Mor.* 244 A–E; also Polyaen. *Strat.* 8.65). From the list of Phocian offerings in Delphi given by Pausanias (10.13.4–7) Larsen argues convincingly[22] that these three accounts relate to three different battles.

I shall not be looking at these wars in any greater detail because they do not directly affect the subject of this chapter,[23] but would just say that according to Herodotus they occurred not long before the Persian Wars, so for this author they are the key that explains the behaviour of the Thessalians and Phocians during the Persian invasions.

Some authors have assumed that the conflicts between Phocians and Thessalians could have been related with the disputes that the Thessalians also had throughout the sixth century in Boeotia, where the battle of Ceressus would have marked the end of Thessalian rule over that country, and perhaps also led to Phocian rebellion.[24] We know very little about the battle of Ceressus and even the date for it given by Plutarch has been considered suspect. For this author both this battle and that of Leuctra took place on the 5th of the Boeotian month of Hippodromius, that is, at the beginning of the summer, but about two hundred years apart. Since Leuctra took place in 371, Ceressus would have been fought some time before 571, although Plutarch's other reference to it seems to suggest a much more recent date (Plu. *Mor.* 866 F).

Whether or not there was any connection between the Thessalians' conflicts with the Boeotians and their disputes with the Phocians, many authors have suggested they share a common link, and have claimed that "probabilmente la Locride cadde sotto il controllo della Tessaglia, insieme alla Focide e alla Beozia occidentale, negli ultimi decenni del VII secolo, e presumibilmente riconquistò l'independenza all'incirca nello stesso periodo della Beozia".[25] In any case, the thorny problem is still the chronology, depending on whether one accepts early Thessalian domination (which would have to be defined) of Eastern Locris, Phocis and Boeotia, which would have started to decline from the first quarter of the sixth century or, on the contrary, later

22 Larsen 1960: 231–232.

23 On the shaping of a "Phocian national legend" based on these accounts, *vid.* Ellinger 1993.

24 Sordi 1958: 88; Lehmann 1983: 40; cf. Hall 2002: 142.

25 Buck 1996: 874; cf. Fossey 1990: 140.

domination that would have lasted for part of the sixth century and ended shortly before Xerxes' invasion,[26] with various qualifications when establishing chronological markers for this period.[27] In any case, the role of Eastern Locris in Thessaly's ability to control Phocis and Boeotia would seem to be beyond question, since the Thessalians had to cross Eastern Locris to reach these lands.

Fossey has observed that "although Opuntian Locris is not clearly mentioned in the context of the Thessalian hegemony she can plainly not have escaped there from; not only were the surrounding areas of Phocis and North Western Boeotia (essentially the Copaïs) under Thessalian control but also the approach used by the Thessalians into Phocis on at least one occasion was by the pass of Hyampolis to which they can only have gained access from the plain of Atalanti, the Opuntian heartland. There are, therefore, good *a priori* reasons for assuming that Eastern Locris fell under the Thessalian domination until its gradual collapse in the earlier 6th century BC".[28] For this reason he considers that Thessalian hegemony was imposed earlier rather than later, but also ended at an early date and he linked Locris' liberation with an ambitious programme of fortification that resulted in many walls built using the polygonal or Lesbian technique that he detected in Opuntian Locris.[29]

Without wishing to belabour the problem of chronology, I should like here to look at the question of Eastern Locris' involvement in these confrontations between Thessaly and Phocis, since Thessaly could only invade Phocis through Locris, as Plutarch specifically says (Plu. *Mor.* 244 A–E) in his account of one of the conflicts. On the other hand, and although I think that the nature of Thessalian domination of Locris still has to be defined more clearly, its very existence opened the way for Thessalian access to Phocis. Of course, since this route goes through Thermopylae and Eastern Locris, the Phocians would have liked to block the pass with a wall, but the Thessalians would have wanted to keep it open for their troops, and, as we saw earlier, that wall was designed not for preventing access from the north, but to prevent access from the Callidromus, to the south.

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26 Sordi 1958: 85–90; cf. however, Larsen 1960: 230–231.

27 Buck 1972: 96, 100, which puts the beginning of Thessalian control over Phocian around the mid-sixth century and the battle of Ceressus about 520 BC; Buck 1979: 107–117. *Vid.* a criticism in Ducat 1973: 66–67.

28 Fossey 1990: 140–141. In a similar vein, *vid.* Helly 1995: 140–142.

29 Fossey 1990: 141.

In any case, Locris must either have been under Thessalian control[30] or was an ally of the Thessalians against the Phocians, which seems more likely. We shall return to this subject later. As we saw, Fossey, following the general view,[31] favours the so-called "coast route" for Thessalian movements towards Phocis. This would mean the Phocians crossed the whole of Eastern Locris along the coast until they reached the Atalanti plain (ancient Opus) and from there invaded Phocis through the Hyampolis pass. Pritchett in particular, in an extensive analysis, has shown how impractical using this alleged coastal route would been, particularly for armies with their baggage trains, and there is in any case little evidence for its use in the sources;[32] subsequent works have confirmed this view.[33]

Zachos, in my opinion correctly, demonstrates the important role played by Elateia in the territorial structure of Phocis, and his study of the routes used for communications demonstrates the importance of this Phocian city as a focal point for traffic from Eastern Locris. He establishes Thessalian troop movements in the campaigns leading up to the defeat of Hyampolis using routes he calls 1B, 1Γ and 3A, which are sections of the main route from Naryca to Elateia through Vasilika and from Elateia to Kalapodi either northeast through Zeli or going southeast, to take the road to Hyampolis and Orchomenus from Kalapodi (Paus. 10.35.1).[34]

If this analysis is correct, the part of Eastern Locris that would have done most to help the Thessalians would have been Epicnemidian Locris, even though the whole of Locris would probably have the benefited from this support. As we do not know when or how the Confederacy emerged[35] we cannot say whether this was the policy of a federal state or even whether all the Locrians unanimously agreed on the aid to be given to Thessaly. At any rate, the Epicnemidian Locrians at least seem to have supported Thessaly's policy of imposing its hegemony over the Phocians because they would, in

30 Buck 1996: 874; Hall 2002: 144.

31 Larsen 1960: 232–234.

32 Pritchett 4.1982: 123–175; 5.1985: 175–176.

33 Buckler 1989: 33–36; McInerney 1999: 332–339; however, on p. 175 he considers the coast road "easy". Other authors, however, have continued to defend this "coast road" from Thermopylae to Hyampolis: Ellinger 1993: 22–23.

34 Zachos 1997: 137–143.

35 In the work by Larsen 1968: 48–58 no data are given about its origin, saying only that "the Eastern Locrians in the first half of the fifth century had a federal organization decidedly advanced for that time"; for its part, the other general and more recent work on the federal states, that of Beck 1997: 27–28 does not devote any specific space to the Locrians due to lack of information for the Archaic Period.

principle, have gained from it. We could postulate an alliance between the aristocratic Thessalian Confederacy and a firmly aristocratic Locrian society, whether it was organised as a Confederacy at that time or subject to the control of the Hundred Houses. This is the kind of alliance that the Thessalians would have entered into with Pisistratus and his sons (considered σύμμαχοι in Hdt. 5.63) and that it perhaps tried, unsuccessfully, to impose in Phocis (references to tyrants, possibly supported by the Thessalians).

The sources do not provide any direct information about conflict between the Thessalians and the Epicnemidian Locrians in the Archaic Period but we do hear of conflicts or hostility between the Locrians and the Phocians.[36] The main reason for the enmity between them was the question of Daphnus. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Phocians had occupied (or founded?) the city of Daphnus, which separated the two parts of Eastern Locris, so they did not touch, according to Strabo (9.3.17). When he refers to the port of Daphnus (the city had been razed to the ground) in another passage, he gives its distance by sea from Cynus and overland from Elateia, which was one hundred and twenty stades inland (Str. 9.4.3). Clearly, the Phocians used the corridor of the river Dipotamos not just to give them access to the sea but also to separate the two parts of Eastern Locris.[37] As we also saw in the previous chapter, exactly when Phocians occupied Daphnus is still the subject of debate, but in principle this could have happened in the Archaic Period, although we cannot dismiss the possibility of the Phocians trying, with or without success, to occupy it again[38] during the Third Sacred War. However, there is no evidence of this in the surviving literary sources.[39]

Mythical Phocian traditions also implied control over Daphnus and, according to Strabo (9.3.17), it was the site of the tomb of Schedius, the hero who commanded the Phocian forces that fought in Troy (*Il.* 2.517). However, they also describe a previous generation of heroes involved in the conflict, since we know that Ornytus, father of Phocus, in alliance with the inhabitants of Hyampolis, was said to have fought and conquered the Opuntian Locrians to take possession of Daphnus (Schol. *in Il.* 2.517b; Schol. *in Eur. Orest.* 1094). Even in Antiquity it was assumed that Phocian control of

36 Even in fields that could be considered more anecdotal, such as the absence of Locrian coins in the Phocian sanctuary of Kalapodi, despite the abundance of Phocian coins and the proximity of Locrian territory to the sanctuary: Ellinger 1993: 35–36.

37 Fossey 1990: 7, 11.

38 Fossey 1990: 141.

39 See on this issue chapter 3 in this book.

Daphnus would have related to a time when they had defeated the Thessalians, perhaps after the battle of Cleonae to which we have also referred, and the aim of taking the city was to avoid further Thessalian attacks.[40] One gets the impression that, after the Thessalians relaxed their hold on Phocis, the Locrians, now unprotected, found they were the target of Phocian reprisals, perhaps not so much to gain access to the Euboean Gulf as to weaken their enemies by preventing overland communications between them. Sites such as Agnanti or Zeli, on the route that joined Daphnus with Elateia and Kalapodi, would be key points linking Phocis with its access to the sea and would, as Strabo says, also have prevented direct overland communication between the two halves of Eastern Locris, which may have been the Phocians' main intention. Maybe they hoped in this way to avoid the risk of confronting a pincer movement by their enemies invading through one of the Callidromus passes and the pass of Hyampolis. The imprecise chronology prevents us knowing when Daphnus was occupied since it would depend on the dates of Thessalian hegemony over Phocis; it could have been in the mid-sixth century, if we accept an early date for the battle of Ceressus, which presumably triggered the Phocian reaction or, perhaps at the end of the sixth century if Thessalian domination continued until this time. In any case, the intervention of a thousand Thessalian horsemen in Athens in 510 to help Hippias against the Spartan king Cleomenes I (Hdt. 5.63–64; Arist. *Ath.* 19.5) must have meant that the way from Thessaly to Athens, and also the way back, was open through both Boeotia and Locris, which is incompatible with Phocian occupation of Daphnus. So either Daphnus had not fallen into Phocian hands by 510, or, on the contrary, the Phocians had already been dislodged by then, unless we assume that it could have been occupied at different times. In this respect, it should be remembered that when Strabo, on the basis of the account by Demetrius of Callatis, talks about the earthquake followed by a tsunami in 426 BC, Daphnus was part of Phocis, not Locris (Str. 9.3.20)—although this date has been questioned recently[41]—and in the Roman era (Plin. *NH.* 4.27.4) it was a Phocian coastal city. More problematic is the fact that it is not included in the periplus of the Pseudo-Skylax amongst either the Locrian or Phocian cities, since the latter include Thronium and Cnemis, showing that this part of the periplus (§ 61) was composed or inserted in the fourth century, a topic which

40 Oldfather 1926: 1198; McInerney, 1999: 80.

41 On this seismic event mentioned by Strabo possibly not dating to 426 but to the second half of the third century BC, *vid.* Papaioannou, Papadopoulos and Pavlides 2004: 1477–1481.

has generated abundant discussions which we shall not enter into here.[42] Although we can extract little information from an *argumentum ex silentio* the fact that Daphnus does not appear in this periplus perhaps suggests that it had already been destroyed by this time and that not even its harbour was used, as it had been earlier, as Strabo informs us (9.4.3). Neither do we know when the city was destroyed or when it once again formed part of Locrian territory. (Str. 9.3.1, 7, 4.3).

At present we can only hope that the full publication of the emergency excavations undertaken by the Fourteenth Ephorate in 2005 and 2007 will help resolve the many question marks still hanging over the history of Daphnus.

From the scarce historical data that our sources provide we can mention the participation of the Eastern Locrians in a joint enterprise involving all the Hypocnemidians to send reinforcements to the Ozolian Locrian city of Naupactus. The information comes from an inscription on bronze that was found in the ancient Ozolian Locrian city of Chalaeum, (modern-day Galaxidi) (*IG* IX 1^2 3: 718) and on which the bibliography is extraordinarily extensive.[43] Its chronology is not certain, although Jeffery has proposed, on the basis of palaeographic criteria, that this took place between 500 and 475[44] and all the commentators agree that it must be before the Athenians established a contingent of Messenians in Naupactus sometime between 460 and 455 (Th. 1.103.3). Without wishing to enter into the various questions raised by that text here, we can make some observations. Perhaps the first should concern whether the Epicnemidian Locrians were involved in sending reinforcements or additional colonists (ἔποικοι) to Naupactus. The tablet refers to the "Hypocnemidian Locrians" and to the "West Locrians" as the two major blocks of inhabitants. In each region the cities have their functions, although in the case of West Locris the only city mentioned is Naupactus, the city being repopulated. The cities charge taxes and not paying them is enough to exclude the individual from the community of the Locrians (clause B), which no doubt meant losing his political rights in both

42 Fabré 1965: 353–366; Peretti 1979: 480–482. A problem in the transmission of the text has been suggested by Nielsen 2000: 108 according to which Thronium could be a corruption of Teithronium, undoubtedly a Phocian city but too far inland, in my opinion, to appear in the list of the periplus and not as important as the other Phocian cities that are included, Elateia and Panopeus.

43 We shall only mention some of the titles that have dealt with important aspects of the heading: Lerat 1952: II.198–209; Larsen 1968: 45–58; Meiggs and Lewis 1988: 35–40 number 20; Van Effenterre and Ruze 1994: 178–185.

44 Jeffery 1990: 104–106.

Locris. In Hypocnemidian Locris it was also the cities that had the power to bestow rights on their citizens (clauses Δ and E), although the capacity to pass judgement lay in Opus, at least in certain cases, (clause Z), probably those that affected the rights and obligations of the colonists in relation to Naupactus, since the enterprise was not that of each individual city but the Hypocnemidian Locrians as a whole. All this is reinforced in the last clause (Θ) which establishes the assembly of the thousand in Opus and the assembly of the colonists in Naupactus as bodies of equal standing for taking decisions in relation to the loss of political rights and the associated confiscation of property.

The first clause (A) is very interesting because, after giving some general details in the preamble, in which the colony of Naupactus is always referred to as being established or resettled by the Hypocnemidian Locrians, it states that the colonists in Naupactus are required on oath not to cause or incite the Opuntians' revolt or defection (ἀπόστασις) and they must mutually renew this after thirty years. It seems then, from this and other evidence, that the Opuntians and Hypocnemidians are referring to it from the political point of view, that is, to the Confederacy of the Hypocnemidian Locrians, which would cover the whole of Eastern Locris, whose capital and political centre was the city of Opus, which, as Nielsen has suggested "occupied a position of dominance within the Hypocnemidian League broadly similar to that occupied by Thebes within the Boeotian Confederacy".[45] At least in the final years of the Archaic Period, therefore, the city of Opus ruled and represented the Eastern Locrians, including the Epicnemidians if they were not already members of the Confederacy. Strabo's reference to the inscription at Thermopylae commemorating the Locrians who fell during Xerxes' invasion, and to which we shall return later, recognises this preeminence of Opus amongst the Locrians (Str. 9.1.4) and, as we shall also see, the Epicnemidians obviously played a part in this war, so they were also mentioned in the inscription.

However, another disputed point relates to the reference in the Galaxidi inscription to a body called "the assembly of the thousand Opuntians" (hοποντίον χιλίον πλέθαι) (ll. 39–40) traditionally interpreted as the federal assembly of the Confederacy,[46] although some authors, without ruling this out completely, have voiced their doubts;[47] at any rate Beck's argument that

[45] Nielsen 2000: 112–113; cf. Walter 1993: 132–136, 215, which observes how in Eastern Locris a federal state is combined with different levels of membership.

[46] Larsen 1968: 52–53.

[47] Nielsen 2000: 114–115.

the Hypocnemidian Locrian cities were organised politically into a federal assembly consisting of the "Thousand Opuntians" seems fairly convincing and he may be right too in seeing it as being aristocratic in origin.[48]

Sometimes this figure of a "Thousand Opuntians" has been related with the contingent that the Locrians supplied to the army stationed in Thermopylae, under Leonidas' command, to hold off the Persian invasion in 480 and which Diodorus says consisted of a thousand hoplites (Diod. 11.4.7); this may correspond with the observation by Herodotus (7.203) that they took all their troops (πανστρατιῇ). However, the tradition is not unanimous as we shall see in due course. Thus, even though the action described in the Galaxidi text and the Thermopylae campaign could have taken place at about the same time this does not mean that there was a direct relationship between the thousand hoplites who took part in that military campaign and the Thousand who met in Opus as the Confederacy's leading political body, in which perhaps the aristocracy of the "Hundred Houses" also played a role that we are unable to define.[49]

In this respect, and although it relates to a later date, we cannot fail to note the similarities between a Locrian citizenry limited to those classed as hoplites and the situation in Athens between 411 and 410 when the constitution of the Five Thousand was introduced, restricting the rights enjoyed during the radical democracy when several thousand individuals had full political rights. Under the new constitution, only those capable of procuring hoplite weapons could exercise these rights (Th. 8.97.1; Arist. *Ath.* 34.1). Although this system was introduced in Athens in September 411 and lasted for some ten months,[50] we should not lose sight of the fact that during the immediately preceding period (from June to September 411) when the city was under the clearly oligarchic rule of the Four Hundred, the only citizens considered to have full rights were the five thousand (Th. 8.65.3; Arist. *Ath.* 29.5) called on to attend the assembly when the Four Hundred saw fit (8.67.3) and it seems that the laws enacted were introduced, albeit spuriously, in the name of those Five Thousand (Th. 8.72.1).[51] The constitution established by the Four Hundred was clearly oligarchic, since it gave all the powers to a Council dominated by the oligarchy that would be responsible for the other appointments, while the Five Thousand, in whom sovereignty formally resided, did virtually nothing (Arist. *Ath.* 31–32), as

48 Beck 1999: 53–62.
49 Beck 1999: 60–61.
50 Kagan 1987: 202–205, with the state of the question and previous bibliography.
51 Kagan 1987: 160.

the *Athenian Constitution* itself recognises: "the Four Hundred retaining the direction of affairs entirely in their own hands, and referring nothing to the Five Thousand" (*Ath.* 33.2). The regime of the Five Thousand, highly praised by Thucydides (8.97.2)[52] could be considered the middle road between the excesses of popular democracy and the autocracy of the oligarchs.

Of course, there may have been considerable differences between the system represented by the Thousand in Opuntian Locris and the Five Thousand in Athens, but in both cases they were oligarchic regimes in which only a proportion of the population, classified as hoplites, were recognised as holding full rights. In the case of the regime of the Four Hundred, the oligarchy is radical since it is the body with real power and the Five Thousand are simply a front, while in the regime of the Five Thousand they are who exercise power and the Council (of Five Hundred)[53] has ceased to control the State. We can say little about the Thousand Opuntians beyond the fact that they may have represented the group of Locrian citizens with a hoplite qualification, and we do not know if there was a higher body or council that limited or restricted its power, although Beck has suggested that this may have been the case.[54] If so, the Locrian system could have been, in essence, a limited oligarchy in which certain non-fundamental political tasks were reserved to the assembly of free citizens with a certain economic qualification, although this is something that simply cannot be confirmed. We should not overlook the fact that, as Rhodes has argued, it is possible that the Athenian oligarchs of 411 thought that by expelling the *thetes* from the Assembly they "could make it a responsible body, and should have imagined that their ancestors had had such a responsible assembly".[55] This can be inferred from Aristotle's assertion that, when the regime of the Four Hundred was installed it was also proposed to consult "the ancient laws enacted by Cleisthenes when he created the democracy, in order that they might have these too before them and so be in a position to decide wisely; his suggestion being that the constitution of Cleisthenes was not really democratic, but closely akin to that of Solon" (*Ath.* 29.3).

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[52] Donini 1969; Kirkwood 1972: 92–103.

[53] Kagan 1987: 204.

[54] Beck 1999: 60: "Die (ungefähr) 100 Adelsfamilien bildeten folglich eine ganz OstLocris umwölbende, in 'Koinanes' zusammengeschlossene und durch familiäre Verbindungen vernetzte Führungselite, deren wirtschaftliche Autarkie und traditionelle politische Vorherrschaft bis ins 5. Jh. fortdauerten. Es ist unmöglich, daß diese Familien keinen Zugang zur Institution der "Tausend" hatten".

[55] Rhodes 1972: 125.

In my opinion, what all this shows is that the model that the Athenian oligarchy of the Four Hundred tried to introduce, although by sleight of hand, and that was effectively introduced during the period of the Five Thousand, seems to hark back to a system of ancient laws, which a sector of Athenian society imagined had governed Athens in the very remote past and if reintroduced would allow them to extricate themselves from the disastrous situation currently prevailing in the city. This system implied a limited number of citizens with full rights, namely the hoplites, and the existence of more restricted bodies that would limit any excesses. One gets the impression that similar systems that had developed during the Archaic Period had survived in less socially and politically advanced regions, such as Eastern Locris. Hence it is reasonable to compare the Locrian system with the Athenian regime of the years 411 and 410, since its point of reference, if only at an ideological and symbolic level, is those archaic systems, the πάτριος πολιτεία invoked by the Athenian oligarchs.[56]

Finally, we could end by pointing out that if the Thousand had to meet in Opus, and we do not know how often, the inhabitants of that city and the aristocratic groups that lived there would have found it easier to enforce their decisions. The figure of a thousand may only have been approximate, like the five thousand in Attica at the end of the fifth century,[57] and just an indication of the Greek liking for assigning "round" numbers to their political institutions. There is also evidence of a body in Epizephyrian Locri, perhaps law-giving in character, called the Thousand, which is possibly the same assembly (Polyb. 12.16.10). The fact that this number should appear linked with the (almost) legendary Zaleucus suggests it was an archaic body, of the kind also found in other Greek cities.

Thus in the years around the late sixth and early fifth century, the Eastern Locrians were involved in sending colonial reinforcements to Naupactus, in Ozolian Locris, led by the authorities of Eastern Locris based in Opus. From the inscription that records the episode, we can see how the federal state, doubtless under the hegemony of Opus, intervened in a series of matters, particularly overseas expeditions and affairs and perhaps collecting federal taxes, while other powers were reserved to the Locrian cities, including recognising citizenship and collecting civic taxes, with a distribution of

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56 Cecchin 1969; Mossé 1978: 81–89; Witte 1995. *Vid.*, however, a more sceptical view in Walters 1976: 129–144.

57 In Aristotle, *Ath.* 29.5, 5,000 seems to be a minimum, while Lysias (20.13) says that there were 9,000. Modern commentators suggest even higher figures: Kagan 1987: 203.

duties that is fairly typical of federal states.[58] The existence of a federal assembly and a federal magistrate (ἀρχός) (ll. 41–42) demonstrates, then, mechanisms that were already fairly well developed and that we see in operation during Xerxes' invasion of 480 despite the not very abundant information in the sources about Locrian action.

One of the phases of the second Persian war that greatly affected the Eastern Locrians, and the frontier territory of the Epicnemidians in particular, was when the Thermopylae pass became, if only for a few days, the principal theatre of the war.[59] Although it is possible that not all the Thessalians were on the Persian side before the Greeks decided to abandon the Tempe pass (Hdt. 7.172–174; cf. 7.130), the Aleuad *genos* was firmly aligned with the Persians and, as Herodotus says (7.6), played a major part in Xerxes' decision to launch the invasion.[60] Be that as it may, the plan to garrison Tempe was abandoned and the Thessalians firmly medised even before Xerxes moved into Europe and, once they had decided to give the Persians their support, they "no longer wavered, but warmly espoused the side of the Medes; and afterwards, in the course of the war, they were of the very greatest service to Xerxes" (Hdt. 7.174).[61]

When Xerxes reached Greece, he sent out heralds from Pieria demanding that the Greeks surrender, calling on them to pledge loyalty to the king by bringing him earth and water.[62] Herodotus lists those who agreed to surrender as the Thessalians, Dolopians, Aeniaeans, Perrhaebeans, Locrians, Magnetians, Malians, Achaeans of Phthiotis, Thebans, and Boeotians generally, except those of Plataea and Thespiae. (Hdt. 7.132). Diodorus (11.3.2), who no doubt used a different source,[63] gives two lists, one of those who

[58] Cabanes 1998: 442.

[59] The general bibliography on the Persian Wars is extremely extensive; here I shall mention the main general works on the subject: Grundy 1901; Hignett 1963; Burn 1984; Lazenby 1993; Green 1996.

[60] Westlake 1936: 12–24; a more qualified view in Robertson 1976: 100–120; cf. also Helly 1995: 223–226.

[61] Some authors excuse the Thessalians for their decision, accepting the Thessalian declaration reported by Herodotus (7.172) at face value, such as, for example, Keaveney 1995: 30–38.

[62] It is also possible, as suggested by Hammond 1982: 77–81, that after analysing Herodotus' methods of composition, the Persian emissaries had arrived with their submissions considerably before Xerxes left Sardis.

[63] Ephorus is usually considered the principal source for Diodorus' books 11 to 16: Flower 1998: 365–366 with the previous bibliography and arguments. For his part, Hammond 1996: 4–11, as well as accepting Ephorus as the source for Diodorus, Justin and Plutarch, considers

agreed to submit to the Persians before the end of the Tempe episode (Aeniaeans, Dolopians, Malians, Perrhaebeans and Magnetians) and another of those who did so later (Achaeans of Phthiotis, Locrians, Thessalians and most of the Boeotians). We do not really know which of the two authors was right, but Diodorus' account suggests that some Greeks were prepared to seek terms from the beginning, while others, including the Locrians and, it must be assumed, their more powerful neighbours, the Thessalians and the Boeotians, were waiting to see the outcome of events. In any case, Diodorus' information does not contradict Herodotus' account: that the Thessalian emissaries said that if the Greeks did not help them guard the Tempe pass they would go over to the Persians to survive (Hdt. 7.172). It is thus possible, as Diodorus says, that the Greeks of the North and those of central Greece acceded to the Persians' call to surrender at different times,[64] depending on the progress of the troop movements and diplomatic negotiations, and in which threats from the Hellenic League to states that medised played a part (Hdt. 7.132).[65]

The strategy the Greeks adopted towards the Persians consisted basically of blocking their passage by sea at Artemisium and by land at Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.175), and Herodotus gives a geographical description of both territories, telling us the characteristics of the Thermopylae pass, the Phocian wall, and the location of Alponus, discussed in previous pages. The interesting fact is that, according to Herodotus (7.176), the Greeks intended to use Alponus (which on this occasion he refers to as a village) as a place for provisioning the troops, when earlier in his account (7.132), he asserted that the Locrians had decided to go over to the Persians. The use of Alponus as a logistical centre is reasonable because, as we know, it had a port, but if the Locrians had decided to accept the Persian terms, the only way of using Alponus would have been to take it by force, of which no mention is made by Herodotus. In this context, we need to reconsider the information given by Diodorus, who speaks of the cities of central and northern Greece submitting to Persian conditions at different times, and consider the possibility that the decision to use Alponus as a supply base was taken before the Locrians decided to pledge loyalty to the Persians. Since Herodotus asserts that

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that the former had another fifth-century source who was very knowledgeable about the war, either Damastes of Sigeum, Aristophanes of Boeotia or Charon of Lampsacus.

64 Cf. Buck 1979: 131, who wonders "whether Herodotus in compiling a fairly complete list of medizers ignored chronological constraints, and more particularly whether the Boeotians and the Locrians medized then or after Thermopylae".

65 Hammond 1982: 80–81.

Xerxes was still in Pieria (Hdt. 7.177) when the allies took these decisions at the war council on the Isthmus of Corinth, and also informs us that it was while the king was there that the Persian emissaries set out to seek the surrender of the Greeks of the centre and north of the country (7.132), we can conclude that while the allies at the Isthmus were counting on the Locrians and Alponus, the latter had entered into negotiations with the Persians, just as the Thessalians and Boeotians had done, and would ultimately go over to them.

Having reached this point, it is interesting to compare the various accounts, particularly those of Herodotus and Diodorus. Of course, Herodotus' account, our main source for the battle of Thermopylae, is much more complete and gives many more details, but Diodorus offers a broader synthesis and, as we saw earlier, provides details not found in our main source. Thus, leaving aside Herodotus' many anecdotes and concentrating on the main narrative, he tells us that the after the Greeks had decided on their plan of campaign at the council on the Isthmus, they set out for Thermopylae and Artemisium (7.178). He does not take up the thread again until 7.201 when he says the Greeks were in the pass and then goes on (7.202) to describe the composition of the Greek army, giving their numbers and where the contingents came from (a total 4,200 hoplites). To this he adds that "Besides these troops, the Locrians of Opus and the Phocians obeyed the call of their countrymen and sent, the former all the force they had, the latter a thousand men. For envoys had gone from the Greeks at Thermopylae among the Locrians and Phocians, to call on them for assistance, and to say—'They were themselves but the vanguard of the host, sent to precede the main body, which might every day be expected to follow them' […] Thus urged, the Locrians and the Phocians had come with their troops to Trachis" (Hdt. 7.203).

After recounting the circumstances of how Leonidas had come to the Spartan throne, Herodotus stops to explain how the king explicitly called on the Thebans to swell their ranks to prove whether they were loyal to the Greeks or the Persians: "The Thebans, then, sent troops despite their intentions leaning the other way" (7.205).

Having reached this point we can consider Diodorus' version, which, since it is more succinct, we reproduce: "Leonidas, then, with four thousand soldiers advanced to Thermopylae. The Locrians, however, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the passes had already given earth and water to the Persians, and had promised that they would seize the passes in advance; but when they learned that Leonidas had arrived at Thermopylae, they changed their minds and went over to the Greeks. And there gathered at

Thermopylae also a thousand Locrians, and equal number of Malians, and almost a thousand Phocians, as well as some four hundred Thebans of the other party; for the inhabitants of Thebes were divided against each other with respect to the alliance with the Persians" (Diod. 11.4.6–7).

So we can see there are some subtle differences between the two accounts. Diodorus not only tells us that the Locrians had medised but also that their task was to take control of the passes before the Greeks arrived. Since the Malians had also medised, like the Thessalians and the Boeotians, perhaps the main danger would come from the Phocians. Curiously, Herodotus does not explain in this part of his account why the Phocians behaved as they did, although he does so later when he claims that what motivated the Phocians not to go over to the Persians was that the Thessalians had already done so (Hdt. 8.30) which provokes an interesting criticism in Plutarch (*Mor.* 868 A–F). At any rate, the Phocians do not appear to have formed part of the Hellenic League that met at the Isthmus and neither does their name appear on the serpentine base of the tripod that the allies dedicated in Delphi after the war.[66] We should not overlook the fact that, despite the devastation inflicted on their land (Hdt. 8.31–33), there were Phocian troops fighting on the Persian side in Plataea, although perhaps not of their own free will (Hdt. 9.17, 31).

Locrian participation in the army commanded by Leonidas is not explained by persuasion, as Herodotus suggests, but clearly by the fear inspired by their land being occupied by the allied army, which would presumably be joined later by an even larger contingent. Both carrot and stick probably persuaded the Locrians to abandon their inclination to support the Persians and instead send troops to support the army that Leonidas had brought to their land. As we have seen, Diodorus gives the figure of a thousand hoplites for the Locrians, while Herodotus does not specify any particular number. We do not know where Diodorus obtained his information, but there is no reason to suspect it since other authors who also wrote about this war could have provided it. Pausanias' information is a little different, but it is also quite interesting: "Herodotus does not give the number of the Locrians under Mount Cnemis, but he does say that each of their cities sent a contingent. It is possible, however, to make an estimate of these also that comes very near to the truth. For not more than nine thousand Athenians marched to Marathon, even if we include those who were too old for active

[66] Meiggs and Lewis 1988: 57–60 number 27.

service and slaves; so the number of Locrian fighting men who marched to Thermopylae cannot have exceeded six thousand" (Paus. 10.20.2). This figure is obviously an estimate but perhaps not such an exaggeration as is sometimes thought.[67] Pausanias may have made his own calculations on the basis of Herodotus' assertion that the Locrians brought all their troops (πανστρατιῇ), which Pausanias interprets as an army from all its cities, implying a general mobilisation, as in the Athenian example he gives, of people over recruitment age and slaves. So for Pausanias, who had information lost to us today, rather less than six thousand men would have been a reasonable figure for the whole of the Locrian military capacity in the event of an emergency and, since he seems to accept Herodotus' account literally on this point, his estimate is interesting. Diodorus' figure, which is the one usually accepted and could relate to the Locrian contingent that was actually sent to Thermopylae, could perhaps reveal that the Locrians, who had medised before the allies arrived, may have offered Leonidas just a small part of its potential military strength as the lesser of two evils. The same could be true, as we shall see later, of their contribution to the fleet. Of course, we do not know if there were also different factions in Locris, pro- and anti-Persian, as appears to have been the case in other places, including Thebes.

In fact, with regard to the Theban case, Diodorus' interpretation is more plausible than that of Herodotus, since very few Thebans accompanied Leonidas, and they might represent, as Diodorus suggests, those who, unlike the majority of their fellow citizens, did not support Xerxes.[68] That they remained in Thermopylae until the last minute is more readily understood in Plutarch's account in that, once the battle had been lost, they would not have been well received in a city that had mainly supported the Persians.[69]

Once Leonidas had established his position in the pass, with the Locrians forming part of his army,[70] and confronted with the arrival of the Persians,

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[67] Dascalakis 1962: 10–11.

[68] Munro 1902: 317; Evans 1964: 236–237; Evans 1969: 394. However, Buck 1987: 55–56 e Id., Buck 1979: 130–131, does not consider that this contingent represented a specific political option but was simply, in view of the circumstances, a reasonable part of the federal army, of which the other part would be the Thespian contingent; cf. Buck 1974: 47–48. On the problem of Diodorus/Ephorus' ultimate source, *vid.* Flower 1998: 371–372. For his part, Hammond 1996: 8–9 considers these Thebans, I think mistakenly, to be persophiles.

[69] Munro 1902: 317.

[70] Compared with hypotheses that interpreted the passage in Herodotus (7.203) to mean that a Locrian detachment had been sent to garrison Trachis (Munro 1902: 307, 313) other authors have shown, correctly, that the Locrians must have remained on Leonidas' side, the

Herodotus informs us of the panic that took hold of the Greek army, with the Peloponnesians in particular trying to persuade the king to withdraw to the south, which the Locrians and Phocians who were there opposed indignantly (Hdt. 7.207) because it would have left them unprotected after siding against the Persians. In the end, as we know, Leonidas decided to remain and fought the Persians for two days only to be surrounded on the third by the Immortals, who had flanked the Callidromus by the Anopaea path, and perished together with those who had remained at his side. However, before that the Epicnemidian Locrians contributed to the war effort: Alponus, as envisaged in Hellenic League's initial plans, acted as a logistic and supply centre, and as a field hospital (Hdt. 7.229) and perhaps as a base for Greek messenger ships between the fleet and the defenders of Thermopylae (Hdt. 8.21). Moreover, the Locrians must have been fighting together with the rest of the Greek troops until Leonidas ordered the allies to withdraw (Hdt. 7.222). Herodotus does not give any details about the Locrians in his account and there is no mention of them either in the stelae that, were later erected at Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.228). Strabo, however, does make an interesting comment: "Opus is the metropolis, as is clearly indicated by the inscription on the first of the five pillars in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae, near the Polyandrium: 'Opöeis, metropolis of the Locrians of righteous laws, mourns for these who perished in defence of Greece against the Medes'" (Str. 9.4.2).

The inscription, which the Locrians no doubt erected some time during the fifth century after the end of the war,[71] honoured the Locrians who died during the first two days of fighting.[72] However, the fact that Herodotus does not mention this inscription, the Locrians' initial medism and their participation in the subsequent phases of the war on the Persian side would mean that, for most of the Greeks, the Locrian position would have been at the very least, equivocal.[73] The same could be said of the Locrian contribution to the Greek fleet concentrated in Artemisium and which consisted of seven penteconters (Hdt. 8.1). Of course, it is difficult to know the

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other hypothesis being "impossible, pour ne pas dire absurde" (Dascalakis 1962: 12–13; cf. Labarbe 1954: 4–5).

71 Petrovic 2004: 255–273.

72 And, perhaps, at some other point in the battle, if there is any truth in the old hypothesis of Bury 1895–1896: 102–104. He thought that Hydarnes' troops may also have found some Greek resistance on the way down before they could attack Leonidas from behind. See, however, Burn 1984: 417; Buck 1987: 56–57 who, nevertheless, do not give convincing arguments.

73 Or that they did not have Sparta's support, as suggested in Dascalakis 1962: 178.

military and naval capacity of the Eastern Locrians at the beginning of the fifth century, but we can make a simple comparison: the city of Troezen sent five triremes and the tiny island of Ceos contributed two triremes and two penteconters to the fleet. In terms of the number of men, this implies about a thousand and rather more than five hundred, respectively, while the total number of men on board the Locrian penteconters would have been little more than five hundred. It is also significant that the Locrian contribution consisted of penteconters, a ship no doubt suited to the typical conditions of the Euboean Gulf but clearly obsolete by this time.[74] What we can conclude from this is that, like their contribution of foot soldiers, they made the smallest possible contribution to the fleet, thus keeping a foot in each camp: supporting the Hellenic League because their land had become the battlefield, but keeping as low a profile as possible in case the Persians ultimately won the war.[75] The fate of the seven Locrian penteconters at Artemisium is unknown. Perhaps, as Labarbe suggested, they would not have been directly involved in the battle and would have taken advantage of the occasion, during the voyage from Artemisium to Salamis, to furtively return to their cities of origin.[76]

After the battles of Artemisium and Thermopylae, Herodotus relates the fate of the Phocians and the causes of their hatred for the Thessalians, which we have already mentioned, and Thessalian responsibility for the large-scale devastation suffered by Phocis when the Persian army marched through it (Hdt. 8.27–35).[77] We have no references to the immediate fate of the Locrians. Some authors, mainly on the basis of recent excavations in Halae, which apparently reveal a level of destruction that can be dated to around 480, suggest that the Persian fleet probably destroyed the city, although they do not rule out the possibility that the destruction could have been caused by an earthquake.[78] Certainly, the Persian fleet had to sail along the Locrian coast on its way to Attica, but we have no details of its action in the region, although there are references to incursions in other regions such as Histiaea, for example (Hdt. 8.23). Neither is it clear whether part of the

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74 *Vid.* the interesting observation on the subject in Tarn 1908: 209 on the task of modernising the Persian fleet between their first campaign against Greece in 490 and the second in 480.

75 Wren 1996: 8, n. 15, who is right when she observed that the Locrians caved in to whoever appeared strongest at any particular time.

76 Labarbe 1952: 414.

77 Kase and Szemler 1982: 353–366; Pritchett 4.211–233; McInerney 1999: 333–339.

78 Wren 1996, *passim*.

Persian army invaded Locris, although this has sometimes been suggested.[79] In neither case is it necessary to assume that the Persians destroyed the territory since, as we saw earlier, the Locrian war effort on behalf of the Greek cause would not appear to have been very great. In this respect perhaps we can apply to Locris what Herodotus says about the Persian attitude to Doris "When they invaded Doris, the barbarians did not plunder its territory, since the inhabitants had espoused the cause of the Medes and besides, the Thessalians did not wish them to do it" (Hdt. 8.31). Whether or not their attitude towards the Locrians was similar, we do not know, but the Locrians had initially sided with the Thessalians and the Boeotians, Xerxes' most valuable Greek allies, and Herodotus himself describes the influence that the Thessalians claimed to have with the Great King (Hdt. 8.29–30).

The fact is that, in the few days between the battle of Artemisium and the arrival of the Persian fleet off the coasts of Attica[80] the ranks of the Persian army had been swollen by land and sea by the contingents of Malians, Dorians, Locrians and Boeotians, not including the Thespians and Plataeans, and also various troops from the islands (Hdt. 8.66). Herodotus does not give figures, but suggests that these new contingents compensated for the Persian army's earlier losses. The Locrians must have remained on the Persian side for the rest of the campaign that ended with their defeat of Salamis and no doubt returned to their cities when the army retreated to winter in Thessaly under the command of Mardonius (Hdt. 8.113).

The following year Mardonius left Thessaly, and with the support of the Aleuads, crossed Thermopylae recruiting allies on the way (9.1), who would accompany him to Athens and in his withdrawal to Plataea, apart for the Phocians (9.17) who would join him later. A thousand Phocians joined the Boeotians, Locrians, Malians and Thessalians in the battle of Plataea, to fight against the Athenians, Plataeans and Megarians (Hdt. 9.31). Herodotus gives a figure of about fifty thousand men for the Greek forces (Hdt. 9.32), which is usually considered an exaggeration.[81] The part played by these troops in the battle is referred to in general terms (Hdt. 9.61) and so is their defeat at the hands of the Athenians, although Herodotus says that this division of the army were Boeotians, without mentioning the other allies (Hdt. 9.67).

At any rate, we hear no more of the Locrians. The survivors would have returned to their land and, after the Persians had been defeated, would have

79 i.e., Green 1996: 155.
80 Sacks 1976: 243.
81 Munro 1902: 144.

tried to magnify their minor and short-lived contribution to the Greek resistance at Thermopylae by erecting the stele next to a mass grave dedicated to the fallen, an action similar to that Herodotus observes in relation to Plataea: "all the other states, whose tombs can also be seen today in Plataea, feel ashamed that they took no part in the battle and, according to my enquiries, built empty barrows to give a better impression to the future generations" (Hdt. 9.85). Perhaps the Locrians adopted the same approach in Thermopylae to try to play down their lukewarm stand in defence of the Greek cause and their participation in the Persian armies. It is even possible, although only a hypothesis, that they took advantage of the progressive silting up of the port of Alponus to create, at some point in the fifth century, a new harbour city a few kilometres to the east that would bear, in an ironic twist of fate, the name of "Victory": Nicaea.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD (480–323 BC)

José Pascual*

The history of Epicnemidian Locris throughout the Classical period (480–323) was marked, as in other periods, not just by the ambitions of its neighbours, but also, given the geopolitical situation in the region, by the conflicts for hegemony between the major Greek powers: Sparta, Athens, Boeotia and finally Macedonia.[1] Certainly Epicnemidian Locris was surrounded by states, such as Thessaly and Phocis, that sought to control the Passes[2] connecting Northern Greece to central Greece and the Peloponnese and vice versa, which provoked bloody confrontations between Locris and its neighbours, but its strategic importance, including control of shipping through the Euboean Channel, transcended the limits of the region's immediate vicinity so that the great Greek states also tried to control Epicnemidian Locris. Unable meet these threats with their own forces, the Epicnemidian Locrians and the Eastern Locrians as a whole generally established an alliance with the Greek hegemonic powers, particularly with the Boeotian Confederacy or with Thebes, when the Confederacy did not exist. Whether Boeotians or Thebans, they were the only power that could guarantee a degree of security against their neighbours, but, obviously, because of the

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1 Str. 9.4.15.

2 From the strategic point of view, while Trachis, before 426, and Heracleia Trachinia after that date, controlled the western entrance to the Pass at Thermopylae, the Epicnemidians controlled the eastern exit or East Gate. So it could be said that the purpose of Heracleia Trachinia guarding it was really to control the whole of the Pass and, therefore, also the Epicnemidian part. Another series of passes in Epicnemidian Locris, such as the Kleisoura, Fontana and Vasilika Passes, traversed Mt. Callidromus, giving access to the Cephisus valley, Phocis, Boeotia and Attica. Another route went inland between the south side of Mt. Cnemis and the northern foothills of the Callidromus towards Abae and Hyampolis (Paus. 10.35.1). From Hyampolis there was a direct route (Paus. 10.35.5), to Opus and Orchomenus (Paus. 10.1.3, 35.1), thus penetrating into Boeotia. This route could have been the main route between Thermopylae and Opus rather than a hypothetical road along the coast. About all of these routes Cf. Sánchez-Moreno in this volume.

unequal balance of power between them, it was an asymmetrical association that made the Locrians to some extent dependent for their foreign policy on the Boeotians or Thebans. Together with the conflicts and relations with their neighbours and the interference of the Greek hegemonic powers, the relationship with Opuntian Locris, the other region of Eastern Locris to the east of Mt. Cnemis, was the third fundamental element for understanding the history of Epicnemidian Locris in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The importance of this relationship will be studied in the second part of this chapter.

Little is known about the period between the end of the Second Persian War and the mid-fifth century. Around 476 the Spartan king Leotychidas sent an expedition to Thessaly against the Aleuads family.[3] This aristocratic family had medised in the course of the Second Persian War and the expedition must have been intended as a reprisal against the Thessalian factions and *poleis* that had embraced the Persian cause. Leotychidas must have reached Larissa, the Aleuads' native city and, although on his return he was deposed on the charge of having accepted bribes from Aleuads,[4] the expedition probably had some success. The campaign would have consolidated Spartan rule not only over the whole of Thessaly but also over much of central Greece, and if this did not happen immediately after the Second Persian War, the Eastern Locrians would then have entered an alliance with the Lacedaemonians, a relationship that lasted into the middle of the century when the Athenians began to become involved in the area. Although we do not know the exact route that Leotychidas took, the expedition may also have been evidence that Sparta controlled the Thermopylae Pass at that time, giving it access to Thessaly. Certainly the Eastern Locrians do not appear amongst the victors that dedicated a column in Delphi, which accords with their medisation after Thermopylae and their presence on the Persian side at the battle of Plataea. However, they do not appear to have been attacked after the war by the victors either, as happened to the Thebans[5] and the Thessalians.[6] Perhaps they were able to claim that Leonidas had authorised them to withdraw from Thermopylae and they had been forced to go over to the Persians after the Greek defeat in the Pass.

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[3] Hdt. 6.71–72.
[4] Paus. 3.7.9–10.
[5] Hdt. 9.86–88.
[6] Paus. 3.7.9.

After the Spartan expedition the following two decades seem to have been relatively uneventful in central Greece. The Locrians, allied with the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians, would, like other allies of Sparta, have contributed contingents to the siege of Mount Itome in Messenia[7] and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, before the middle of the century Hypocnemidian Locrians and Opuntians collaborated, together with the Hesperian Locrians, to populating Naupactus.[8] However, by the middle of the century, the Athenians' hegemonic ambitions had extended to central Greece. The pretext for the intervention of the Greek hegemonic powers in the area was a conflict that broke out between Phocians and Dorians, possibly in 458. In that year, the Phocians, who were allies of the Athenians at the time, attacked the Dorians and occupied one of their cities. In response, Sparta sent fifteen hundred Lacedaemonian hoplites and ten thousand allies. The Lacedaemonians forced the Phocians to surrender and made them return the city they had occupied to the Dorians (457/6).[9] The size of the Lacedaemonian contingent is out of all proportion to the army that the Phocians could muster and the expedition must have been planned with more ambitious intent than simply as a punitive exercise. With the Megaris at that time in the hands of the Athenians, which prevented the Lacedaemonians and their Peloponnesian allies reaching central Greece overland, the Athenians had considerable room for manoeuvre in the region and the Spartans probably planned the campaign not with the intention of conquering the Phocians, but more to support their allies in central Greece and warn the Athenians against trying to extend their power in the region any further.

The Athenians reacted by attacking the Spartans as they returned after their campaign, but the Lacedaemonians and their allies proved to be the victors at Tanagra in Boeotia, c. June 456.[10] Perhaps Thucydides included not just the Boeotians but other *ethne* of central Greece, including the Locrians and the Dorians, amongst the allies of the Lacedaemonians. However, two months later, the Athenians, under the command of the *strategos* Myronides, invaded Boeotia again and defeated the Boeotians, who this time did not have the Peloponnesians to help them, at Oenophyta, near Tanagra. Thucydides says that the Athenians immediately imposed their control in Boeotia and Phocis, demolished the walls of Tanagra and

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[7] Cf. Th. 1.101–103.

[8] See Meister 1895: 272–334; Graham 1971: 40–60; Jeffery 1990: 106.

[9] Th. 1.107.1–2.

[10] Th. 1.108.1: γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐν Τανάγρᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι. Cf. Plu. *Cim.* 17.3–6; Diod. 11.81–83.3; Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.35.2; Paus. 9.6.1; Frontin. *Strat.* 4.7.21.

took a hundred hostages from amongst the richest of the Opuntian Locrians, a number that may refer to the so-called aristocracy of the "Hundred Houses".[11] Diodorus' account (11.83.1–4) is rather more explicit. According to this author, after defeating the Boeotians at Oenophyta and subjugating the whole of Boeotia, apart from Thebes,[12] Myronides marched against the Locrians, referred to as Opuntians, who capitulated at the first assault and handed over a hundred hostages. From Locris, Myronides entered Phocis, in an area referred to as Parnasia.[13] The Athenians defeated the Phocians and took hostages from them just as they had the Locrians.[14] From Phocis the Athenians invaded Thessaly and got as far as Pharsalus, but failed to take this city and returned to Athens.[15] If the geographical sequence that Diodorus gives is correct, Myronides must have left Boeotia by the route that goes from Orchomenus to Opus and probably reached the very gates of that city which, fearing the Athenian assault, decided to capitulate, together perhaps with the whole of Eastern Locris, and hand over hostages to the Athenians. From here Myronides would have invaded Phocis, perhaps through the Hyampolis Pass or more probably through the Vasilika Pass in Epicnemidian Locris, which leads directly to Elateia, the capital city of Phocian Confederacy. In the latter case, the Athenians would have advanced through the interior of Epicnemidian Locris along the W-E route between Mount Cnemis and the Callidromus. Myronides may have crossed the Cephisus valley and reached the north-eastern spurs of the Parnassus, which would explain the name Parnasia given in Diodorus' account. The Phocians, who just two months earlier had been forced to submit to the Lacedaemonians, returned to the Athenian alliance. Myronides' army could have invaded Thessaly and then returned to Athens through the Gravia Pass, but it would be more reasonable to assume it used the Thermopylae and Callidromus Passes, closer to Myronides' earlier theatre of operations in the Cephisus valley. At any rate,

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11 Th. 1.108.2–3, esp. Th.1.108.3: καὶ μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος καὶ Ταναγραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἔλαβον, τά τε τείχη ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἀπετέλεσαν.

12 This is evidently an error of Diodorus since Thebes was effectively subjugated by Athens (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1302b29–32; Buck 1970: 222; 1979: 147–150).

13 Diod. 11.83.2: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀναζεύξας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ὀπουντίους. τούτους δὲ ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσάμενος, καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Παρνασίαν.

14 Diod. 11.83.3: παραπλησίως δὲ τοῖς Λοκροῖς καὶ τοὺς Φωκεῖς καταπολεμήσας, καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους, ἀνέζευξεν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν.

15 Diod. 11.83.1–4; cf. Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.35.1–2; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.4.11; 4.7.21.

Myronides' movements appear to suggest that the Athenians had succeeded in taking control of the Callidromus and Thermopylae Passes and the whole of Eastern Locris.

The victory at Oenophyta ushered in a decade of Athenian hegemony in central Greece but it was still far from peaceful. In 454 the Athenians embarked on another expedition against Pharsalus, but this too proved fruitless. Thucydides (1.111.1)[16] says that the Boeotians and Phocians accompanied the Athenians as their allies. Perhaps the Locrians joined them too, since they were allies of the Athenians just as the Phocians and Boeotians were, and Thucydides simply fails to mention them. In any case it was Athenian control of the Passes leading into Thessaly that made the expedition possible. Some years later, probably in 449, the Lacedaemonians undertook an expedition to Delphi, wrested control of the city and the sanctuary from the Phocians, occupied them and handed their administration back to the Delphians, but another Athenian expedition the following year, under the command of Pericles, re-established the previous situation.[17]

Internally, Aristotle (*Pol.* 1302b29–32) says that democracy was overthrown in Thebes after the battle of Oenophyta because bad government meant that the rich had withdrawn their support for it in view of the disorder and anarchy that reigned.[18] Aristotle's account can be interpreted as meaning that democracy was imposed in Thebes and, very probably, in many other Boeotian cities by the Athenians after 457/6, and that these democracies were subsequently overthrown.[19] A democratic regime would have been rejected not only by the aristocracy but also by broad sections of the middle or hoplite class, which provoked, together with the hostility towards Athens, a situation of *stasis*, deep-seated discontent, strong resistance and, consequently, a good number of exiles. Thucydides (1.113.1–2) refers to the existence of Boeotian and Euboean exiles in 447/6 and his account implies a Locrian revolt. So Epicnemidian Locris probably experienced a similar situation of *stasis* to that in Boeotia although the oligarchy, as we shall see, may have survived in Eastern Locris.

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16 Th. 1.111.1: παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας ξυμμάχους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον.

17 In the so-called Second Sacred War, cf. Th. 1.112.5; Plu. *Per.* 21.2.

18 Arist. *Pol.* 1302b29–32: ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εὔποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη. Cf. Th. 3.62.5: where the Thebans claim that the Athenians controlled much of the region, taking advantage of a situation of internal *stasis*.

19 Buck 1970: 222.

Finally, in 446, Boeotian and Euboean exiles and the Locrians instigated a revolt. The Boeotian part of the uprising began in Orchomenus and spread to Chaeroneia, perhaps Lebadeia and also Coroneia. The Athenians sent a small contingent of about a thousand hoplites under the command of Tolmides, but they were defeated at Coroneia. Under the treaty following the battle, the Athenians were forced to surrender control of central Greece.[20]

The revolt started in the part of Boeotia on the frontier with Locris, and since the Phocians apparently did not take part in it, we can assume that Locris was the base of operations for invading Boeotia using the route from Opus to Orchomenus, which presupposes that Locris had rebelled against Athens before the exiles occupied Orchomenus. This interpretation would be supported by Thucydides' account. He says (1.113.2): πορευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων φυγάδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν, "Boeotian exiles and with them the Locrians and some exiles from Euboea" and not Λοκρῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων φυγάδες "Locrian *and* Euboean exiles". So those that took part in the revolt were the Locrians that held power in their respective cities, not Locrian exiles, which supports the hypothesis that the rebellion against the Athenians in fact started in Locris and then spread to Orchomenus and western Boeotia.

After the Athenian withdrawal, the Boeotian exiles took power and re-established the oligarchic regimes.[21] In Eastern Locris the anti-Athenian factions, probably oligarchic, consolidated their power and the region then returned to its former alliance with the Lacedaemonians. In fact, the Locrians were amongst the Lacedaemonians' allies in 431 when the Peloponnesian War broke out. Thucydides[22] says that the Corinthians, the Megarians, Sycionians, Pelleneans, Eleans, Ampracians and Leucadians supplied naval contingents; the Boeotians, Phocians and Locrians provided cavalry; and the other cities supplied infantry. We do not know whether Thucydides means that they had to supply only cavalry or also cavalry for the Lacedaemonian expeditions. The Boeotians mobilised their infantry in the siege of Plataea between 431 and 427 and in the defence of Tanagra[23] and Locrian

20 Th. 1.113.1; Plu. *Per.* 18.3; Diod. 12.6.2; Paus. 1.29.14; Larsen 1960; Dull 1975: 1–5; 1977: 306–307.

21 Th. 1.113.4; Diod. 12.6.2; cf. Th. 3.62.1–5.

22 Th. 2.9.3: τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Κορίνθιοι, Μεγαρῆς, Σικυώνιοι, Πελληνῆς, Ἠλεῖοι, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, ἱππέας δὲ Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆς, Λοκροί, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεζὸν παρεῖχον. αὕτη μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχία.

23 Th. 3.91.5.

ships attacked the Euboean coast,[24] but in these cases it could be argued that the war was waged in or from their own territory. In the battle of Delium, in Boeotia in 424, we know only that Locrian cavalry was present.[25] At any rate, it does not seem plausible that the Spartans would reject these contingents of infantry, especially Corinthians and Boeotians, and we must assume that the Locrians supplied horsemen and perhaps also ships, as well as infantry.[26]

As we have seen in previous chapters,[27] the naval importance of the Eastern Locris was modest but, undoubtedly, Sparta and her allies valued the strategic importance of the Euboean Channel and the role the Locrians could fulfil. In fact, the Euboean Channel was of decisive importance for Athens, which used this route for importing its grain supplies. During the Peloponnesian War its importance was considerably increased because the Athenians, now taking refuge behind the city walls and therefore isolated from much of their territory, depended to an even greater extent on obtaining supplies from abroad, and because they had also moved much of their cattle and other possessions to the island of Euboea. Knowing all, the Locrian ships disrupted shipping in the Channel from the very beginning of the war and also made incursions along the Euboean coasts. In the same way, Locrian activity was able to create unease amongst the Euboeans, who probably thought that the Athenian fleet was not giving them full its cooperation or was neglecting the defence of the Euboean coast.

The Athenians decided to respond to Locrian incursions,[28] and in 430 they dispatched the *strategos* Cleopompus with thirty ships to deal with them. Cleopompus began made several raids along the Locrian coast and later landed and attacked Thronium, which was inland. The attack on Thronium tells us that Locrian attacks on shipping in the Channel came not only from around Opus, but also from Epicnemidia, and that the Epicnemidians fought against the Athenians. It also implies that Thronium was the principal city of the Epicnemidians at that time. Diodorus (12.44.1) says that the Athenians conquered the city after a siege and Thucydides (2.26.1) that they took Thronian hostages. Some kind of siege and delay must have

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24 Th. 2.32.

25 Th. 4.96.

26 Later in the war, in 418, the Locrians sent infantry to the battle of Mantineia (Th. 5.64.3) and in 413 contributed ships to the allied fleet destined for Asia (Th. 8.3.2).

27 See Arjona in this volume.

28 Th. 2.26.1, 2.32; Diod. 12.44.1; Plácido 1997: 29–30. Cleopompus' campaign must have taken place at the end of the summer of 430, perhaps after the Lacedaemonians and their allies had withdrawn from Attica.

held up the Athenians at Thronium, since the Locrians had time to muster their forces, which were concentrating in Alope, in Opuntian Locris. After Thronium had been taken, Cleopompus marched against the Locrians concentrated in Alope, where they were possibly embarking their troops again. In Alope, the Athenians defeated the Locrians and immediately afterwards built a fort on the island of Atalanti (modern day Atalantonissi) in the Gulf of Opus. Two triremes were left at the fort with a garrison that therefore consisted of at least four hundred men. The fort and the triremes were obviously intended to prevent the incursions of pirates from the Gulf of Opus, intercepting any Locrian ship that set sail from here. Its purpose cannot have been merely defensive, and attacks against Locrian territory would also have been made from here. The provisioning and logistical support for the garrison would have come from neighbouring Euboea. The following year (429) another Athenian fleet of sixty ships under the command of the *strategos* Nicias penetrated the Euboean Channel and once again laid waste to parts of the Locrian coast.[29] The two Athenian naval expeditions and the garrison of the island of Atalanti ensured Athenian control of the Euboean Channel and brought peace to the Euboean coasts. The Locrian incursions must have been drastically reduced and the Locrians went from being the attackers to finding themselves under attack and were reduced to adopting a defensive strategy.

The initial strategy having failed, their response to Athenian victories in the Euboean Channel came three years later, in 426, with the Lacedaemonian and Peloponnesian foundation of the colony of Heracleia Trachinia, close to the West Gate of Thermopylae, probably on the site of ancient Trachis, about forty stades, some five kilometres, from Thermopylae and twenty stades, about 3.5 km, from the sea. Heracleia was designed to consolidate Sparta's allies in the area, the Dorians and Trachinians, who were under pressure from their neighbours the Oetaeans, and to ensure Lacedaemonian control over the overland route through Thermopylae, enabling Sparta to extend its influence into Northern Greece.[30] The Lacedaemonians built an arsenal at the West Gate, which was also fortified, with the intention of using it as a base for raids against Euboea in the straits that separated the West Gate from Cape Cenaeum on the island.[31] However, the new colony

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29 Th. 3.91.3.

30 This route was subsequently used in 424 by Brasidas and his Lacedaemonian army to reach Chalcidice (Th. 4.78.1; 5.12.1).

31 Th. 3.92.6, 93.1; Falkner 1999.

proved unable to undermine the Athenians because of Thessalian hostility. The Thessalians had no intention of losing their influence in the area, and this led to continuous war with their neighbours, who also felt threatened by the foundation of the new *polis* on their doorstep. To all this was added the recurrent *stasis* and the internal problems that wracked the colony.[32]

In 424 the Locrians fought alongside the Boeotians to defeat the Athenians at the battle of Delium. According to Thucydides (4.96.8) the Locrian horsemen arrived just as the Athenian army scattered. In Athenaeus' account (5.215f–216a) Pagondas, the Theban Boeotarch, had sent two squadrons of cavalry around the hill in secret, one Boeotian and the other Locrian, and they arrived just as the Athenians were fleeing.[33] The two accounts could be complementary: the Locrians may have arrived in response to an urgent plea for help from the Boeotians, although we do not know if they also sent infantry. It is possible that Pagondas, who was leading the operations, kept back two squadrons, one Boeotian and the other Locrian, out of sight behind a hill, and they joined the fray as the Athenian front was breaking up, thus increasing the magnitude to the defeat. It is likely that perhaps both contingents would have been about the same size, which would mean that the Locrian squadrons consisted, as in the case of the Boeotians, of about thirty horsemen.[34]

The Athenians returned the fortification of the island of Atalanti under one of the clauses of the Peace of Nicias, signed in April 421.[35] Thucydides (5.32.2), in a brief comment, mentions a war between Phocis and Locris, which began in 421/0, shortly after the peace was signed, and Diodorus (12.80.4) briefly refers to a victory by the Phocians over the Locrians in 418/7, in which the latter lost a thousand men. Neither of these authors explicitly states which particular Locris was involved. However, in an earlier account Thucydides (3.101.2) says that the Locrians of Amphissa were afraid of making enemies of the Phocians in 426, so on this somewhat feeble basis, it has been assumed that the war would have broken out between the Hesperian Locrians and the Phocians, rather than between the Phocians and the Eastern Locrians, who were also both allies of Sparta at the time.

In 419, amidst the tensions that were surfacing between the Lacedaemonians and their allies after signing the Peace of Nicias, the Boeotians took

32 Th. 3.93.1; Diod. 12.59.3–5.
33 Cf. Ar. *Nu.* 362; Pl. *Symp.* 221b.
34 Pascual 1995: 419–421. About the battle see Pritchett 4.24–36.
35 Th. 5.18.7.

control of Heracleia Trachinia.[36] The Heracleots had been defeated by the Aenianians, Dolopians, Malians and some Thessalians and the situation in the colony must have been giving cause for alarm.[37] The Boeotians feared that the Athenians would take advantage of Lacedaemonian difficulties and take the city, but the Boeotians not only managed to occupy the city but also expelled Hagesippidas, the Spartan harmost governing it, which provoked Lacedaemonian indignation. The Boeotian expeditionary force probably reached Heracleia through Epicnemidian Locris and the Pass at Thermopylae, and the Locrians may not only have agreed to allow the Boeotian forces to pass through, but even have contributed their own forces to the campaign. This expedition shows us that, as was customary, the Eastern Locrians were allies of the Boeotians, and closely linked with them, rather than with the Lacedaemonians and, in fact, we can say that they were in the Lacedaemonian alliance mainly because it included the Boeotians. In 418, Boeotians, Phocians and Locrians sent contingents to the battle of Mantineia to fight on the Lacedaemonian side.[38] A few years later, in 413, the Spartan king Agis led an expedition into central Greece that started from Decelea in Attica. The objective seems to have been to alleviate the pressure on Heracleia Trachinia, which from its foundation had always been the subject of Spartan concern. Agis conquered the Oetaeans, the Achaeans of Phthiotis and the other *ethne* of the region and forced them to give him money and hostages, despite Thessalian protests.[39] Agis' expedition used Heracleia Trachinia as its base, and his army must have reached it through the Thermopylae Pass. About the same time, the Spartans decided to take the war to Ionia and built a fleet of a hundred triremes of which they ordered the Phocians and the Locrians to build fifteen between them.[40] The Locrians may perhaps have launched seven, and provided only the ships themselves, not the 1,400 men needed for the crew, who must have been mercenaries paid with Persian gold. The construction of triremes also implies that there were shipyards on the Locrian coast and that triremes had now replaced the old penteconters, already obsolete at the time of the Second Persian War.

Some years after the end of the Peloponnesian War, around 398, the Spartans intervened again in Heracleia Trachinia, which was once again under-

[36] Th. 5.52.1. See Fornis 1995: 47–66.
[37] Th. 5.51.1–2.
[38] Th. 5.64.3.
[39] Th. 8.3.1.
[40] Th. 8.3.2.

going widespread internal *stasis*. The Lacedaemonians despatched a contingent under the command of Herippidas, probably as harmost. Herippidas executed five hundred Heracleots and then attacked the Oetaeans, who must have lost a considerable number of men, drove them out of their land and they had to take refuge in Thessaly.[41] The Spartan expedition once again reinforced control of Thermopylae which was permanently threatened by the neighbouring *ethne* of Heracleia Trachinia.

Sparta's imperialist policy after the end of the Peloponnesian War led to the outbreak of another war, known as the Corinthian War (395–386), in which Sparta fought a coalition of Greek states that included Athenians, Boeotians, Corinthians, Argives and both Locrians, amongst others, and that had Persian support. A frontier dispute between Locrians and Phocians in the spring of 395 served as a pretext for embarking on hostilities.[42] However, the surviving accounts describing the dispute vary considerably. According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.5.3–4), Androcleidas' men, members of an anti-Spartan oligarchic faction in power in Thebes, realised that the Lacedaemonians did not want to go to war so they convinced the Opuntian Locrians to demand money for some land they were disputing with the Phocians[43] in the belief that, if the Locrians asked them for it, the Phocians would attack Locris. In fact, the Phocians did reject the Locrian demands and invaded and laid waste, not to the territory in dispute, but Locris itself. In Xenophon's account (*Hell.* 3.5.4) since Locris was a recognised friend and ally of the Thebans (ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὁμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Λοκρίδα), it was not difficult for Androcleidas and his faction to persuade the Thebans to attack Phocis. When this happened, the Phocians sent an embassy to Sparta to ask for help, alleging that it was not them that had started the dispute. The Lacedaemonians were glad to have a pretext to attack the Thebans (*Hell.* 3.5.5–7), and

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41 Diod. 14.38.4.

42 *Hell. Oxy.* 11.1; 13.3–5, 14; Paus. 3.9.7–11; X. *Hell.* 3.5.3–7. Cf. X. *Hell.* 5.2.33: In Sparta in the summer of 382 Leontiades claims that Hismenias' men, members of an anti-Lacedaemonian faction, convinced the Thebans to wage a campaign against Phocis because the Phocians were loyal to the Lacedaemonians. Perlman 1964; Bruce 1967: 116–120; Bonamente 1973: 121–132; Hamilton 1979: 182; Cook 1988: 57–85; Lendon 1989; Buck 1993: 94–95; Buck 1994: 30–33; Pascual 1995: 684–689; Buckler 2003: 75–77; Bleckmann 2006: 56–58; Lérida 2007: 600–659; Buckler and Beck 2008: 44–58; Fornis 2007a: 215–230; 2008: 70–79.

43 The passage in Xenophon is probably corrupt and two possible restorations have been proposed: χρήματα τελέσαι or χρήματα ἐλάσαι. The problem is that neither is satisfactory. Perhaps τελέσαι is preferable because of its more imperative value. The sense, however, is not in doubt: make a claim and demand payment in compensation. (On the possible amendments, see Mac Kay 1953: 6).

ordered the army to mobilise. While they were preparing to invade Theban territory (really Boeotia) from the west and south, the Thebans sent an embassy to the Athenians to negotiate an alliance (*Hell.* 3.5.7–16). To judge from *Hellenica Oxynrhynchia*, since neither the Thebans nor the Boeotians would allow themselves to be dragged into a war against Sparta, Androcleidas and Hismenias' men[44] tried to convince a few Phocians to carry out a raid into Hesperian Locris on the pretext of disputed territory in Parnassus, which they had previously fought over on many occasions, but had always resolved by arbitration. However, after the Phocian incursion into the disputed territory, the Locrians in their turn laid waste to this territory and took the cattle. So the Phocians, who were encouraged by Hismenias and Androcleidas' faction, invaded Locris itself.[45] Once the Phocian army had invaded Locris, the Locrians asked the Boeotians for help, on the grounds, according to the *Hellenica Oxynrhynchia*, of their traditional friendship (ἀεί ποτε φιλίως),[46] and the followers of Hismenias and Androcleidas convinced the Boeotians to go to the aid of the Locrians. When they learnt of the Boeotians' decision, the Phocians withdrew from Locris and sent an embassy to Sparta asking the Lacedaemonians to stop the Boeotians attacking them. The Spartans were not convinced by Phocian arguments and sent a diplomatic mission to Boeotia. The Lacedaemonian ambassadors told the Boeotians, if they considered themselves aggrieved, that they should have informed the allies of their grounds for compliant (possibly before the Council of allies of the Peloponnesian League). The Boeotians did not accept the Spartan ambassadors' advice and invaded Phocis, thus provoking the war.[47] Pausanias (3.9.9–11) says it was the Locrians of Amphissa, supported by the Thebans, that started the war. According to his account, the Amphisseans were in dispute with the Phocians over a frontier region and attacked that territory at the time when the grain was ready to harvest. In response, the Phocians laid waste to Locris so the Locrians in their turn, together with the Thebans, retaliated by invading Phocis. When the Locrians and Boeotians attacked them, the Phocians sent an embassy to Lacedaemonia and the Spartans decided to enter the war against the Thebans. The Athenians, suspecting the Lacedaemonians' ulterior motives, dispatched ambassadors to Sparta, offering themselves as arbitrators, but the Spartans peremptorily expelled them.[48]

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44 *Hell. Oxy.* 19.1; 20.1–2; 21.1–2.

45 *Hell. Oxy.* 21.3.

46 *Hell. Oxy.* 21.4.

47 *Hell. Oxy.* 13.4–5.

48 Plutarch (*Lys.* 27.1) adds only that it was attributed to Androcleidas and Amphiteus

There is practically no indication until very late in the fourth century of any kind of relations at all, leave alone friendship, between the Hesperian Locrians and the Thebans. The Hesperian Locrians were not involved in the Second Persian War, during which they must have decided to adopt a neutralist stance,[49] nor did they take part in the confrontations between the Athenians and the Boeotians of the mid-fifth century (Oenophyta, Coroneia, etc.), and Thucydides (2.9) does not list them amongst Sparta's allies at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. In 426, the Hesperian Locrians had signed a treaty of alliance, a συμμαχία, with the Athenians, which made them enemies, therefore, of the Spartans and Boeotians, who were allies at that time.[50] Under this treaty the Athenian side participated, albeit rather ineffectively, in Demosthenes' campaign against Aetolia, the ultimate aim of which was to invade Boeotia itself.[51] After this expedition, possibly from 424 onwards, Hesperian Locris remained neutral throughout the rest of the Peloponnesian War.[52] After it, in 400, Sparta expelled the Messenians from Naupactus and replaced them with the Hesperian Locrians.[53] It seems unlikely that attacking Phocis, Sparta's staunchest and most important ally in central Greece, would be construed as a demonstration by the Hesperian Locrians of their gratitude for being given Naupactus.

Relations between the Boeotians and the Eastern Locrians were very different. In 456, after Oenophyta, the Athenians took a hundred hostages from the Opuntian (perhaps we should understand this to mean Eastern) Locrians,[54] which proves their sympathies lay with the Boeotians in the confrontation between the latter and the Athenians. The Eastern Locrians also fought on the Boeotian side at Coroneia[55] and at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War they, like the Boeotians, were allied with Sparta. In 424 the Locrians took part in the battle of Delium[56] and, finally, during

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who, bribed by the king's gold, encouraged the attack and plunder of Phocis, and Diodorus (14.81.1) simply says that the Phocians were at war with the Boeotians for certain offences and convinced the Lacedaemonians to join them. The latter author basically blames the Phocians for the outbreak of the war.

49 Hdt. 8.32, 36. For the difference between neutrality and neutralism, cf. Alonso Troncoso 1987: 548–550.

50 Th. 3.95.3.

51 Th. 3.95–98.

52 On the neutrality of Hesperian Locris, cf. Alonso Troncoso 1987: 269–271.

53 Diod. 14.34.2–3.

54 Th. 1.108.3.

55 Th. 1.113.2.

56 Th. 4.96.8.

the Decelean War they contributed ships to the Lacedaemonian fleet.[57] Moreover, in the conflicts that we know about in which Hesperian Locris was involved never concerned Phocis and the area disputed by Amphissa was not on Parnassus but on the sacred plain beside Delphi. On the other hand, there was a region disputed by Eastern Locris and Phocis, which was the corridor right through the middle of Locris down the Dipotamos valley to give the Phocians a port in Daphnus.[58]

Moreover around June 395, after the Phocian invasion of Locris, a combined army of Boeotians and Locrians invaded Phocis.[59] The Boeotians and their Locrian allies seem to have gathered in Boeotia, which they left by the Cephisus valley, indicating that those who took part in the expedition were Eastern Locrians and that they would have reached Boeotia by the route from Opus to Orchomenus. Otherwise we would have to assume that the Hesperian Locrians crossed the whole of Phocis without any Boeotian support, which is hard to believe. The army advanced along the sacred route from Chaeroneia to Delphi, first laying waste to the territory of Parapotami and then going on to Panopeus and Daulis. After an ill-fated attempt to conquer Daulis, in which they suffered some losses, they sacked the outskirts of Panopeus. Later, probably marching along the right bank of the Cephisus, they continued to devastate Phocis, passed nearby Tithorea and reached the territory of Pedieis. Here they must have crossed the Cephisus to reach the Elateia plain, laid it waste, and then withdrawn to Hyampolis.[60] The choice of this route back, the major route between Boeotia and Opuntian Locris, also suggests that the Locrian contingents came from Eastern Locris and not Hesperian. Boeotians and Locrians tried to take Hyampolis but did not succeed and lost eighty men. After that, the army returned to Boeotia.

According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.3.21–23), at the beginning of the Corinthian War, after his victory in the battle of Coroneia in August 394, Agesilaus went to Delphi to make an offering of a tenth of the booty plundered in Asia and ordered the polemarch Gylis to cross Phocis and invade Locris. No doubt this incursion into Locris was planned as a punishment raid against the Locrians for their part in the outbreak of the Corinthian War. Xenophon seems to be thinking of Eastern Locris. In this way Agesilaus

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[57] Th. 8.3.2.

[58] Diod. 16.25.2; Str. 1.3.20; Lerat 1952: II.43; McInerney 1999: 195; Buckler 2003: 77–78; 2008: 48–52.

[59] *Hell. Oxy.* 21.5.

[60] On the Cephisus valley routes in Phocis, see: Kase and Szemler 1982: 353–366.

would reach Delphi through Lebadeia and Gylis would go up the Cephisus valley into Eastern Locris.[61] Hence, in our opinion, it was Eastern Locris and not Hesperian Locris that must have been involved in the outbreak of the Corinthian War.

The Eastern Locrians did not apparently fight in the battle of Haliartus in 395[62] but both Locris fought on the anti-Spartan side at the battle of Nemea in 394.[63] Diodorus (14.82.1–4) tells us in some detail about the constitution of the anti-Lacedaemonian coalition after the battle of Haliartus: Boeotians, Corinthians, Athenians and Argives established separate alliances with each other[64] and created a council for the alliance in Corinth, to which each state would send representatives and which would decide on the common strategy to be adopted. After this they sent ambassadors to various states to turn them against the Lacedaemonians and persuade them to join the coalition.[65] An inscription (*IG* II^2 15+; Tod *GHI* II, nº 102) has been preserved which records a defensive alliance (*epimachia*) between Locrians and Athenians. Although the heading has been lost, the second line that has survived, "like the Corinthians", and the formula is identical to that of another alliance between the Boeotians and Athenians (*IG* II^2 14; Tod *GHI* II, nº 101, pp. 14–15). It was dated by Tod (*GHI* II, p. 16) to the end of the summer of 395, which would suggest a context in the early months of the Corinthian War, immediately after the alliance was established between the Athenians and the Corinthians, between the winter of 395 and the spring of 394. It was achieved by diplomatic activity amongst the allies after the creation of the joint council in Corinth and in the framework of the bilateral treaties established between the various members of the coalition. It is true that Diodorus (14.82.2–4) does not specifically mention either Locris amongst the destinations of the embassies, but refers to the whole of Euboea, the Leucadians, the Acarnanians, Ampracians and the Chalcidians of Thrace, but since they were allies in the battle of Nemea in the summer of 394, both Locris would have joined the alliance in this period. Unfortunately the inscription does not mention which Locris was party to the treaty of alliance, so we can only point out that in the Athenian writings, for example in Thucydides and

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61 Lerat 1952: II.43–44.

62 Westlake 1985: 119–133; Pascual 2007: 39–66.

63 X. *Hell.* 4.2.17.

64 Diod. 14.82.1: συμμαχίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐποιήσαντο. See Alonso Troncoso 1997; Fornis 2007b and 2008: 87–113.

65 Diod. 14.82.2–4.

Xenophon, "Locrians", without further qualification, usually means the Eastern Locrians.

One of the first decisions taken by the Council of allies was to respond to a request by Medius of Larissa to invade Thessaly. Thus, at the beginning of the spring of 394,[66] an army made up of Boeotians, under the command of the Boeotarch Hismenias, and Argives, with a total of some two thousand soldiers, joined Medius, traversing Thermopylae. Once they had joined the Thessalians, the allies took Pharsalus, which had a Lacedaemonian garrison, sold some of the Pharsalians as slaves, possibly to the pro-Lacedaemonian faction, and made an alliance with the others. In order to secure the city, Medius established a garrison of mercenaries. Then the Boeotian and Argive army set off for Heracleia Trachinia, which was surrendered to them through treason. An Argive garrison remained in the city. Immediately afterwards, they established alliances with the Aenianians and the Athamanians, and probably also with the Malians, and restored the Oetaeans to their lands, since they had been expelled by Herippidas in 399.[67] The rest of the army, under the command of Hismenias, took the road back through Epicnemidian Locris. Thus the allies crossed Thermopylae, followed the Epicnemidian coast and turned in along the Boagrius valley. They passed Thronium and camped in Naryca. Hismenias had some six thousand men that joined the Boeotian contingent, probably some thousand men, perhaps all the Eastern Locrians and also the new allies of central Greece. Their intention must have been to invade part of Phocis, resuming the destruction carried out by the expedition of spring 395. However Hismenias' campaign in Thessaly and the Spercheius valley had given the Phocians sufficient time to muster their army, led by the Spartan Alcisthenes, probably the harmost of Phocis. The Phocians invaded Epicnemidian Locris through the Boagrius valley and engaged Hismenias and his army at Naryca; the battle may have been fought on the plateau to the north of the city. The Phocians were defeated and lost some thousand men, but about five hundred of Hismenias' men also died.[68] Perhaps, after the victory, Hismenias invaded Phocis in order to reach Boeotia, but in view of his losses, he may also have opted to return through the interior of Epicnemidian Locris in the direction of Hyampolis and Abae via the inland route between Mount Cnemis to the north and the Callidromus to the south.

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[66] Hamilton 1979: 215: late winter 395 or spring of 394. A date in 394 for this campaign is, in my opinion, more probable. See Buckler 2003: 82–84.

[67] Cf. Diod. 14.38.5–7.

[68] Diod. 14.82.7–9; Buck 1994: 40–41; Fornis 2008: 110–113.

It is evident that in this campaign the Epicnemidian Locrians were allied with the Boeotians and Argives, probably as a member of the bilateral alliance that the various states had signed with the Eastern Locrians as a whole, which meant that the allies controlled the eastern part of the Thermopylae pass and the Passes of the Callidromus. For this reason one of the objectives of the campaign, as well as supporting Medius of Larissa, was to ensure control of Thermopylae's West Gate by garrisoning Heracleia Trachinia and arranging alliances with the *ethne* of the Spercheius valley. This allied control of Thermopylae lasted until the end of the war in the spring of 386. Once again we can see that the foreign policy of the Eastern Locrians coincided with that of the Boeotians, which was now, for the first time in more than a century, anti-Spartan.

After the allied action in central Greece, the Locrians fought in the battles against the Lacedaemonians of the following year. At the battle of Nemea, in June/July 394, fifty Opuntian horsemen and light infantry of the Hesperian Locrians, Malians and Acarnanians took part on the anti-Lacedaemonian side.[69] We do not know, although it is probable, whether the Eastern Locrians sent hoplites. Contingents from both Locris also fought in Coroneia in August the same year.[70] After the battle and the Lacedaemonian victory, the Spartan king, Agesilaus, as we have already said, sent the polemarch Gylis to invade Eastern Locris.[71] We know nothing of the participation of the Eastern Locrians in the war after 394, but they seem to have remained on the anti-Lacedaemonian side.[72]

The Corinthian War ended in the spring of 386 with the signing of the King's Peace, the defeat of the allies and the dissolution of the Boeotian Confederacy. From then on Boeotia underwent a period of external and internal weakness and was obliged to give up its ambitions in central Greece. In fact, after the war, the Eastern Locrians seem to have been allies of the Lacedaemonians. Thus Diodorus (15.31.1–2) records a reorganisation of the Peloponnesian League by the Spartans aimed at redistributing the contribution of the allies' forces in a more acceptable way to try to placate their growing discontent. Although Diodorus dates this reform to the archonship of Chaleas in Athens in 377/6,[73] in his account it comes before Agesilaus'

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69 X. *Hell.* 4.2.16.

70 X. *Hell.* 4.3.15; *Ages.* 2.5.

71 X. *Hell.* 4.3.22–23; Lerat 1952: II.43–44.

72 For the years from 393 a 386 see Hamilton 1979; Buckler 2003; Fornis 2008 and Pascual 2009c.

73 Cf. Diod. 15.28.1; Beloch *GG*^{2} 3.1.108 n. 1.

expedition against Thebes in the summer of 378.[74] So we should perhaps assume that the reorganisation occurred in the eighties during the simultaneous and in some cases, distant campaigns (i.e. Phlius and Chalcidice) fought by the Spartans.[75] The Lacedaemonians divided their allies into ten districts[76] (Diod. 15.31.2: εἰς δέκα μέρη), the ninth of which was made up the Phocians and the Locrians (ἐνάτην δὲ Φωκεῖς καὶ Λοκροί). The allies may have contributed by supplying troops or money; if they sent military contingents, a horseman would be equivalent to four hoplites and a hoplite to two light infantry.[77] Once again we do not know whether Diodorus is referring to Eastern or West Locrians or both. We can probably assume that at least the Eastern Locrians were amongst the allies since, in the years following the King's Peace, the Spartan armies crossed Thermopylae without much difficulty, which would prove that they controlled the Passes. These campaigns in the north against Olynthus, the most important city of the Chalcidian Confederacy, began in 382[78] and continued until 379[79] when the Spartan won victory in the north. On the basis of all this information we can assume that the Eastern Locrians were allies of the Lacedaemonians from at least 382. The best date for the beginning of this alliance is the period immediately after the King's Peace of 386, when Thebes, after the dissolution of the Boeotian Confederacy, returned to the Lacedaemonian alliance and sent contingents to take part in the siege of Mantineia (385). Thus, after the King's Peace, as a result of Boeotian weakness, the Eastern Locrians became allies of the Lacedaemonians, joined the Peloponnesian League and must have contributed men or money to the Lacedaemonian expeditions.

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74 Diod. 15.31.3; cf. X. *Hell.* 5.3.34–41.

75 Phlius: X. *Hell.* 5.3.10–17; 21–25; Isoc. 4.126; Diod. 15.19.3; Tuplin 1993: 90–93; Buckler 2003: 195–197. Chalcidice: X. *Hell.* 5.3.28–30, 26; Isoc. 4.126; Diod. 15.22.2, 23.2–3, 31–32; Paus. 3.5.9; Zahrt 1971: 91–97; Cartledge 1987: 271–273; Buckler 2003: 197–200, 205–210. Previously, in 385, they had laid siege to and subjugated Mantineia, whose population was split up to live in four separate villages (X. *Hell.* 5.2.1–7; Isoc. 4.126; 8.100; Ephor. *FGrH* 70 F79; Polyb. 4.27.6; Diod. 15.12.1–3; Paus. 8.8.7; Buckler 2003: 193–194).

76 The first included the Lacedaemonians; the second and third the Arcadians; the fourth the Eleans; the fifth the Achaeans. The Corinthians and the Megarians contributed the sixth; the seventh, the Sycionians and Phliasians and the inhabitants of the Acte promontory (Halieis, Methane, Troezen and Epidaurus); the eighth was made up of the Acarnanians; the ninth, the Phocians and the Locrians and the last of all, the Olynthians and the allies that lived in Thrace. See Buckler 2003: 232–233 and n. 1.

77 See X. *Hell.* 5.2.21; 6.2.16.

78 X. *Hell.* 5.2.20–24, 37–42.

79 X. *Hell.* 5.3.1–9, 18–20, 26.

However, this situation seems to have changed in the seventies, after the democratic coup that, in December 379,[80] overturned the pro-Lacedaemonian oligarchs in power in Thebes. The loss of Thebes and the Thebans' attempt to re-establish the Boeotian Confederacy obliged the Lacedaemonians to send several expeditions against Thebes in 378 and 377 and to garrison a number of Boeotian cities until the Peace was signed in the autumn of 375.[81] Before the Peace, around the end of the summer of 375, the Lacedaemonian garrison of Orchomenus, consisting of a *mora*, sent an expedition against Locris. The Thebans tried to take advantage of the fact that Orchomenus had been left ungarrisoned to occupy it, sending a small expeditionary force consisting of two hundred horsemen and three hundred hoplites from the Sacred Band, but, when they were near the city, the Thebans knew that the new Lacedaemonian garrison had arrived to relieve the one which was on campaign in Locris. The small Theban army was then forced to retreat but on its way back it met the Lacedaemonians at Tegyra. The Thebans fought them and won. The site of the battle indicates that the Lacedaemonians were on their way to Orchomenus from Opus; this route split in two exactly at Tegyra, one way going towards Copae and the other to Orchomenus. The Lacedaemonians were returning from invading Eastern Locris so by 375 the Eastern Locrians had abandoned the Lacedaemonian alliance and had gone over to the Thebans and would have been attacked by the Spartans as a result. Changing sides in this way, which could be dated around 377, may have been due more to the increasing influence of Jason of Pherae than the Thebans. The Eastern Locrians, because they were allies of Jason, became allies of Thebes when he made an alliance with the Thebans.[82] This situation lasted until 370.

Immediately after describing a Boeotian campaign in 370 in central Greece commanded by Epaminondas, Diodorus (15.57.2) recounts an expedition by Jason of Pherae in which he invades Locris with his army, then takes Heracleia Trachinia, lays it waste and hands over its territory to the Malians and Oetaeans, and finally withdraws to Thessaly through Perrhaebea. Diodorus' account suggests that Jason came from the south and it is

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80 X. *Hell.* 5.4.2–12; Aen. Tact. 31.34; Dein. 1.38–39; Diod. 15.25.4; Nepos *Pel.* 2.1–4.2; Plu. *Pel.* 8.1, 12–14; *Mor.* 575 B–598 F; Hamilton 1991: 152–164; Pascual 1991a: 121–135; Munn 1993: 216–224; Buck 1994: 69–80; Buckler 2003: 213–214.

81 Hamilton 1991: 164–179; Buck 1994: 81–100; Buckler 2003: 214–226, 232–242, 257–270; Buckler and Beck 2008: 87–98.

82 Plu. *Pel.* 16.1–17.10; *Mor.* 412 B; Diod. 15.37, 81.2; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τεγύρα; Pascual 1991b: 375–380; Buckler and Beck 2008: 99–110.

fairly certain that this was the same campaign described by Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.6.27) that it was fought by Jason in the summer of 371 on his return from Leuctra, where he arrived too late to take part in the Theban victory over the Spartans. If we accept Xenophon's chronology, much more convincing that of Diodorus, Jason's campaign in central Greece took place at the end of the summer of 371, so before that of Epaminondas the following year. With the help of the accounts of both authors, Xenophon and Diodorus, we can reconstruct Jason's campaign. On his way back after the battle of Leuctra, around July/August 371, Jason first attacked the outskirts of Hyampolis, devastated its territory and killed many Phocians. Xenophon says that he then crossed the rest of Phocis without causing any damage and destroyed the wall of Heracleia (but he did not destroy the city, as he did according to Diodorus) so that nobody could occupy this city and prevent him marching against mainland Greece. From Phocis, Diodorus (15.57.2) says Jason marched through Locris, so we should assume that he at least crossed Epicnemidian Locris, which he probably invaded through the Boagrius valley and, from there, would have traversed Thermopylae to reach Heracleia. It seems that Jason's strategic objective was to gain control of Thermopylae and the Hyampolis Pass so that nobody could obstruct his hegemonic pretensions in Greece. Jason was assassinated the same year and his dreams of domination died with him.[83]

Thus, the following year, in the spring of 370, Epaminondas led a Boeotian campaign in central Greece. After occupying Orchomenus, Diodorus (15.57.1) says that Epaminondas made allies of the Phocians, Aetolians and Locrians and then returned to Boeotia. Once again we do not know whether he is referring to the Eastern or Western Locrians; they could perhaps have been the Hesperian Locrians since Epaminondas reached Aetolia by crossing Hesperian Locris, and the Eastern Locrians, as we saw, may have been allies of the Boeotians for several years, although they did not fight at in Leuctra. Epaminondas thus exploited the power vacuum created by Jason's death in favour of the Boeotians and inaugurated two decades of Boeotian hegemony in the region[84] during which the Eastern Locrians remained allies of the Boeotians until at least the end of the Third Sacred War in 346.

As allies, the Eastern Locrians took part in the various Boeotian expeditions throughout the period we call the Theban Hegemony (in my opinion between 371 and 356). Thus, the Boeotians' first expedition to the Pelopon-

83 Buckler 1980: 291 n. 37.
84 X. *Ages.* 2.24; Diod. 15.62.4; Pascual 1994: 249–254; Buckler 2003: 298.

nese, under the command of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, c. November 370–c. March 369, was joined by the Locrians of both sides, the Phocians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Euboeans.[85] And the final campaign, which ended in the battle of Mantineia in the summer of 362, was fought by the Euboeans, Locrians, probably Eastern and Hesperians, Malians, Aenianians and Thessalians,[86] so we can assume that the Locrians of both sides also took part in Epaminondas' two intermediate expeditions to the Peloponnese, in the summer/early autumn of 369 and in the spring/summer of 366 respectively.[87]

In the same way, the Boeotian armies and embassies that marched to Thessaly and Macedonia in these years had no difficulty crossing Thermopylae, which was, like Epicnemidian Locris, obviously subject to Boeotian control. On the first Boeotian expedition to the north of Greece, under the command of Pelopidas, in the summer/autumn of 369, the Boeotians halted the expansion of Alexander, the new tyrant of Pherae, entered into an alliance with the Thessalian Confederacy and reached Macedonia, where they arbitrated in the conflict between Ptolemy of Alorus and Alexander II, probably favouring the cause of the latter and with whom they also concluded a treaty of alliance. A diplomatic mission, headed by Pelopidas, mediated once again in Macedonia. On their return, the ambassadors were taken prisoner by Alexander of Pherae, after a first Boeotian expedition in the Autumn of 368, which failed; a new campaign under the command of Epaminondas, obtained their liberation in the spring of 367.[88] Two new Boeotian expeditions were needed in 364 in order to defeat Alexander of Pherae.[89]

In 356 the Third Sacred War broke out in Greece, and lasted for ten years.[90] The pretext for starting hostilities was a heavy fine imposed by the Amphictyonic Council on the Phocians and the Lacedaemonians. Maybe it was the Boeotians that started the hostilities. In fact, in 362 the Phocians had refused to take part in Epaminondas' expedition to the Peloponnese. Possibly the

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85 Buckler 1980: 70–90, esp. 74; Buckler 2003: 306–311.

86 Diod. 15.85.2; Buckler 1980: 205–219.

87 Buckler 1980: 90–102, 185–192; Pascual 1997: 107–108, 112–113.

88 Buckler 1980: 110–119; Pascual 1997: 108–109.

89 Buckler 1980: 175–182; Pascual 1997: 112.

90 Although Diodorus (16.23.1) says it lasted nine years, it was actually ten (Aeschin. 2.131; Paus. 10.2.4). Pausanias dates the beginning of the war when Agatocles was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the 105th Olympiad, that is, 357, and its end (Paus. 10.3.1) when Theophilus was archon at Athens, to the first year of the 108th Olympiad (348). However, Diodorus (16.23.1) puts the beginning two years later (356), in the archonship of Callistratus, and its end in 346. Today Diodorus' chronology is accepted.

Boeotians thought that the Phocians, under the pressure of such a heavy fine, would surrender in exchange for securing its reduction or cancellation. However, far from capitulating, the Phocians, led by Philomelus, the federal *strategos*, occupied the sanctuary of Delphi in the summer of 356 and began to recruit mercenaries with Delphic funds. Taking the sanctuary provoked a declaration of war against the Phocians by various amphictyonic *ethne*: the Boeotians, both Locrians, Thessalians, Perrhaebeans, Dorians, Dolopians, Athamanians, Achaeans of Phthiotis, Magnesians, and Aenianians.[91] The Hesperian Locrians also tried to prevent the Phocians consolidating their conquest and attacked Delphi; the battle took place beside the Phaedriades Rocks and the Locrians were defeated and lost many men.[92] Philomelus took advantage of the defeat and invaded Hesperian Locris the same year. The following year Philomelus once again invaded the territory of West Locris and laid siege without success to a fortress whose name we do not know, fought two battles with the Locrians and plundered their territory.[93] Then he defeated the Thessalians, who had come to the help of the Locrians, at a place called Argolas. However, the Phocians were defeated by the Boeotians at Neon-Tithorea and Philomelus himself died in the course of the struggle.[94]

Despite the defeat at Neon, the Phocians had succeeded in consolidating their control of Delphi and had reduced the pressure that the Hesperian Locrians were attempting to exercise. From then on one of the main strategic objectives of the Phocians centred on preventing their enemies, who surrounded Phocis on all sides, especially the Thessalians and the Boeotians, from being able to muster their troops and invade Phocis. Only by fighting each of their enemies separately did the Phocians stand any chance of holding out and defeating them. If they managed to prevent their enemies joining forces, the Phocians could also take advantage of their central position to attack, moving their troops swiftly through different places against their various enemies.

The Thessalians and Boeotians, the principal amphictyonic powers, must necessarily have come together via Epicnemidian Locris, which was, in comparison with Thessaly and Boeotia, a much weaker link, and where the Phocians concentrated their efforts to prevent the Thessalian and Boeotian contingents joining forces. To this must be added the fact that the Phocian

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91 Diod. 16.29.1. See about the outbreak of the war: Buckler 1989: 9–29.

92 Diod. 16.24.4; 28.3.

93 Diod. 16.25.2–3. Buckler 1989: 43–44 and 2003: 407, puts this expedition in Epicnemidian Locris and Lerat 1952: II.46–47, in Hesperian Locris.

94 Diod. 16.31.4; Paus. 10.2.4; Beloch *GG*² 3.1.250.

Confederacy's leading city, Elateia, and the whole of the Cephisus valley, the most important and fertile part of Phocis, were dangerously exposed to attack from Epicnemidia through the Callidromus Passes. Therefore the essence of both sides' strategy lay not just in controlling Thermopylae, but also the valleys that connected Epicnemidian Locris with the Cephisus valley. This control could only be achieved by occupying the Epicnemidian cities along the routes.[95]

In 353/2 Onomarchus, the new *strategos* of the Phocian Confederacy, invaded Epicnemidian Locris, took Thronium by force and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. Onomarchus seems to have invaded Epicnemidian Locris through the Boagrius valley and must have gone through Naryca, although we do not know if the city surrendered or whether the Phocians simply crossed its territory without occupying the city.[96] Obviously the main objective of the campaign was to occupy Thronium, the leading city of Epicnemidian Locris, where a Phocian garrison must have been established. Thronium closed the Boagrius valley, probably the main route of invasion in Phocis and also cut off the Thermopylae route, which turned inland just here along the course of the river Boagrius to reach the Cephisus valley. In this way Onomarchus tried to prevent the Thessalians from crossing Thermopylae and invading Phocis and joining the other amphictyonic *ethne*. Onomarchus must have died the same year and the following year, 352/1, Phayllus, his successor, waged a new campaign against Epicnemidian Locris.[97] This time the intention was to occupy the whole region. Phayllus took all the cities, but was immediately expelled from Naryca, which he had conquered earlier in the same expedition, losing two hundred men, probably some or all of the garrison he would have stationed there. As in the previous expedition the Phocians must have invaded through the Boagrius valley, which had become the main route of Phocian invasion, as far as Thronium, so that Naryca would have surrendered then, at the beginning of the campaign or perhaps the previous year. Using Thronium as a base, the Phocians would then have conquered the rest of Epicnemidian Locris. In order to quash the rebellion of Naryca, Phayllus turned back up the Boagrius valley and laid siege to the city. However, the Boeotians had mustered their army by this time and, faced with the threat of an immediate Boeotian attack, he left a contingent laying siege to Naryca and went to Abae to take on

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95 Str. 9.3.4.

96 Diod. 16.32.1–3. For the campaign, cf. Buckler 1989: 54–55; Buckler 2003: 413–414.

97 Diod. 16.37.1.

the Boeotians. In order to reach Naryca from Abae, Phayllus probably came down the Cephisus valley through the Fontana or Vasilika Passes or crossed Epicnemidian Locris by the W-E inland route that went from Mendenitsa to Hyampolis and Abae. A battle was fought in Abae and won by the Boeotians, after which they invaded Phocis and laid much of it waste. On their return, they marched on Naryca to try and break the siege. We can assume that, from Abae, the Boeotians invaded Phocis by the Hyampolis Pass and, marching up the Cephisus valley, plundered much of the territory. After that, they would possibly have crossed the Fontana Pass in order to come down the Boagrius valley to Naryca. However Phayllus, having recovered from his defeat in Abae, suddenly appeared, perhaps coming through the Kleisoura Pass, the farthest west of the Callidromus Passes, in order not to be taken by surprise, and defeated them. After this, Phayllus once again occupied Naryca and devastated it.[98]

In short, the Phocians conquered the whole of Epicnemidian Locris in the campaign of 352/1. Phocian control now extended from the Thermopylae Pass and Alponus in the west to Daphnus and at least as far as the left bank of the river Dipotamos in the east, and from the Epicnemidian coast of the Euboean Channel in the north to the Callidromus chain in the south. In the course of this campaign and in the years that followed it, the Phocians proceeded to organise their new conquest. They fortified and garrisoned most if not all the Epicnemidian cities, proof of the strategic importance that the Phocians attached to the region. In fact, Alponus, Nicaea and Thronium at least were given mercenary garrisons that were still maintained at the end of the war in 346.[99] Naryca must have been rebuilt and perhaps Paliokastro Anavras and other points of Epicnemidia, such as Nicaea for example, were also walled in this period with the trapezoidal masonry typical of Phocian fortifications during the Third Sacred War. At least by the end of the war Nicaea seems to have been converted into the principal Phocian base in Epicnemidian Locris.

The Phocian occupation remained stable until 346, when Philip II of Macedonia, commanding a great army, led a campaign with the intention of deciding the fate of the war. The Macedonians reached Nicaea, where they found Phalaecus and his mercenaries, presumably after he had been deposed by the Phocians as *strategos* of the Phocian Confederacy (cf. Paus. 10.2.7). Phalaecus had also garrisoned Alponus and Thronium and, despite

98 Diod. 16.38.3–5; Buckler 1989: 92–97.
99 Aeschin. 2.132, 138.

Athenian attempts to persuade the Phocians to cede control of the three cities to them,[100] Phalaecus signed an agreement with Philip under which, in exchange for withdrawing from the war, he would hand over all these cities to him.[101] Fearing an imminent Macedonian attack and Delphic resources being exhausted, the Phocians decided to capitulate.[102] The Third Sacred War ended, in reality, with the Philip's victory and the imposition of his hegemony on the amphictyonic *ethne*.[103] All the Phocian cities, except Abae, where burned down, the Phocians were obliged to pay a hefty indemnity to the Delphian sanctuary and their votes in the Amphictyony were transferred to the Macedonians.[104]

Demosthenes refers on various occasions to the fact that, after 346, Philip controlled Thermopylae and had subjugated the Phocians and was thus lord of the gateways to Greece,[105] which meant he also controlled the Callidromus and Hyampolis passes and, therefore, Epicnemidian Locris. Demosthenes (6.22) also says that, after the Sacred War, Philip handed over Nicaea and Magnesia to the Thessalians, and that, at the time the king was organising the Pythian Games and planning to attack Byzantium, in 340, he had garrisons and mercenaries at Thermopylae and had taken Echinus from the Thebans.[106] In another speech (Dem. 11.4) he claims that Nicaea was under a Macedonian garrison and Philip was treacherously luring away the allies of the Thessalians and Boeotians. Similarly a fragment of Philochorus (*FrGH* 328 F56 b)[107] indicates that Nicaea was garrisoned and that there was an amphictyonic decree concerning it. However, the Thebans occupied Nicaea when Philip was on campaign in Scythia in 339. On his return he reached Cytinium and went from there to Elateia and ordered the Thebans to hand the city over to the Locrians. On the basis of this information we can reconstruct the course of events between 346 and 338. After the Third Sacred War Daphnus must have been returned to the Opuntian Locrians, who proceeded to burn it down. Perhaps Eastern Locris was also reunified and the Confederacy reconstituted, although we do not know if Halae, Larymna

100 Aeschin. 2.131–134, 138.

101 Aeschin. 2.140. He crossed to Crete with his mercenaries and the Phocians who were loyal to him and died in the siege of Cydonia, cf. Buckler 1989: 118–119; 2003: 426–427.

102 Diod. 16.59.2; Aeschin. 2.130.

103 Isoc. 5.74.

104 Paus. 10.3.1–3.

105 Dem. 6.29, 35, 36; 9.32.

106 Dem. 9.32, 34.

107 Cf. Foucart 1907: 183–184; Sánchez 2000: 213–219.

and other Locrian cities remained in Boeotian hands or were returned to the Locrians. Possibly there was one amphictyonic decree in 346 relating to Nicaea. This city was handed over to the Thessalians, and Echinus to the Boeotians. Philip was archon of the Thessalian Confederacy, the possession of Nicaea guaranteeing him control of Thermopylae, and at that time, between 346 and 340, the Boeotians were allies of the Macedonians. Then or at some point after 346, Philip established a mercenary garrison in Nicaea and perhaps in other cities near Thermopylae. Eastern Locris was an ally of the Boeotians and under its alliance with the Boeotian Confederacy, it also became an ally of the Macedonians.[108] In 340, when the war between the Macedonians, Boeotians and Athenians broke out, culminating in the battle of Chaeroneia (summer of 338), the Locrians remained on the Boeotian side, against the Macedonians, and must have allowed the Boeotians to occupy Nicaea to prevent Philip crossing Thermopylae. Before Chaeroneia, Philip tried, unsuccessfully, to reach an agreement with the Thebans under which the city would be handed over to the Locrians.

An Athenian inscription (*IG* II^2 148; *Syll*^{3} 198) tells us about a treaty signed between the Athenians and the Locrians. Once again[109] we are not told which particular Locris was concerned and in any case the inscription has survived only in a fragmentary state. However, whether it was Eastern or Hesperian Locris, the date proposed for the alliance, 356/5, at the beginning of the Third Sacred War, is improbable since both Locris were enemies of the Phocians throughout the entire conflict, while Athens was an ally of the Phocian Confederacy. There are other more plausible dates for the alliance. As we have seen, the Locrians were listed amongst the Greeks that fought at Chaeroneia in the war that broke out in 340 and in 339 the Boeotians, led by the Thebans and allied with the Athenians, occupied Nicaea, possibly with Locrian collaboration, to prevent the Macedonians being able to cross Thermopylae.[110] In the first line of the decree it is established that the Council, the *strategoi*, hipparchs, taxiarchs and phylarchs swear, that they should swear *as rapidly as possible*. The urgency of this procedure would point to a time close to Chaeroneia. If we accept this context, the treaty may have been signed in 340/39 and the haste referred to could relate to the diplomatic activity of Demosthenes in central Greece. In fact, Plutarch (*Mor.* 851 B) says that Demosthenes, as Athenian ambassador, established alliances

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108 Buckler 2003: 493.
109 Cf. similarly *IG* II^2 15 +; Tod *GHI* II, nº 102.
110 Buckler 2003: 493–494.

with the Thebans, the Euboeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Achaeans, Locrians, Byzantines and Messenians and managed to obtain for the people and their allies ten thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry and a monetary contribution to the war of more than five hundred talents. Another occasion on which the treaty may have been signed was the Lamian War (323–322) when the Eastern Locrians also fought against the Macedonians. At any rate, the Eastern Locrians fought in both wars, as allies of Boeotians and Athenians and not of the Hesperian Locrians, and the desire of Boeotians and Athenians on both occasions to take control of Thermopylae would suggest that Eastern Locris was the State that signed the alliance recorded in the treaty.

The battle of Chaeroneia meant the imposition of Macedonian hegemony throughout Greece and, consequently, the Locrians appear in 337 as members of the so-called League of Corinth organised by Philip II to consolidate his control in Greece.[111] During the time of Alexander the Locrians remained in the Macedonian alliance and contributed at least a squadron of cavalry, probably at least thirty horsemen, to Alexander's expedition to Asia.[112] In Issus, the Locrians made up the Greek cavalry wing together with the Peloponnesian squadrons, flanked by the Achaeans of Phthiotis and Malians on one side and the Phocians on the other.[113] The Locrian horsemen also fought alongside the Achaeans, Malians and Thessalians in Gaugamela.[114] Perhaps they were veterans in Persepolis, in 330, who were demobilised and sent home. At any rate, the Eastern Locrians remained in the Macedonian alliance until the death of Alexander in June 323.

On the relationship between Epicnemidian and the rest of Eastern Locrians, although Herodotus (7.203) gives no figures, he says that a large contingent of Opuntian Locrians and a thousand Phocians came to Thermopylae (Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι). Pausanias (10.20.2) says that the Locrians that were under Mt. Cnemis (Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι) contributed some six thousand troops and interprets Herodotus' account to mean that they came from all the cities (ἀπὸ πασῶν

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111 Paus. 1.25.3; Tod *GHI* II, nº 177, pp. 224–231, *Syll*³ 260. In line 31 *Phocians, Locrians,* [*Dorians*], *Oetaeans, Malians and* [*Aenianians*] has been restored; the context of the *ethne* mentioned in the line suggests the East rather than West Locrians.

112 An inscription in Thermopylae (*IG* IX 1² 5: 2040; *Syll*³ 220), dated to c. 346, mentions construction work undertaken by the tetrarchy of Philip. It has been assumed that it does not refer to the division of Thessaly of Philip's time (Dem. 9.26), but rather to a cavalry unit (Arr. *Anab*. 3.18.5 and *Tact*.10.1.10; 10.28.2) that, under the command of its commander Philip, undertook a task, perhaps of fortification, in Thermopylae.

113 Diod. 17.57.3.

114 Rufus 4.13.29.

ἔφη τῶν πόλεων). According to Diodorus (11.4.1–6), a thousand Opuntian Locrians, almost a thousand Phocians and four hundred Thebans (he overlooks seven hundred Thespians) joined Leonidas.[115] Diodorus' figure is fairly convincing and is consistent with the Locrian contingent at Thermopylae two centuries later in a similar situation, to repel the Galatian invasion of 279, which consisted of seven hundred men.[116] In 480 a thousand Locrians may not have represented the entire contingent that could have been mustered by the Eastern Locrians and some of them would have remained to garrison their respective cities,[117] but they must have constituted a significant part of the whole. To the thousand Locrians present at Thermopylae, must be added the seven penteconters with about four hundred men that were with the Greek fleet on the Artemisium Cape.[118] The Greeks apparently had no cavalry at Thermopylae and Pausanias (1.23.3) says that the Opuntian Locrians were already hoplites at the time of the Persian wars, having abandoned the ancient Homeric way of fighting with slings and arrows. From his account it can be inferred that the Locrians sent to Thermopylae must have been hoplites, while we can assume that those that were with the ships on the Artemisium Cape would have had a lower status than hoplite.

The Epicnemidian Locrians must have fought at Thermopylae alongside the Opuntians and the other Eastern Locrians. There is some evidence to support this, in addition to the large contingent, in Locrian terms, that was mobilised. On one hand Diodorus (11.4.6) asserts that the Locrians who lived near the passes (Λοκροὶ δὲ οἱ πλησίον τῶν παρόδων κατοικοῦντες) came to Thermopylae on the Greek side, despite the fact that they had previously given the Persians earth and water and even promised them that they would

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[115] Herodotus (7.202) puts the Peloponnesian contingent sent to Thermopylae at three thousand one hundred men, although in 7.228 he talks about four thousand. Possibly Herodotus has overlooked the seven hundred allies from neighbouring districts that would have been included in the Lacedaemonian contingent (cf. Isoc. 4.90; 6.99). For his part, Justin (2.11.2) puts Leonidas' contingent at Thermopylae at four thousand, although perhaps he is only referring to the Peloponnesians. Diodorus (11.4.1–6) says that Leonidas had a thousand Spartans of whom three hundred were Spartiates (so the other seven hundred were therefore *perioikoi*) and three thousand from the rest of the Peloponnese, to which he adds a thousand Locrians, a thousand Malians, a thousand Phocians and four hundred Thebans (11.4), giving a total of seven thousand four hundred soldiers at Thermopylae. Pausanias (10.20.4) suggests that the whole army would have consisted of eleven thousand two hundred men. Certainly there is some inconsistency in Diodorus' account, such as the presence of the Malians and the absence of the Thespians, but a figure of around seven thousand would, in my opinion, be most likely. Cf. Munro 1902: 307.

[116] Paus. 10.20.4.

[117] See Domínguez-Monedero in Chapter 11.

[118] Hdt. 8.1. Each penteconter has a crew of 55 to 60 men, see Arjona in Chapter 8.

occupy the Passes, a reference that evidently includes the Epicnemidians. On the other, the Greeks camped at the Middle Gate of Thermopylae and fighting took place in this area. The Middle Gate is, in our opinion, in the territory of Alponus, the first city in Locris coming from Malis (Hdt. 7.216.1) and the first *polis*, therefore, of the Epicnemidian Locrians travelling west. Furthermore, Alponus was a logistical base and field hospital for the rearguard and the Locrians probably also cooperated in providing supplies for the Greek contingent through this *polis*. The Locrians, along with the Dorians, Malians and Boeotians, went over to the Persians with all their troops after the battle[119] and fought in Plataea on the Persian side for which they were not punished.[120]

After the war the Eastern Locrians, including the Epicnemidians, were allied to the Lacedaemonians until the middle of the fifth century, as indicated by the fact that the Spartans controlled the Thermopylae passes during Leotychidas' expedition against Thessaly in 476. In 457/6, after defeating the Boeotians at Oenophyta, the Athenians overcame the Locrians, referred to as Opuntian Locrians.[121] During the same campaign they crossed the Thermopylae and marched on Thessaly. Similarly, in 454 the Athenians undertook another expedition against Pharsalus in Thessaly and appear to have crossed the passes without difficulty.

To sum up, since the Second Persian War until the middle of the fifth century, the Eastern Locrians seemed to have had the same politics and they probably formed part of the same federal State under the hegemony of Opus which would have been officially known as the Confederacy of Hypocnemidian Locrians. As we have seen,[122] some aspects of the organisation of this Confederacy may be gleaned from the so-called Colonial Law of Naupactus (c. 500–475).[123]

In 446, after the revolt against Athens in which the Eastern Locrians[124] and most probably the Epicnemidians played an important role, and at the end of the Athenian hegemony in Central Greece, the Eastern Locrians renewed

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119 Hdt. 8.66; cf. Th. 7.43.2.

120 Hdt. 9.31.5.

121 Th. 1.108.3; Diod. 11.83.2.

122 Cf. Domínguez Monedero in this volume.

123 See *IG* IX 1 334; *Syll*³ 47; *SEG* 15.353; 25.641; Tod *GHI* I, nº 24; Meiggs and Lewis nº 20, 35–40; Meister 1895: 272–334; Buck 1955: 57; Graham 1971: 40–60; Lerat 1952: II.198–209; Larsen 1968: 45–58; Jeffery 1990: 106; Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994: 178–185; Beck 1999: 53–62; Nielsen 2000: 112–115.

124 Th. 1.113.2.

their alliance with the Lacedaemonians, an alliance which included, without doubt, the Epicnemidian Locrians. Thus, in 431 when the Peloponnesian War broke out, Thucydides (2.9.3) reported that the Locrians were allied to the Lacedaemonians. The following year, in 430, the Athenians sent a fleet to confront Locrian piracy in the Euripus Channel and their incursions in Euboea.[125] The Athenian fleet attacked Thronium, the main *polis* in Epicnemidian Locris at the time, and stationed a garrison on the island of Atalanti in Opuntian Locris. While the Athenians besieged Thronium, the Locrians mustered their forces in Alope, a *polis* in Opuntian Locris, to go to the aid of Thronium in Epicnemidian Locris.[126] All of this would indicate that the Epicnemidian Locrians also participated in the attacks against Athenian interests, that they were allied to the Lacedaemonians and that the Epicnemidian Locrians and the Opuntian Locrians mutually supported and helped one another. We do not know exactly what conditions were agreed in the capitulation of Thronium and handing over the hostages, but perhaps they involved the withdrawal of the Thronians from the war, which would have split the Eastern Locrians, who had been fighting together. In any case the Locrians, or at least the majority of them, continued to fight against the Athenians. In 429 the Athenians once again attacked the Locrian coast[127] and the Locrians were present in Delium in 424 to fight against the Athenians.[128] One of the clauses in the Peace of Nicias (421) included the release of prisoners[129] and thus, we may conclude that the Thronians detained by the Athenians were set free. In the final stage of the Peloponnesian War, Eastern Locrians remained allies to the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians. In 418, the Locrians sent infantry to the battle of Mantineia to reinforce the Lacedaemonians[130] and in 413 contributed ships to the Spartan and allied fleet destined for Asia.[131] This alliance seems to also have included the Epicnemidian Locrians. In 419 Boeotians occupied Heracleia Trachinia which was under threat from the Aenianians, Dolopians, Malians and Thessalians[132] and in 413 the Spartan king Agis carried out a military campaign in Central Greece against the Oetaeans, the Achaeans of Phthiotis and other

125 Th. 2.32.
126 Cf. Th. 2.26.1; Diod. 12.44.1.
127 Th. 3.91.3.
128 Th. 4.96.
129 Th. 5.18.6; cf. Th. 5.24.2, 35.4–5.
130 Th. 5.64.3.
131 Th. 8.3.2.
132 Th. 5.51.1–2.

ethne.[133] The attacks were never directed against the Epicnemidian Locrians. Quite to the contrary, both expeditions seem to have cleared the Thermopylae Passes easily and it is even possible that the Epicnemidian Locrians and the rest of the Eastern Locrians could have participated in some of these expeditions.

Minting seems to corroborate that the Epicnemidian Locrians formed part of a Confederacy which, under the hegemony of Opus, would unite all of Eastern Locris. Minting in Opus began in the fifth century with silver trihemiobols and obols on Aeginetan standard which have an amphora on the obverse side and an O in an incuse square on the reverse.[134] Closely related to these are the coins with the symbol Λ surrounded by a border of dots on the reverse,[135] which could indicate that the Opuntians and Locrians were more or less the same thing or formed part of the same state.[136]

However Thronium in Epicnemidian Locris began to mint silver coins on Aeginetan standard in in the late fifth or early fourth century BC. These coins display a bearded male head on the obverse side and on the reverse a greave with the legend ΘPONI with a reference to Mt. Cnemis on the reverse.[137] It is a difficult coin to interpret. The reference is to Mt. Cnemis,[138] but it may also refer to Epicnemidian Locris. It could be telling us that the identity of the Epicnemidian Locrians had already crystallised by the end of the fifth century or early fourth century BC, after developing in earlier periods. It would have differed, at least to some extent, from that of the Eastern Locrians as a whole. In the creation and development of this Epicnemidian consciousness Thronium, the most important city of Epicnemidian Locris, as the coins minted could help to prove, played a leading role in functions which were also or mainly in their own interests in escaping from the hegemony of Opus and imposing their own on the region to the west of Mt. Cnemis. The coins can be interpreted as having been minted by the second most important *polis* within a Confederation of the Eastern Locrians led by Opus or that the Epicnemidian Locrians enjoyed their own status within it, or it might reveal the emergence of a Confederation of the Epicnemidian Locrians themselves.

133 Th. 8.3.1.
134 Babelon 1914: II.3, numbers 423–444.
135 Babelon 1914: II.3, number 425.
136 Nielsen 2004: 671.
137 Von Rauch 1846, number 12; Head *BMC*, p. 2 number 14; Head *HN*^{2}: 337; Babelon 1914: II.3, number 462.
138 Nielsen 2004: 672.

Anyway throughout the Classical period until the start of the Third Sacred War in 356, no difference in external policy can be detected between the Epicnemidian Locrians and the Opuntian Locrians but, between 353/2 and 352/1, the Phocians conquered all of Epicnemidian Locris and also controlled Daphnus and the Dipotamos valley.[139] The Phocian conquest also marked a turning point in the internal order of Epicnemidia. If before the Third Sacred War the Epicnemidian Locrians were or not members of a federal State, which brought together the Eastern Locrians under the hegemony of Opus, the Epicnemidians were now separate from this Confederacy. The Phocian dominance was maintained until the end of the War in 346. It is not known whether after the Third Sacred War a Confederacy was reconstructed which would unite all the Eastern Locrians. After the War, the Dipotamos valley was returned definitively to Opuntian Locris and the Epicnemidian Locrians oscillated between the Macedonians, the Boeotians and the Athenians to be overpowered in the end by the Macedonians following the battle of Chaeroneia in 338.

In the first part of the fourth century Opus minted silver coinage with an amphora with grapes and the legend ΟΠΟΝ on the obverse and a star on the reverse.[140] Very similar, although somewhat later, are the coins inscribed with the legends ΛΟ or ΛΟΚ,[141] predictably originating from Opus, given that one coin even bears ΟΠΟΝ on the obverse and ΛΟ on the reverse.[142] Also minted in Opus was the series with the head of Demeter on the obverse and Locrian Aias on the reverse, armed with a hoplitic shield and a sword and poised for battle with the legend ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ.[143] All of these coinages are closely related to the somewhat later coinages bearing the legends ΛΟΚΡΩΝ or ΥΠΟ.[144] In the second half of the fourth century bronze coinage with the head of Athena on the obverse and grapes and the legends ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ or ΛΟΚΡΩΝ on the reverse were also minted in Opus.[145] All of this would indicate that the Opuntians, Locrians and Hypocnemidians came to form part of one state.[146] However, at the end of the fourth century bronze coins were also issued,

139 Diod. 16.3.3; 16.37.1.

140 Babelon 1914: II.3, numbers 436 and 436 bis.

141 Babelon 1914: II.3, numbers 442 and 443.

142 Babelon 1914: II.3, number 435.

143 Head *HN*^{2}: 336, fig. 190.

144 Babelon 1914: II.3, number 451 and numbers 438–441.

145 Head *HN*^{2}: 336–337; Babelon 1914: II.3, numbers 362–378; *SNG Cop.Aetolia-Euboea*, 42–58.

146 Nielsen 2004: 672.

perhaps in Thronium, with the legend ΛΟΚΡ ΕΠΙΚΝΑ. They bore the armed head of Athena on the obverse and the bunches of grapes on the reverse.[147] This coinage could imply the existence of a political organisation other than the Opuntian or Hypocnemidian Locrians, that the cities of Epicnemidian Locris could have formed their own Confederacy and that a state unifying all the Eastern Locrians did not exist (or was not reconstructed).[148]

In my opinion, one of the principal historical phenomena of the Classical period was probably the progressive development of an Epicnemidian identity, encouraged by Thronium. It may have started developing earlier and crystallised in the Classical period with the creation of its own federal State dominated by Thronium, separate from the Confederation of the Hypocnemidian Locrians, who would have been under the hegemony of Opus.

Information regarding to others social, political and economic aspects referring exclusively to Epicnemidian Locris is lacking and we can only extrapolate the little known from Opuntian Locris. As in Opuntian Locris it is thought that throughout the best part of the Classical era citizens were kept under the rule of a series of aristocratic families of an endogamous nature, the "Hundred Houses"[149] possibly bearing reference not only to Opus but to the whole of Eastern Locris, where the matrilineal line was important in the transmission of lineage,[150] alliance and ancestral friendship[151] and perhaps also in that of property. This aristocratic predominance is reflected in a conservative legislation which embodied the oligarchical *eunomia*, a rigid government based on the immutability of its law.[152] This meant that there were numerous obstacles to modifying the law and he who proposed a new law not considered honourable or useful could be condemned to hanging.[153]

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147 *AZ*, 9, 1849, 92 nº 2; *AZ*, 10, 1847, 148, nº 16; Head *BMC* numbers 71–76, p. 8; Babelon 1914: II.3 number 456; *SNG Cop.Aetolia-Euboea*, 74–76.

148 Nielsen 2000: 106 and n. 90.

149 Polyb. 12.56–57.

150 Polyb. 12.5.6, 8, 11.

151 Polyb. 12.6b.2; Tim. *FGrH* 566 F11–12; Ath. 6.2564 c–d. See Musti 1977: 31, 45–58. In accordance with this aristocratic predominance sources refer to the breeding of horses in Opus: Arist. *HA*. 576 b25; *APr*. 69a2–12. Cf. Plin. *NH*. 8.66.

152 Musti 1977: 31.

153 Hierocles accredits this legislative process to Stobeus (cf. Stob. *Antolog*. 39.36) and Diodorus (12.17) and to Carondas of Catana. However, all of Locrian tradition and even Aristotle attributes it in the case of the Epizephyrian Locrians to Zaleucus who must have lived c. 650 (cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1274a3–b10, in which he praised the precision with which the Locrian laws were composed). According to Demosthenes (24.139–141) in over two hundred years only one new law was introduced: in the event that anyone should take out a person's only seeing eye they would have both of their own removed. Cf. Polyb. 12.16, 20–21.

The legislation aimed to maintain a balance and the aristocratic dominance achieved during the Archaic era as well as to preserve the number of land plots, worked at least in part by some kind of dependent class. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1266 b3) the Locrians concerned themselves with the upkeep of the land and the law prohibited the sale of property, houses and land, except in exceptional circumstances such as a clear misfortune. Likewise, if Timaeus (in Ath. 6.264c, 272 a) is to be believed, the law prohibited the Locrians from buying slaves, which suggests the existence of a dependent social sector.[154] Nevertheless, in the Hellenistic times Thronium and perhaps the other cities in Epicnemidian Locris were organised democratically. It is possible that the transition from democracy to oligarchy occurred in the fourth century perhaps as a result of Theban influence.

Despite the virtual absence of architectural remains from this period, whether public buildings or private houses, one of the basic aspects of the Classical period was the fortification of the Epicnemidian *poleis*, especially towards the end of the fourth century. A major programme of fortification seems to have been implemented at this time, displaying a number of common elements such as the use of local limestone, isodomic masonry and the arrangement of towers at regular intervals. This programme seems to have extended not only to the *asty* of each *polis* but included the *chora* with a series of fortresses and observation towers and signals, built in rough polygonal masonry, that would allow watch to be kept over the territory.[155]

The information obtained from necropoleis is very limited—although the Dipotamos valley is better known thanks to the Fourteenth Ephorate's excavations—so it is not possible to draw general conclusions. Signs, at least, of similar development can be detected. Thus, for example, as in Opuntian Locris,[156] from the mid-fourth century onwards tile-covered graves appear and come to predominate in the course of the second half of the fourth century (Scarpheia, Isiomata/Daphnus and Kamares in Agios Konstantinos) and cremation fell out of favour as a funerary custom to the extent that practically all the burials of Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley are inhumations. The grave goods are also similar, and include lekythoi, aryballoi, oinochoi, bowls, and kotylai. From Kalyvia come a kotyle and a white lekythos of Athenian influence; kotylai, lekythoi, aryballoi and oinochoi have been exhumed at Isiomata/Daphnus and several bowls come

154 Cf. Polyb. 12.21.1; Musti 1977: 45–51.
155 Dakoronia 2002a: 67; 2009: 285; Milán in Chapter 5.
156 Dakoronia 2002a: 67–68; 2009: 286.

from the latter necropolis and from Kamares in Agios Konstantinos.[157] The presence of drinking cups amongst the grave goods could reveal the importance of viticulture in Epicnemidia, which was able to produce a sufficient surplus for some of it to be exported, and may be related to wine amphorae and the bunches of grapes depicted on Opuntian coins.[158] The terracotta figurines, mainly female (Velona, Isiomata), suggest important local artisan production. Stylistically they are typical of sculpture of the period, indicating the existence of cultural contacts that extend beyond the borders of the region.

For the first time since the Geometric period weapons are once again deposited in tombs and diverse metal objects are also common.[159] Thus an iron spearhead from Velona, a pair of bronze earrings and bronze pin from Karya/Kontouri Platania and bronze pins, rings, strigils, small iron knives and a bronze helmet have been unearthed in Isiomata and Kamares. Bronze mirrors appear in female tombs, for example the one in Velona, in the fourth century. This could be connected with a possible flourishing of iron and bronze metallurgy and economic growth, also revealed by the coins deposited in tombs (Isiomata and Kamares).

It is not easy, as we have said, to extract general conclusions from the scarce data available to us, but the image projected by Epicnemidian Locris throughout the Classical period and extending to the beginning of Hellenism, is nevertheless that of demographic growth and certain prosperity. A region involved in maritime transport and trade, the data reveal that it was a relatively stable and consolidated society, open to outside cultural influences.[160]

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157 Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

158 Head *HN*^{2}: 336–337; Babelon 1914: II.3 numbers 362–378, 436, 436 bis; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea*, 42–58.

159 Dakoronia 2002a: 71–73, 2009: 283; Papakonstantinou and Karantzali in Chapter 4.

160 Dakoronia 2002a: 65, 74.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD (323–146 BC)

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In the Hellenistic period, in the years between the death of Alexander and the battle of Scarpheia (323–146), Epicnemidian Locris was, if anything, of even greater strategic importance than in earlier periods. The region had long controlled the eastern exit of the Thermopylae Pass and the routes across the Callidromus Mountains that connected it with Elateia and the Cephisus valley in Phocis. Now, during the Hellenistic period it was at the heart of an area that extended from Heracleia Trachinia to Elateia and Chalcis that was fought over by the great powers (Macedonians, Aetolians, Romans, Achaeans). It was the key not only to controlling central Greece but the whole of the mainland. So Epicnemidian Locris became the theatre of war for these great powers. For two centuries the region saw great fleets and armies come and go. It was behind the lines, a place of diplomatic encounters and a battlefield. Inevitably, these conflicts generated widespread destruction and had major repercussions on Epicnemidian Locris' external relations, so the region, unable to take on these great powers single-handed, became an ally of one or another or subject to their changing control. Armed conflict could also, as we shall see, disrupt its internal organisation.

The first confrontation in Thermopylae, immediately after the death of Alexander the Great, arose out of the so-called Lamian War (323–322). When news of Alexander's death reached them, many Greek states decided that the time had come to free themselves of the Macedonian yoke and regain their independence. In Athens, the anti-Macedonian faction gained the upper hand. The Athenians declared war on the Macedonians and succeeded in mustering a large army that, under the command of the *strategos*

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Leosthenes, set out immediately for Thermopylae. Their aim was to stop Antipater getting through the pass and attacking central Greece. Thermopylae thus became one of the campaign's main targets. On their way through Boeotia, the coalition took the opportunity of crushing the resistance of the Boeotians and the Euboeans, who had sided with the Macedonians. Once at Thermopylae, they occupied the passes before the Macedonians could invade and inflicted a harsh defeat on Antipater, who they pursued into Lamia, where the Macedonian regent took refuge while waiting for reinforcements. Antipater succeeded in obtaining the help he so desperately needed and the Athenians' attempted liberation of Greece turned into a resounding defeat. Leosthenes and the leaders of the rebellion had all fallen in battle or were executed.

In the *Funeral Oration* he wrote in honour of Leosthenes and his men, Hyperides does not specifically mention the loyalties of the Epicnemidian Locrians in the conflict unfolding on their doorstep, but does tell us that the Thessalians, Phocians, Aetolians and "all the other peoples of the region" aligned themselves with Athens.[1] Hyperides' primary interest is preaching the anti-Macedonian cause and comparing the Macedonian army with the Persian invader, so that he can sing the praises of the Athenians. So he emphasises that all these *ethne* supported Leosthenes willingly, and had only accepted Philip II and Alexander before because they had been forced to. Hyperides does not list every single *ethnos* of central Greece, and only mentions those he considers most important. Pausanias (1.25.4) and Diodorus (18.9.5), however, include the Locrians—without further definition—although we can assume the Hesperians were not amongst the anti-Macedonians,[2] these accounts suggest that all the Eastern Locrians probably fought against the Macedonians during the Lamian War.

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[1] Hyp. 6.13: Θετταλοὺς δὲ καὶ Φωκέας καὶ [Αἰ]τωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ συμμάχους ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὧν Φίλιππος καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἀκόντων ἡγούμενοι ἐσεμνύνοντο, τούτων Λεωσθένης ἑκόντων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβεν. συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ὧν προείλετο κρατῆσαι, τῆς δὲ εἱ[μαρ]μένης οὐκ ἦν περιγενέ[σθαι.]

[2] Pausanias (1.25.4) lists amongst the allies that fought against the Macedonians, of the Peloponnesians: Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Eleans, the Phliasians, Messene; on the other side of the Corinthian isthmus, the Locrians, Phocians, Thessalians, Carystus, and the Acarnanians who belonged to the Aetolian Confederacy. Diodorus (18.9.5) mentions the Locrians, Phocians and neighbouring *ethne* and in 18.11.1–2 the Aetolians, Thessalians apart from the inhabitants of Heracleia, the Achaeans of Phthiotis apart from Thebes, the Dorians, Locrians and Phocians, and also the Aenianians, Alyzeans, Leucadians, the Molossians and also a few Illyrians and Thracians, the Carystians of Euboea and the Peloponnese, the Argives, Sycionians, Eleans, Messenians and those of the promontory of Acte. An Athenian inscription

Why did the Eastern Locrians join the anti-Macedonian coalition? If we were to believe Hyperides, we would have to assume that the Eastern Locrians, like the rest of the Greeks, felt the "call of liberty" as soon as they learned of Alexander's death, and so voluntarily abandoned their alliance with Macedonia that went back to the foundation of the League of Corinth (337). However, it could be that when Leosthenes marched his army through their territory determined to take control of Thermopylae, the Eastern Locrians simply found themselves forced to support the revolt and desert the Macedonian side. In any case, the defeat of Athens and the Greek coalition clearly put them back in the Macedonian camp.

From the end of the Lamian War in 322 until the Galatian invasion of 279 there was a long period when Eastern Locris was subject to Macedonian rule. However, Macedonian control of the area did not go uncontested. In 317, for example, when Cassander was in the Peloponnese about to confront the supporters of his rival Polyperchon, he had to return to Macedonia suddenly because of the crisis brewing there: Olympias had returned to the Court intending to support Polyperchon, and Philip III Arrhidaeus and his wife Eurydice had been assassinated. To reach Macedonia from the Peloponnese, Cassander had to cross Epicnemidian Locris and Thermopylae, and Diodorus (19.35.1–2) tells us that the Macedonian king found his way blocked at Thermopylae by the Aetolians who had occupied the Pass because they had sided with Olympias and Polyperchon. Cassander returned to Thessaly by sea with the aid of Boeotian and Euboean ships (Diod. 19.35.1).[3] The following year, in 316, once he had consolidated his position in Macedonia, Cassander returned to the Peloponnese to resume his campaign against Polyperchon's supporters. On route for the Peloponnese, Cassander had to drive the Aetolians out of Thermopylae, which he did with difficulty (Diod. 19.53.1). This clearly demonstrates that by the end of the fourth century the Aetolian Confederacy was already trying to control the Thermopylae Pass to protect itself, obstruct Macedonian control of Greece and as a base from which it could subsequently extend its influence over the whole of central Greece.

(*IG* II^2, 148; *Syll*^{3} 198) recording a treaty of alliance with the Locrians—probably the Eastern Locrians—has been dated to early 356, at the beginning of the Third Sacred War, but its context suggests it is more likely to relate to the years leading up to the Battle of Chaeroneia (340–338) or some time during the Lamian War (cf. Pascual in this volume).

3 The Aetolians probably controlled Thermopylae from at least 321, when they were engaged in a campaign in Thessaly to harry Antipater (Diod. 18.38.1).

However, in these very early days, the Aetolians had not yet firmly established their control of Thermopylae and Eastern Locris. Ultimately, despite the difficulties they faced, the Macedonian kings were still strong enough to keep the Aetolians out of Thermopylae and reassert their hegemony over the region, as shown by the fact that in 313 when Opus was under siege by one of Antigonus' generals, Ptolemy, the city was controlled by Cassander.[4] It is possible that, on this particular occasion, Cassander momentarily lost control over Eastern Locris, but recovered it shortly afterwards: by 309 it was once again under his sovereignty. We know this because in the winter of that year Polyperchon, who by this time had been reconciled with Cassander and was one of his allies, was able to withdraw to Locris to rest with his army (Diod. 20.28.3). After the Lamian War had ended, Epicnemidian Locris remained faithful to its alliance with Macedonia throughout the late fourth and early third centuries, although, possibly between 313 and 310, it passed from Cassander's control to Antigonus' and then back again, and Aetolian designs on the region were already being felt.

However, during the first decades of the third century, Macedonia continued to weaken and so did its influence on Eastern Locris. In 288, when Demetrius Poliorcetes was driven from the Macedonian throne, his kingdom was divided between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus.[5] In the carve up, Pyrrhus got southern Macedonia and Thessaly, so possibly the whole of Eastern Locris then came under Epirote rule for a while. As a result of these changing fortunes, the whole of Eastern Locris may have dropped out of the alliance with the Macedonians, following the lead of other states.[6] Those who really benefited from the internal Macedonian crisis were the Aetolians, since, as we have seen, they had been trying to drive the Macedonians out of Central Greece since the end of the Lamian War. In 290, the Aetolians took possession of Delphi and gained control of the Amphictyony,[7] and in 280 they included the city of Heracleia Trachinia, at the eastern entrance to Thermopylae, in their Confederacy.[8] This growing Aetolian hegemony over the whole of central Greece was confirmed with the Galatian invasion of 279.[9]

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[4] Diodorus (19.78.5) says that Ptolemy, one of Antigonus' generals, laid siege to Opus because the Opuntian Locrians were allies of Cassander.

[5] Plu. *Demetr.* 44.7; *Pyrrh.* 10.5–6; Paus.1.10.2.

[6] See Tarn 1969: 132: "so no doubt did Eastern Locris, unless it had already become free in 285".

[7] Grainger 1999: 90–91; Scholten 2000: 18–19.

[8] Paus. 10.20.9.

[9] See Grainger 1999: 98–104.

The Greeks had not suffered such a serious external threat since the Persian invasion of 480. Now, two centuries later, the Celtic *ethne* reached their lands, led by their chieftain Brennus. According to Justin (24.4–8), they crossed Macedonia and marched directly on Delphi without encountering any resistance. We find a very similar account in Diodorus, who says (22.3–5) that the Galatians came through Thermopylae both in their advance on Delphi and in their retreat: during their withdrawal they did suffer major losses at Thermopylae, but he does not say whether there was any kind of confrontation during their advance. In clear contrast to Diodorus and Justin, Pausanias (1.4; 10.19.5–23) says there was a great battle at Thermopylae between Greeks and Galatians before the Celts attacked Delphi. In general, the historiography usually accepts Pausanias' account, which is much more complete and detailed than that of Justin and Diodorus. However, the longest version is not necessarily the most accurate and there are reliable indications that Pausanias exaggerated the importance of the confrontation. Undoubtedly the Greeks must have put up some resistance in Thermopylae, as they always did when invaded by an army from the north, but, perhaps the clash was not significant enough for Diodorus and Justin to feel it should be mentioned in their respective accounts. We shall try to show that Pausanias' decision to include and magnify it was motivated by his desire to emulate Herodotus and describe a battle that would have done justice to the Persian Wars. But first, since Pausanias offers the only description of such a battle, let us see what he says on the subject and then try to determine how much of his story is a true account and how much is probably subsequent embellishment.

According to Pausanias (10.20.7–9), the Galatians gave the Greek lookouts the slip and swam across the river Spercheius at night at a point where the Greek defence did not expect them. Then they set out for Heracleia, not to assault and occupy the city, but intending to lay waste to its *chora*, plunder it for supplies and then march south as quickly as possible. When they reached Thermopylae, however, they found their way blocked by a coalition of Greek *ethne*, including the Athenians who, according to Pausanias, attacked the enemy army, raining arrows and projectiles on them from their triremes in the sea. Seven days later, the Galatians tried to scale Mt. Oeta using the path that started beyond the sanctuary of Athena Trachinis, but this tactic too was unsuccessful. Brennus then realised it was very dangerous to risk a third defeat, and decided to adopt a different strategy. He sent Orestorius and Combutis to Thessaly with forty thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry to invade Aetolia from the North. He hoped this would mean that the Aetolians would immediately return home, leaving the

Greek positions at Thermopylae vulnerable. At the same time the Galatian chieftain managed to persuade some local people—Pausanias only mentions Heracleots and Aenianians—to show him the Anopaea path. This was the path that, approximately two centuries earlier, the Persians had used to surround the Greeks under the command of king Leonidas (Paus. 10.22.1–2).

This time everything went according to plan for Brennus. When the Aetolians found out that part of the Galatian army had invaded their homeland and was committing atrocities of every kind in the city of Chalaeum, they decided to strike camp and return to Aetolia at once. There, with the help of reinforcements sent by the inhabitants of Patrae, they recovered Chaleum and massacred more than half Orestorius' and Combutis' men (Paus. 10.22.3–7). Despite the fate of the Galatians in Aetolia, this tactic and the help of the Heracleots and Aenianians enabled Brennus to surround the Greek army and get through the famous pass to continue his march into central Greece. The Galatians thus crossed Epicnemidian Locris, possibly laying waste to the *chora* of the region's *poleis*, and then went straight on to Phocis. They must have reached the Cephisus valley through one of the Callidromus Passes, and marched on to the sanctuary of Delphi, where the Greek troops had massed again (Paus. 10.22.8–23.14).

As Nachtergael (1977: I.40–150) points out, the treachery of the Heracleots and the Aenianians is obviously a repeat of Epialtes' betrayal at the time of the Persian invasion. In practice, the help of the Aenianians and Heracleots was entirely unnecessary since the absence of the Aetolians was sufficient to allow Brennus' army to advance, so it would appear to be pure fabrication by Pausanias, an invention introduced by the author to establish a connection with the famous battle of the Persian Wars and emulate Herodotus' account of it. Athens' leading role in the conflict is not clear either. In fact, Athenian participation was fairly small—a thousand infantry and five hundred horsemen, compared with the ten thousand Boeotian hoplites or the more than eight thousand Aetolians—and only differed from the other contingents in sending triremes, although Pausanias (10.20.5) does not tell us exactly how many. If the Athenians really did send them, we should find a reference to the fact in the decree by which Athens accepted the invitation to take part in the *Soteria* at Delphi: this inscription records how the Athenians helped stop the Galatians, but makes no reference whatsoever to sending triremes, which would prove that Pausanias simply invented it.

However, what does seem fairly plausible is the Galatian attack on Chaleum to distract the Aetolians. Pausanias says that when the Aetolians returned to their homeland to defend it against the Celts, they had the help of

hoplites from Patrae (Paus. 10.22.6), and this is confirmed by a commemorative monument erected in that Achaean city. Just as Pausanias attempts to embellish Athenian participation, he also tries to underplay the Aetolians' role, but fails to do so. The Aetolians were Brennus' main concern, and their contingent was the largest, consisting of seven thousand hoplites, nine hundred light infantry and an indeterminate number of cavalry, a figure only exceeded by the Boeotians. It is even possible that the honour of commanding the combined Greek forces fell to the Aetolians and not the Athenians, in the person of one of their *strategoi*, Euridamus.

As far as the Locrians are concerned, Pausanias tells us they took part in the defence of Thermopylae by sending seven hundred infantry soldiers under the command of Meidias, but no cavalry (Paus. 10.20.4: Λοκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀταλάντῃ τῇ νήσῳ Μειδίας ἦγεν: ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἑπτακόσιοι, καὶ ἱππικόν σφισιν οὐ προσῆν). It is a fairly believable number, although fewer than the thousand hoplites they sent against the Persian invasion of 480. However, Pausanias refers to the Locrians that took part at Thermopylae as "those that live opposite the island of Atalanti". Taking into account that the Atalanti region is, strictly speaking, that of the city of Opus and its immediate surroundings, we should perhaps ask ourselves about the significance of such a statement: were the Opuntian Locrians the only Eastern Locrians that fought with the other Greeks at Thermopylae in 279? Did the Epicnemidians stay out of the battle, or does Pausanias mean all the Eastern Locrians, including the Epicnemidians?

An inscription found in Delphi,[10] written in the Pelasgiotis dialect of Thessaly and unfortunately only preserved in a very fragmentary state, apparently records Thessalian arbitration between the Opuntians and the Epicnemidians. It has been suggested that this arbitration should be dated to the first half of the third century, before the Aetolians gained control of the Delphic Amphictyony in 278/7. We do not know whether the Opuntians referred to are just the citizens of the *polis* of Opus or a larger group of Locrians, but it seems beyond doubt that by this time the Epicnemidians had some kind of legal structure that was more than simply a geographical designation, capable of seeking inter-state arbitration. That the Epicnemidian Locrians had some kind of organisation, independent of that of the Eastern Locrians as a whole, can be inferred, as we saw,[11] from various coins

10 *SEG* 2.264. Cf. Ager, 1996, 84–86; Magnetto 1997: number 23, pp. 150–153.
11 Cf. Pascual in this volume.

minted with the legend ΛΟΚΡ ΕΠΙΚΝΑ dated to the period after the battle of Chaeroneia, between 338 and 300.[12] They were probably issued at the same time as others bearing the legend ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ,[13] ΛΟΚΡ ΥΠΟΚ,[14] ΛΟΚΡΩΝ.[15] In the case of issuing coinage, it seems that not only did the Epicnemidian Locrians have their own political organisation but it was also distinct from that of the Hypocnemidians.

We also have several decrees from the Hellenistic period that mention a Locrian Confederacy whose official name was "the Opuntians and the Locrians in union of the Opuntians" (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913 and 1920), which is also indicative of the predominant role played by Opus within this *koinon*. Moreover, one of the decrees that mention "the Opuntians together with the Locrians" is specifically dated between 312 and 280 (*CIG* II, 789). A Confederacy would have existed in the late fourth and early third centuries based on Opus and taking in all or part of Eastern Locris.

This Confederacy granted titles of *proxenos* and *evergetes* in accordance with the law (1909, 1912) which suggests that federal law existed. As well as *proxenia* (1909, 1910, 1912, 1913) and the *evergesia*, the federal State granted *isopoliteia* (1909, 1910, 1913), the right to possess land and houses (1909, 1910, 1913, 1920), *asphaleia* (1909, 1910), *asylia* (1910) and *ateleia* (1909). These privileges were obviously granted for the whole of the federal territory. The task of describing the internal organisation of the Confederacy and defining its institutions is more difficult. Four inscriptions granting *proxenia* preserve a reference to the archon eponymous (1908, 1909, 1912, 1913). In three of them (1909, 1912 and 1913) it is the federal State that grants this prerogative so the archon could be the Confederacy's federal magistrate eponymous. In the other one, found at the hermitage of Agios Pandelemion in Atalanti (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 1908), it is only the Opuntians' assembly and *boule* that, within the *polis*' democratic system, grant proxeny and other rights to a Thessalian from Crannon, whose name has not been preserved. The inscription is dated by an archon eponymous who we can assume was the local archon of the *polis* of Opus. The decree should date to before 279, since after that date Thessalian influence in Locris ended. It is clear that, given Opus' leading role in the Confederacy, this city would have been the federal capital and

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12 *AZ* 9, 1849, 92, nº 20; *AZ* 10, 1847, 148, nº 16; Head *BMC* numbers 37, 71–76; Babelon 1914: II.3 number 456; *SNG Cop. Aetolia-Euboea*, 74–76.

13 Head *HN*²: 336, fig. 190.

14 Head *BMC* numbers 38–40; Babelon 1914: II.3 numbers 438–441.

15 Head *BMC* number 42; Babelon 1914: II.3 number 451.

the place where the federal institutions met. Following the same line of argument, it is reasonable to assume that the federal institutions would be modelled on those that existed in Opus. So, as in Opus, we would have a democratic system that operated on a federal level, organised around an archon, an assembly and a *boule*. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by another inscription that also comes from the Atalanti area, found in the southeast corner of the church of the Metamorphosis (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 1920). The allusion to Pharsalians and Thessalians once again dates this inscription to before 279, when the Thessalians could still exercise some influence over Eastern Locris. The difficulties begin when we try to establish the content of the inscription, since it is preserved in a very fragmentary state. However, although we do not know exactly what the text says, "the assembly of the Locrians" appears clearly in the first line and a few lines later there is an allusion to the *boule*, references that should be sufficient on their own for us to accept that both institutions already existed at a federal level. The decree also states that, if anyone destroys the stele, the offender will be fined, reported to the *boule* as in the case of other offences, and the person responsible taken to court. Immediately after the reference to the assembly of the Locrians, the descriptive adjective "hypocnemidian" can just about be made out. This Confederacy would have been called the Opuntians in union with the Locrians and its principal body would be an assembly known as the *damos* of the Hypocnemidian Locrians.

Not only the federal institutions would have been based in Opus, but perhaps 50% of their members also came from Opus and the other *poleis* that formed the *koinon*, hence the name of the federation. Opus would probably reserve the right to appoint the federal archon and command the federal army, which would be led by a single commander, as suggested by Pausanias' account of the Galatian invasion in which Meidias leads the Locrians in the battle fought at Thermopylae. Lastly, perhaps we can assume the federal institutions were not just "modelled" on those of the hegemonic *polis*, but would have been the same in the other *poleis* that made up the *koinon*.

The problem lies in the fact that we do not know whether or not the name the Opuntians in union of the Locrians and the *damos* of the Hypocnemidians includes the Epicnemidian Locrians. The minting of coins and the Thessalian arbitration between Opuntians and Epicnemidians would suggest that the Epicnemidian Locrians had some kind of political structure. The contingent of seven hundred Locrians at Thermopylae compared with a thousand in 480 perhaps indicates that the Epicnemidians were not involved, despite the Galatian threat, so represented a contingent of three

hundred infantry missing from the second battle.[16] This evidence allows us to infer that either the Epicnemidians belonged to a Confederacy that included the whole of Eastern Locris, and were recognised as distinct, or they were already separate from Opus and the other Locrians, who called themselves Hypocnemidians.[17] In the latter case, probably more plausible, we can speculate whether the Epicnemidian Locrians had their own *koinon*. In either case, the Epicnemidian Locrians were separate from the Opuntian Locrians after 279.

The Galatian invasion, together with the internal weakness of Macedonia, marked a turning point in the history of central Greece and led to the extension of the respective areas of influence of the two states that had put up most resistance to the Galatians: the Aetolian and Boeotian Confederacies. This ultimately caused the political fragmentation of Eastern Locris, and while Epicnemidian Locris fell under Aetolian control,[18] Opuntian Locris remained in the Boeotian sphere of influence.

An example of this increased Aetolian power can be seen in the changes of representation on the Amphictyonic Council in Delphi.[19] Before 279 Antigonus had a certain advantage: out of a total of twenty-four votes, Macedonia controlled seven,[20] and Aetolia none, since it was not even an amphictyonic state by traditional right.[21] However, after the Galatian invasion,

[16] The Epicnemidian Locrians probably contributed a third of the forces and three hundred hoplites, a standard formula in central Greece, as they did for example in the later dispute between Scarpheia and Thronium, in which the first claimed a third of the Epicnemidians' representation in Delphi because it provided a third of the victims for the sacrifices in Delphi, and in the distribution of districts between the *poleis* in the Boeotian Confederacy of 395 (see *CID* IV numbers 123 and 124).

[17] In the first part of the third century, the influence of the Epicnemidian Locrians in Delphi appears to have increased, so between 290 and 280, for example, the Delphians honoured two Scarpheians (*FD* III 1. 1, nº 115 c. 290/89 and *FD* III 1, number 110, c. 285/4).

[18] An inscription (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 2032) in which the Thronians grant *proxenia* to an Aetolian from Phiteus, could be related with Aetolian influence in Epicnemidian Locris throughout the third century (cf. Girard 1881: 48; *SGDI* 1511). As well as the proxenia, the Thronians granted *isoteleia*, *asylia*, *ateleia* and *asphaleia* and preferential judicial rights in the courts of the *polis*.

[19] Control which *a priori* was strictly territorial, since the Delphic *chora* fell within the area dominated by the Aetolian Confederacy. However, this influence meant, amongst other things, that the delegate who presided at the assemblies of the Amphictyonic League was invariably an Aetolian. See *SGDI* II, p. 672; Tarn 1969: 212 and 207, Gómez Espelosín 1995 in relation to Macedonian influence in Boeotia and central Greece.

[20] Two Thessalians, two Magnesians, two Achaeans of Phthiotis, and one Perrhaebean, all of them included in Macedonian Thessaly.

[21] Neither was Macedonia. Therefore, none of them was entitled to its own vote. However, the control Macedonia exercised over certain members of the Amphictyony gave it *de facto* control of their votes.

Aetolia extended its confederacy to include the city of Heracleia, which had a *hieromnemon* in the Amphictyony, and Hesperian Locris, which had one of the two Locrian *hieromnemones*. The Phocians, after the victory of 279, and because of their action in the battle, recovered the two votes they had had before, and which were taken from them by Philip II in the Third Sacred War. Similarly, at some point the other two votes that belonged to the Macedonians were given back to Delphi. Aetolia must have been confident that returning the Phocians' votes would mean that it could rely on their loyalty, and as long as Delphi was controlled by Aetolia, its votes would also have been pro-Aetolian.[22] So in 277 the list would be: two "Aetolian" votes (one Locrian, one Malian from Heracleia), two Delphians, two Phocians, two Boeotians, two Dorians, two Ionians, two Aenianians, two Thessalians, two Magnesians, two Achaeans of Phthiotis, one Eastern Locrian, which was traditionally cast by an Opuntian, one Malian, one Perrhaebean and one Dolopian.[23]

While they were manoeuvring for influence in the Amphictyony, the Aetolians were taking advantage of Macedonia's weakness to expand into central Greece, subjugating the minor *ethne* that belonged to the Amphictyony: Aenianians, Dorians, Dolopians and Malians. With the help of their votes, Aetolia was able to acquire real weight on the amphictyonic Council. The Aetolians' desire to use the Delphic Amphictyony for its own ends after the Galatians had been driven out probably provoked a certain amount of friction with the other independent amphictyonic allies of central Greece, and directly affected Epicnemidian Locris, as we shall see. All this would be reflected in the movement of amphictyonic votes during the 270s and 260s, in which Epicnemidian Locris was fully involved.

There is an Eastern Locris representative in the four known lists between the admission of the Aetolians and the session of Autumn 273, in the archonships of Aristagoras, Charixenus, Heracleidas and Archiadas. But there is no Locrian delegate in the session of spring 272, while in the autumn list

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22 We know that Aetolia was very popular in central and northern Greece. See Scholten 2000; Grainger 1999; Tarn 1969: 212–215. Moreover, none of the Delphic inscriptions between the defeat of the Galatians and the battle of Cynoscephalae mentions the *hieromnemones* supposedly controlled by the Macedonians, so their claimed superiority would have been nonexistent: they either did not attend, or did not vote (Tarn 1969: 213, n. 145). It has been suggested that Aetolia excluded the Macedonian kings from the Amphictyony, but it is unlikely that the Aetolians would have had sufficient military strength to do so. Perhaps, after the Galatian invasion, the Macedonians chose not to court a confrontation with the Aetolians and abstained.

23 See Beloch *GG*² 3.2.322–352; Tarn 1969: 212–213, c. 144.

for the same year, under the archonship of Eudocus, the Boeotian delegation has acquired another vote, giving them three altogether. According to Scholten,[24] the Boeotians took control of the area, probably of the region of Opuntian Locris, in 272 and so controlled the Locrian vote.

The Locrian delegate only reappeared in 270, but this is the first time we know of that the *hieromnemon* of the Locrians does not come from Opus but from Alponus, a *polis* in Epicnemidian Locris. Phricus, a Locrian from Alponus, is the only Locrian *hieromnemon* in Straton's archonship (271/0).[25] Phricus, son of Phricus, is also a *hieromnemon* in Athambus' archonship (270/69 or 269/8).[26] The reason why the Locrian delegate comes from Alponus could be related with its proximity to the sanctuary of Anthele rather than its importance as a *polis*. Athambus' archonship, in the Autumn Pylaea of 270 or 269, is also the first occasion on which the name *Epiknamidians* (*sic*) appears in Delphic epigraphy; the list for this year refers to five *hieromnemones* for the Aetolians, two Phocians, a Malian from Lamia, an Athenian, one for the Dorians of the Peloponnese and one for the Epicnemidian Locrians, called Mianeus, whose *polis* of origin is not named.[27] From the existence of these votes we can infer that while Opuntian Locris was under Boeotian control, Epicnemidian Locris had fallen within the Aetolian sphere of influence. Thus the Aetolians would have taken a representative from the Boeotians and given one back to the Eastern Locrians—not to the Opuntians, but to the Epicnemidians.[28] In the same year that the Locrian vote

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24 Scholten 2000: 245, n. 37 and 38, table 1. A Locrian from Larymna was *hieromnemon* in Delphi in Archiadas' archonship, in the autumn of 272 or 271 (*CID* IV nº 22, lin. 5). An inscription (*IG* IX 1^2 5: 1960) originating in Opus, in which Archias leads or encourages resistance in the Opus acropolis and dies in the fighting has been related with the war c. 270, but the chronology of the inscription is very doubtful.

25 *CID* IV nº 27; *SGDI* 2517; *Syll*³ 419, in the Pylae of Autumn 271. *CID* II, nº 126, Inv. 7019, lin. 1 (c. 280–270).

26 *FD* III 1, number 475. Inv. 1697. *CID* II (IV) nº 129, lin. 6. In the archonship of Heracleidas, c. 287/6, the citizens of Delphi granted proxeny to another Phricus, son of Timolaus, a Locrian (*FD* III 1, number 83; Bourguet 1925: 32). The name Phricus may derive from Phrichium, a mountain in the territory of Alponus (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Φρίκιον, 672.3–11), so we can assume that both men came from Alponus and belonged to the same family. If so, Phricus, son of Phricus, of Alponus would be the *hieromnemon* in the years 271 to 268, while Phricus, son of Timolaus, honoured before 280, would have been his father. *Contra* Bourguet (1925: 33), who identifies Phricus, the son of Timolaus, with the Locrian *hieromnemon* of Straton's archonship.

27 *CID* IV, 28; *Syll*³ 482; *FD* III 4.4, number 415, inv. 2293 + 3956.

28 Flacelière 1937: 191; Scholten 2000: 242; Grainger 1995: 335–337, on the other hand, maintains that the change in the vote is directly related with Locris' internal situation, and does not see a premeditated plan in the changes that took place in the four delegations

reappears, the Aetolians increased their representation by one, possibly taking the vote from Doris, which appeared for the last time in 273. And shortly after 269 the Locrian vote changed again: the *hieromnemon* now comes from Scarpheia, another of the Epicnemidian *poleis*. They controlled the vote in the spring of the year of Damaeus' archonship (267/6 or 265/4 or 264/3),[29] but in the autumn the vote was in the hands of their Phocian neighbours,[30] and possibly the whole of Epicnemidia with it, just as Opuntian Locris had previously been taken over by the Boeotians.[31] Not long afterwards, under the archonship of Peithagoras (262/1 or 260/59), the situation changed again: the Phocians lost a vote, which went to the Aetolians, who then had seven votes.

If we assume, as seems logical,[32] that the vote that keeps changing sides is that of Eastern Locris,[33] the political evolution of Epicnemidian Locris is thus complete by the end of the Cremonidean War, after the invasion of the Galatians. In the first stage (c. 279/8–260/59) Eastern Locris was divided into two different spheres of influence: Epicnemidia in the Aetolian orbit and Opuntian Locris in the Boeotian. If, before the Galatian invasion, the Eastern Locrians had been members of a Confederacy under Opuntian hegemony, under the new conditions after the defeat of the Galatians, the Epicnemidian Locrians were separate from the rest of the Eastern Locrians. Subsequently, around 260/59, the Epicnemidian Locrians were included, voluntarily or otherwise, in the Aetolian Confederacy and the Epicnemidian *poleis* were from then on considered "Aetolian". This situation lasted until at least 178, when the representatives of the Aenianians, the Dorians of central Greece and the Western and Eastern Locrians were still Aetolians. Perhaps the annexation of Opuntian Locris by the Boeotian Confederacy brought about not only the *de facto* fragmentation of Eastern Locris, but also the dissolution of the *koinon*. In fact, no signs of its existence are found after this

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between the years 273/72 and 260/59. Knoepfler 1995: 146–148, considers that the Boeotians took direct control of Opuntia, but it was the Aetolians that gave them the Dorians' vote, in recognition of the Boeotian capture of Chalcis in Euboea.

29 Whose date varies: 264/3, according to Etienne and Pierart; 265/64 according to Daux; and 267/66, in the opinion of Beloch and Flacelière (see Scholten 2000: 244–246). For the chronology of Delphi in the years 270–260, cf. Scholten 2000: 241–247; Grainger 1995: 322–335; Daux 1977: 57–61 and Lefèvre 1995: 174–185 (cf. also *CID* IV numbers 28–43).

30 *FD* III 4.4, 359, lin. 37; *FD* III 1, number 476; *CID* IV, nº 130, lin. 2; Lefèvre 1998: 33–34.

31 Flacelière 1937: 198; Lefèvre 1998: 178; Will 1979: I.229.

32 Scholten 2000: 242–247. See also Klaffenbach 1926: 68–81; Hammond 1988: 289.

33 For the incorporation of Opuntian Locris by the Boeotians cf. Klaffenbach 1926: 75–77; Flacelière 1937: 192.

until the first century BC, despite the fact that we know that similar *koina* existed in this period, such as those of Phocis and Doris, which maintained their structure within the Aetolian Confederacy.

Although Epicnemidian Locris may have been incorporated directly into the Confederacy, what is more likely is that it became a *telos* or district. The very limited evidence available also shows that much (if not all) of Aetolia was divided into districts or *tele*. Outside Aetolia itself we know of the existence of two *tele*, one in Acarnania, and the other in West Locris. Hence the creation of a *telos* seems to have been a suitable form of organisation for regions incorporated into the Confederacy. Each *telos* had its own political-administrative bodies, with a council or *Boule*, headed by a *Boularch*.[34] These offices were elected within the *telos*, and were reflected in the Confederacy's larger structures, such as the pan-Aetolian Assembly. We do not know the exact nature of these offices, but we can assume they had functions that, subject to the authority of the Aetolian Assembly and the Confederacy's senior bodies, would be responsible for collecting taxes or organising citizen levies in the case of conflict. The *tele* would have formed the basis of the Aetolian political structure.

After the Cremonidean War and the manoeuvring of the 260s, Aetolian influence over Epicnemidian Locris was consolidated.[35] During much of the third century, the region remained stable and at peace within the Aetolian orbit, since neither Aetolia nor Thermopylae are explicitly mentioned in the sources, and neither is there any record of instability in the region. Meanwhile, Aetolian expansion was reflected in its increased number of *hieromnemones* in Delphi, and hence its power in the Amphictyony, which it used to some extent to impose its control.

Boeotia went to war with Aetolia in 245, possibly over control of Phocis.[36] The Boeotians' alliance with the Achaean Confederacy did not help them much, since they were roundly defeated by the Aetolians at Chaeroneia, leaving a thousand dead on the battlefield,[37] and had to become allies of the Aetolian Confederacy.[38] If Opuntian Locris joined the Aetolian Confederacy

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34 Larsen 1968: 196–197.

35 During this period of Aetolian domination in Delphi, around 249/8, in the archonship of Boucles (*SGDI* 2597), we have a record of a *hieromnemon*, Nicander, son of Nicander, who comes from Scarpheia, which would indicate that Epicnemidian Locris was still under Aetolian control.

36 Tarn 1969: 384–385.

37 Plu. *Arat.* 16; Polyb. 20.4.

38 But not as a συμπολιτεύομενοι or member by right, of the Confederacy. However, when

after the victory of 245,[39] as believed, the Aetolians would immediately have returned it to the Boeotians.[40]

Thus when Demetrius II came to the Macedonian throne in 238 Thermopylae was under the firm control of the Aetolians who, in addition to Epicnemidian Locris, also controlled Hesperian Locris, Heracleia, Dolopia, Aenis, Doris, Phocis, Achaea of Phthiotis, Malis, and were allies of the Boeotians, who in turn controlled Opuntian Locris.[41] However, the situation changed over the following years with the renewed intervention of the Macedonians in central Greece: between 236 and 228 Boeotia came into Demetrius' direct sphere of influence and in 228, when Antigonus Doson came to the Macedonian throne, Opus was seized from the Aetolians, although shortly afterwards Boeotia undermined Macedonian control. In 227 the Aetolians and Macedonians negotiated a peace agreement that kept Thermopylae and Epicnemidia in Aetolian hands and left Opuntian Locris under Antigonus' control,[42] although the Macedonian king had hoped to gain control of Thermopylae and the whole of Eastern Locris, since it was the most direct route into central Greece and the Peloponnese (where he had numerous garrisons and interests). Since he failed to do so, the Macedonians had to take a circuitous route every time they went South, through Demetrias and Peparethus, via Euboea (Chalcis) and along the Euripus strait to Athens and Corinth, always relying on their apparent naval superiority and control of the territories further south.[43]

Not long afterwards, the Achaean Confederacy, during the War against Cleomenes III of Sparta, resorted to an alliance with Antigonus Doson (225), which meant opening the door to renewed Macedonian intervention in Greece. The Macedonians obtained Acrocorinth from the Achaeans and, in 224, surrounded Thermopylae without opposition[44] to go to the aid of

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Boeotia joined the Aetolian Confederacy, the Macedonians treated it informally as a friend, so it also moved into its sphere of influence. See Tarn 1969: 384, n. 43.

[39] Polyb. 20.4.4–5; Plu. *Arat.* 16.1; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 304; Scholten 2000: 259; Tarn 1969: 385; Grainger 1999: 217.

[40] Beloch *GG*^{2} 4.2.429–432; Le Bohec 1993: 162–163.

[41] Opuntian Locris probably formed part of the κοινὸν τῶν Βοιοτῶν until at least about 190, if the Opuntian origin of one of the boeotarchs, Calliclidas, is defended. See Roesch 1982: 234, n. 135; 1965: 103–108; Feyel, 1942: 265; dates contested by Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 331–337.

[42] Hammond and Walbank 1988: 327, 341 and 343.

[43] This had happened on other occasions: with Cassander in 317, to avoid an Aetolian garrison (Diod. 18.55.2); with Antigonus Doson in 224, in order to respect Aetolian neutrality (Polyb. 2.52.7–8), and Philip V in 219, one again avoiding an Aetolian garrison (Polyb. 4.67.5).

[44] Polyb. 2.52.7–8.

the Achaeans. In 222 the Spartans under Cleomenes were finally defeated, together with their Aetolian allies who, however, managed to retain control of Thermopylae and Epicnemidia.

On the death of Antigonus Doson (221), Philip V inherited a Macedonia that was powerful in Greece: the victory of Sellasia a year before and the formation of the Hellenic League raised concern amongst the Aetolians, which gave rise to the so-called War of the Allies or the Social War (220–217). The new Macedonian king wanted to open a direct route to the Peloponnese and tried continuously, if fruitlessly, to take control of Thermopylae, which almost invariably remained in Aetolian hands throughout his reign. This prevented him reaching his Greek allies by the most direct route, and forced the Macedonians to sail round the coast, losing precious time. If they did not have the necessary sea power they would be stuck at the entrance to the pass. Thermopylae's strategic importance, already evident in the preceding years, was demonstrated even more clearly in the subsequent confrontations of the late third and early second centuries. Thanks to Livy (28.7.12), we know the *polis* of Thronium was conquered and laid waste in this war, probably by Philip V's troops, and that it became virtually depopulated. A little later it was repopulated by the Aetolians with refugees from Thebes of Phthiotis, a city that had also been destroyed by Philip, and whose inhabitants had put themselves under the protection of Aetolians. In 217 a peace settlement was reached which did not satisfy anyone, although it kept Epicnemidian Locris under Aetolian control.

When the First Macedonian War (215–205) broke out, at a time when Rome was immersed in the Second Punic War and Hannibal's army was in Italy, the Aetolians committed themselves to attacking the Macedonians with Pergamene and, in particular, Roman naval support. Epicnemidian Locris and Thermopylae one again played a decisive role as the gateway between central Greece and the Peloponnese, on one hand, and Southern Greece and Macedonia, on the other, since Philip V had to keep open communications with his allies and garrisons in the Peloponnese and central Greece. According to Polybius (11.5.4), the Macedonians' allies in these years were the Boeotians, Euboeans, Phocians, Thessalians, Epirotes, most of the Peloponnesians, and the Locrians. He is evidently referring to Opuntian Locris, which fell into Macedonian hands in 228. In fact Philip maintained a garrison in Opus,[45] while Epicnemidian Locris, dominated by the

[45] Livy 28.7.4.

poleis of Thronium and Scarpheia, belonged to the Aetolian Confederacy.[46] Philip's progress by sea was blocked by the appearance of the Roman and Pergamene fleets,[47] and overland at Thermopylae.[48] In 210/209 the Aetolians fortified Thermopylae's West Gate by building trenches and a palisade, and established a formidable garrison there.[49]

Consequently, in 209 and 208 the war focused on central Greece. In 209/8, Philip V succeeded in opening a way to Lamia, twice defeating the Roman coalition (209/208).[50] The following year (208/7) he attacked Heracleia and, although he failed to take the city, pillaged its countryside before returning to Scothoussa. Meanwhile, the Roman general Sulpicius, and Attalus of Pergamum travelled from Peparethus to Nicaea, and sent the fleet against Oreus, which they besieged.[51]

Philip V, after mustering the army, immediately marched on Thermopylae (Livy 27.30.2–3; Frontin. *Strat.* 1.4.6) and attacked and defeated the Aetolians stationed in the pass, causing them to flee, some towards Heracleia and others towards the southwest, probably through the Kleisoura pass (just south of the Callidromus, connecting Mendenitsa with Teithronium and Drymaea), which was unoccupied and would allow them to escape in safety. After his victory at Thermopylae, Philip V opened up the road south and entered Elateia. With the Thermopylae Pass open, the fighting moved to Opus. At the same time Attalus, after taking Oreus, disembarked in Cynus and attacked and took the city of Opus, defeating the Macedonian garrison. As the spoils of Oreus had been handed over to the Romans, Sulpicius allowed Opus to be sacked by Attalus' troops.[52] When Philip learned that this was happening, he marched rapidly towards Opus intending to take Attalus' forces by surprise. However, he was discovered at the last minute by a group of Cretan mercenaries, giving the Pergamene king and his troops time to flee; they scattered in disarray as they made their way to the ships. Philip V

46 Livy 28.7.11.

47 In particular, the route that connected the so-called "fetters of Greece", namely, Demetrias, Chalcis and Corinth (cf. Polyb. 18.11.5).

48 Livy 28.5.8; Polyb. 10.41.5.

49 Polyb. 10.41.5; Livy 28.5.8. The Aetolians, who were obviously aware of the strategy adopted earlier by the Persians and the Galatians, chose this Pass rather than either of the other two because it was the one that was least accessible by mountain tracks. It is estimated that it would have been about 90 metres wide.

50 Livy 27.30.2–3.

51 After being besieged, the city was betrayed and handed over by Plator, the Illyrian that Philip V had put in command of the garrison (Livy 28.6–7).

52 Livy 28.7.2–5.

had lost a golden opportunity of eliminating the Pergamene troops at a stroke, and vented his fury on Opus, which seemed ready to surrender to the enemy.[53] Soon afterwards he conquered Thronium which, since it had been surrounded by the Macedonians, opened its gates to avoid being sacked and reprisals taken. His victory at Thermopylae and the conquest of Thronium were probably the key to Philip V gaining control of the whole of Eastern Locris. At this point Attalus abandoned the war since Prusias of Bithynia had crossed his frontiers, and Sulpicius, without the support of the Pergamene fleet and with the overland route to the south open, abandoned the strait and withdrew to Aegina: the attempt to separate Philip from his allies had failed. Once Thronium and Epicnemidian and Opuntian Locris had been occupied, the Macedonian king set out for Phocis through the Boagrius valley, captured Teithronium and Drymaea,[54] and from there marched on Elateia. Then he continued to the Peloponnese to help his Achaean allies.[55]

With the Romans distancing themselves from the war and Attalus I no longer in Greece, the Aetolians were forced to sue for peace. The Peace of Phoenice put an end to the First Macedonian War in 205.[56] Flacelière contends that the Epicnemidian cities would have been returned to the Aetolians;[57] Grainger, on the other hand thinks that they were not returned to the Aetolian Confederacy, since their possession was not essential for its protection;[58] Walbank, for his part, thinks—on the basis of Livy's account[59]—that Opuntian Locris remained in Boeotian hands (allied to Macedonia), while Philip held onto Epicnemidia until at least 198. In that year, the Aetolians apparently held Nicaea, while Philip V would have controlled Thronium. This is the only explanation for Aetolian's continuous demands that Philip V should withdraw his garrisons from Phocis and Locris.[60] Hence we can infer

53 Livy 28.7.7–8; Polyb. 11.7.1.

54 Phocian cities to the north of the Cephisus, but perhaps part of Doris at this time, due to previous Aetolian influence. See Walbank 1967: II.96, n. 1.

55 Livy 28.7.11–14.

56 Livy 29.12.14, and App. *Mac.* 3: The Epicnemidian Locrians are omitted from the list of signatories, possibly by error (cf. Walbank 1967: II.103, n. 6).

57 Flacelière, 1937: 308, n. 1. During the war, at least until the occupation of Thronium, the Aetolians held control of Epicnemidian Locris. This is shown by the origin of the known Locrian *hieromnemones*: two Scarpheians, Leon (*CID* IV, 86; *SEG* 15.340, lin. 6—restored—, archonship of Batylus, c. 212), Polystratus (*CID* IV, 96. Inv. 1612, *Syll*^{3} 538 A; *FD* III 4.4, 362 lin. 5, c. 209/8) and one from Thronium, Caphisodorus, son of Mnenon, (in the archonship of Alexeas, 207/6, *Klio* 16, 175 nº 134).

58 Grainger 1999: 235.

59 Livy 32.36.9; Klaffenbach 1926: 82; Walbank, 1967: II.96, n. 1 and 103, n. 6.

60 Since we know that Opus was in Roman hands. Perhaps the negotiations were moved

that if Philip V conquered the whole of Epicnemidian Locris, he must have handed over Nicaea and Thermopylae but held onto Thronium. In short, the First Macedonian War and subsequent Peace of Phoenice led to the partition of Epicnemidian Locris, so that the west, including Thermopylae and Nicaea, remained under Aetolian control while Thronium and the whole of the east of the region fell into Macedonian hands.

After the end of the First Macedonian War and the Second Punic War there was no peace in either the Mediterranean or the Aegean. A treaty between Antiochus III and Philip V in 203–202 carved up the overseas possessions of the Ptolemaic empire between them: Philip expanded through the Aegean and defeated the Pergamenes and Rhodians in the naval battle of Lade. The defeated powers immediately went to Rome in search of support, thus unleashing the Second Macedonian War (200–197).

In 198/7 Titus Quinctius Flamininus established his winter barracks in Phocis and Eastern Locris,[61] and since his fleet was also larger than Macedonia's, he was able to cut communications between Philip and his allies in Achaea, Boeotia, Phocis, Opuntian Locris and Euboea. It was then that a minor confrontation took place around Opus, demonstrating the potential for conflict between Rome and Aetolia: the Opuntians succeeded in holding the Macedonian garrison in the acropolis, and one faction appealed to the Romans for help and the other appealed to the Aetolians. The Aetolians arrived first, but were kept out of the city, and it was Flamininus who took charge of the situation since the pro-Roman faction was strongest.[62] However, Opus had been a member of the Aetolian Confederacy some time previously,[63]and fell within its sphere of influence, so it was an uncomfortable situation, to say the least, for the Confederacy.[64]

Philip V, abandoned by almost all his allies (either willingly, or under pressure from Flamininus), found himself forced to negotiate at the end

from Nicaea to Thronium because Philip V held the latter, in the hope of ending the mistrust and concern for his safety that he had voiced about the Nicaea meeting.

61 Livy 32.32.1, after a brief and victorious campaign in Phocis.

62 Livy (32.32.2–3) says that "some—the supporters of Rome—were wealthier than the others, the pro-Aetolians": some interpret this to mean there was social conflict in Opus. However, following Gómez Espelosín 1986: 55–60 and Grainger 1999: 386, it seems that both groups were wealthy, and that it was simply that the richer had more to lose if the city was sacked (which they were afraid would happen if it remained under Macedonian control, as had happened shortly before in Elateia).

63 Until Antigonus Doson took it in 228, it had been under Aetolian influence.

64 To which would be added its exclusion from important matters, such as the Phocis campaign or the alliance with Achaea.

of 198. Flamininus agreed to meet him on a beach on the Malian Gulf near Nicaea; it was in Epicnemidian Locris, between Nicaea and Thronium, where the front line had been established. In Nicaea the Roman general met representatives of the Aetolians, Achaeans, Pergamenes and Rhodians. On the third day of the negotiations, the meetings moved to Thronium. Here a two-month truce was reached while delegations were sent to the Roman Senate, on condition that Philip would immediately withdraw his garrisons from Phocis and Locris.[65]

The terms demanded soon afterwards would have meant Macedonia abandoning all territorial ambitions beyond its borders, which Philip evidently could not accept. Thus in the spring of 197 the contenders prepared for battle. Philip massed his troops in Dion, while Flamininus marched to Thermopylae through Thronium and Scarpheia.[66] Advancing to the north, he met Philip at Cynoscephalae (June 197), and won a decisive victory for Rome.

After the defeat of Macedonia, Flamininus' *Declaration of the Freedom of Greece* at the Isthmian Games of 196 announced that "the Corinthians, Phocians, all the Locrians and the island of Euboea, the Magnesians, Thessalians, the Perrhaebeans and the Achaeans of Phthiotis would be free, released from the payment of tribute, and live under their own laws".[67] Rome thus tried, by upholding the principle of liberty and autonomy, to win over these Greek *poleis* to serve as a counterweight to the Aetolians, Macedonians and Seleucids. To show their good faith, the Romans undertook to withdraw their own troops from Greece two years later, meanwhile watching to see how the situation developed.

However, despite the principle of autonomy it espoused, the *Declaration* awarded the Aetolians control of Phocis and Locris as an additional guarantee. Whether or not Philip V would have held onto his influence in Epicnemidian Locris after the Peace of Phoenice, in 196 Aetolian control of Epicnemidian Locris was imposed or ratified, and the region would have become part Phocis[68] and the Aetolian Confederacy, in practice gaining very little.

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[65] Polyb. 18.1.1–10.4, Livy 32.32.5–36.10; Grainger 1999: 388–392; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 428; Walbank 1967: II.548–562.

[66] He stopped there to wait for his Aetolian allies, who were holding an assembly in Heracleia to discuss the strength of the contingent they would provide (Livy 33.3.6–7).

[67] Livy 33.32.5; Polyb. 18.44.1–7.

[68] Cf. also Polyb. 18.47.9.

Meanwhile, Antiochus III continued his expansionist policy. By 200 he had seized Coelesyria, was threatening Pergamum, the region around the Straits, and Greece itself. The mistrust between Rome and Antiochus heightened when the king welcomed Hannibal. Open conflict came in 192 when the Aetolians, feeling let down by the Romans,[69] prevailed upon Antiochus to come to Greece and started hostilities, failing in their attempt to take Chalcis from Locris. Antiochus set out for Greece with part of his army but once there much of the support he had been promised evaporated, mainly because the Aetolians did not supply the expected contingent and even had difficulty persuading their own troops to cross the Aegean.

Without support, Antiochus withdrew from Lamia to Thermopylae, where there was a major confrontation in 191 between him and the Roman consul Glabrio.[70] The Seleucid troops consisted of ten thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry and six elephants, and were outnumbered by the Romans two to one.[71] The Aetolians sent four thousand soldiers, divided into two groups, two thousand who were stationed in Hypata, and the other two thousand in Heracleia.[72] Given the insufficiency of his forces, Antiochus tried to block the Roman advance at the only place possible, the Thermopylae Pass, where the narrowness of the defile would compensate for their numerical inferiority and the phalanx would be protected without running the risk of being outflanked or losing formation.[73] So, after pitching camp, he improved the defences by fortifying the East Gate near Alponus. The

69 See Gómez Espelosín 1989.

70 Knowing that the other passes of inland Aetolia were guarded by the Aetolians, which would be the main reason why they could not provide more men to support Antiochus. Another option would have been the Tempe pass, but it had previously been occupied by Roman troops (Livy 36.15.3).

71 Livy 36.15.3; App. *Syr.* 16–18. We know that Antiochus only had 18,000 soldiers in Asia Minor, a small number for this undertaking, but he decided to cross the Aegean in the expectation of considerable support, especially from the Aetolian Confederacy and Philip V. However, rapid Roman reaction put paid to his hopes and his military and diplomatic campaign in search of support. Philip went over to the Roman side and the Aetolians supplied only 4,000 troops. At the same time, a large part of his army had been left in Asia (especially cavalry), and another was dispersed in the form of garrisons. See Bar-Kochva 1976: 18 and 158.

72 Thus blocking entry into Aetolia via the Spercheius, defending these two important cities and collaborating in the defence of Thermopylae, since the Romans would have a sizable enemy force behind them whose movements would have to be watched. The rest of the Aetolian army was blocking the passes to inland Aetolia.

73 Antiochus needed to gain time and remain on the defensive while waiting for his troops to arrive from Asia so that when they came he could deliver the decisive blow on open ground (App. *Syr.* 17).

width of the pass at its narrowest point was approximately ninety metres, and had a stone wall across it that had been built by the Aetolians. It went up to a height that prevented the pass being flanked.[74] Antiochus rebuilt this wall and put a new palisade and trench in front of it.[75] The sea route was blocked by a Seleucid fleet, and by the garrisons stationed in Chalcis, Demetrias and Cape Cenaeum.[76] To prevent the Romans outflanking him by using the narrow mountain trails (well known to both sides), Antiochus ordered the Aetolians to guard the nearby peaks and block the way. They sent half their forces, two thousand infantry, who held the Callidromus passes, the Rhoduntia and the Tichius.[77]

Glabrio plundered the territories of Hypata and Heracleia, and camped near Antiochus' position.[78] Some of the Roman troops must have been left behind as a rearguard to counter Aetolian sorties from Heracleia, where the Aetolians had concentrated, so he would have deployed some twenty thousand men in Thermopylae against Antiochus.[79] The consul attacked Thermopylae and at the same time sent two legates with two thousand chosen soldiers under their command to take the Aetolians' strongholds: Lucius Valerius Flaccus to Rhoduntia and Tichius, and Marcus Porcius Cato to the Callidromus.[80] Meanwhile in Thermopylae, after the initial assault on the light troops in the front line, the Roman legionaries were being fought off by the Seleucid phalanx.[81] Flaccus climbed the Rhoduntia and Tichius: there

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74 Kromayer and Veith 1928: 147; Bar-Kochva 1976: 160.

75 Livy 36.15.6 and 16.1–4. Antiochus preferred the East Gate, because a defensive wall already existed there that had been built by the Aetolians, there were fewer mountain paths at this point that might have allowed his position to be outflanked, and because, since the mountainside was not as steep here as at the other two gates, he could deploy light infantry to better effect against the enemy.

76 Livy 36.5.1 and 33.4–6; this was the same strategy as that used by the Greeks in 480 and 279 (Hdt. 7.175ff.; Paus. 10.20ff.) and Antigonus Doson (Polyb. 2.52.7–8).

77 Livy 36.16.8–11. The location of these passes and the Aetolian positions has been discussed by Pritchett 1.71–82 and Bar-Kochva 1976: 160 and 260–261. Although Livy talks about *castella* in these passes, suggesting fortifications of some kind, he also calls them *caecum, vertices* and *iugo*. We prefer to follow Bar-Kochva, who says they could not have been fortresses but rather some kind of stronghold: neither Plutarch (*Cat.Mai.*13–14) nor Frontinus (*Strat.* 2.4.4) mentions fortifications, nor were there any in 207. No remains of any fortifications been found to date.

78 Livy 36.16.5.

79 Livy 36.16.5.

80 Livy 36.17.1–2; App. *Syr.* 18; Plu. *Cat. Mai.* 14.1.

81 Livy 36.18.5–8; App. *Syr.* 18–19. It is possible that it was at this point that the Aetolian attack on the Roman camp occurred, about which we have very little information (Livy 36.19.7, App. *Syr.* 19).

he found the two positions fortified by the Aetolians in this area (situated close to each other). He attacked them but was beaten back. However, Cato successfully assaulted the Callidromus stronghold. So, when the situation in Thermopylae was at the point of falling apart, Marcus Porcius Cato's troops appeared from behind, coming down the Callidromus.[82] Appian tells us that Cato's troops gave the impression of being more numerous than they really were, which, together with the reputation of the Roman soldiers and their sudden appearance from behind, led to chaos in Antiochus' ranks.[83] The king and his men fled and were pursued to Scarpheia. The defeat was sufficiently decisive to make Antiochus retreat to Asia, after reorganising what was left of his army in Elateia.

Once Thermopylae was open and the Seleucid king had been defeated, the consul Acilius Glabrio occupied the whole of Epicnemidian Locris, with Nicaea, Thronium and Scarpheia opening their gates to him and cutting off Aetolia's access to the Aegean, which made it even more difficult, if possible, to communicate with Antiochus.[84] Then he invaded Phocis and Boeotia, which also surrendered. Having pacified the region, the consul returned to Thermopylae and blockaded the Aetolians in various places (Heracleia, Naupactus). Finally, after the arrival of Lucius and Publius Cornelius Scipio (Asiaticus and Africanus, respectively), the Aetolians surrendered their weapons and the Romans were free to use all their troops to attack Asia. The Aetolians lost control of Opuntian Locris, their domination of the Amphictyony disintegrated and they were never as powerful again.[85] However, in the Peace of 188, Epicnemidian Locris once again formed part of Aetolia.[86]

The end of the Second Macedonian War ushered in a long period of peace for Epicnemidia, which finally ended in 146. In that year, the Roman

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82 Livy 36.18.8–19.3; App. *Syr.* 19; Plu. *Cat.Mai.* 13.1–7. According to Grainger 2002: 246, the two forts which Flaccus attacked were better fortified, since 1,400 soldiers were massed there, while the one on the Callidromus only held 600.

83 App. *Syr.* 19.

84 Livy 36.20.1–4; Grainger 1999: 464.

85 Grainger 1999: 500 and 508. The Aetolians now supplied only six *hieromnemones*, namely, two Aenianians, one Heracleot, a Dorian, and two Locrians (from Pholae and Trichonus).

86 Proander, son of Proander, native of a city called Pholae in Aetolia, was the *hieromnemon* representing East Locris, actually Epicnemidian Locris, in the archonship of Praxias in Delphi in 178/7 (*CID* IV, 108; *Syll*^{3} 636, lin. 15). Proandros became the *strategos* of the Aetolian Confederacy in 171/0 (*IG* IX 1^2 p. LII) and his father was *hieromnemon* in 216/5. In the amphictyonic list for 173 (*Syll*^{3} 636) the two Locrian votes appear to be controlled by the Aetolians.

Senate ordered the Achaean Confederacy to allow the Lacedaemonians, the Corinthians, Argives, Heracleots, and Arcadians of Orchomenus to leave its *koinon*. The Achaeans refusal gave Rome the pretext to intervene in Greece again and declare war on the Achaean Confederacy, the last remaining power on the Greek mainland capable of presenting a threat to its expansionist policy.[87] Right from the start, the Achaeans had the full support of the *ethne* that lived north of the Isthmus. Only the Athenians sided with the Romans, for which they would later be rewarded with certain economic and commercial privileges. On the other hand, we know from Pausanias that the Boeotians not only supported the Achaeans but that the boeotarch of Thebes, Pytheas, also helped to stir up feelings against Rome. The same punishments and penalties were meted out to the Locrians, Phocians and Euboeans as to the Achaeans and the Boeotians, which suggests that they had all opposed Rome.[88]

The Achaean Confederacy defended central Greece and the Peloponnese at the Thermopylae pass, the same place the Greeks had always chosen whenever they faced a threat from the north. Their siege of Heracleia and claiming control over it only makes sense if this was the case, because the city was very close to Thermopylae. The Roman Senate ordered the consul Mummius to set sail with an army for Greece. But before the Roman consul could arrive in Greece, Metellus, the Roman governor of Macedonia, wanting to be the one to end the Achaean conflict, decided to advance and led his army down from Macedonia. After marching through Thessaly, he crossed the river Spercheius and approached Thermopylae. When the Greeks learned that he was coming, they took fright and the Achaean *strategos*, Critolaus, decided to strike camp and beat a retreat to the other side of Thermopylae, to Scarpheia, in Epicnemidian Locris. Achaea's control of Thermopylae as far as Heracleia and its retreat to Scarpheia indicate that Epicnemidian Locris was on the anti-Roman side. Possibly the Achaeans thought the Romans would be waiting for the army that must have been coming from Italy and were surprised by the rapid advance of the governor of Macedonia. With this unfortunate manoeuvre, Critolaus was leaving the way free for Metellus' men, who did not hesitate to take advantage of the situation and marched through Thermopylae. Shortly afterwards, the Roman troops intercepted the Greek forces near Scarpheia and fell on them

[87] Paus. 7.14.1–5.
[88] Paus. 7.14.6–7.

and caused a great many casualties. Critolaus' final destination is unknown, but he disappeared amidst the confusion that reigned before the legions arrived, and probably shared the same fate as most of his soldiers. In fact, there were very few survivors, who included a group of a thousand Arcadians that managed to take refuge in Elateia, in Phocis,[89] possibly fleeing through the nearby Kleisoura Pass. It is likely that after the battle of Scarpheia the Locrians, Phocians and the *ethne* of central Greece who initially supported the anti-Roman cause had to surrender to Rome.

After defeating Critolaus' Achaeans in Scarpheia, the Romans marched on with nothing to stop their progress. Metellus defeated the Arcadians who had tried to take refuge in Elateia at Chaeroneia, while the rest of the Achaean forces—who had managed to regroup and were commanded by a new *strategos*, named Diaeus—were defeated by Mummius near Corinth, at a place called Leucopetra. After that, the Romans proceeded to sack Corinth, which marked the end of the war, and firmly established their control over central Greece and throughout the whole of the Greek mainland.[90]

Despite the vicissitudes that Epicnemidian Locris suffered throughout the Hellenistic period, in the course of which it found itself subject to various powers, particularly the Aetolians, the region appears to have been a distinct and clearly defined unit, differentiated from the neighbouring regions and capable, for example, of comprising a single unit when sending representatives to the Amphictyony. It is very possible that its continued separation helped to reinforce its identity, which persisted in the Roman period even when, as we shall see, the Epicnemidian Locrians seem to have been members of a Confederacy that included all the Eastern Locrians. This Epicnemidian identity is at least comparable with that of other peoples of central Greece.[91] These *ethne* were organised into Confederacies,[92] such as those of the Boeotians, Aetolians, Thessalians, Phocians, Aenianians, Acarnanians, etc., which existed in the Roman period[93] and were permitted in the case of the *koina* belonging to the Aetolian Confederacy, which tended to maintain pre-existing regional structures within each region annexed.[94]

89 Paus. 7.15–14.

90 Paus. 7.15.7–16.10.

91 Scholten 2000: 63–64.

92 Tarn 1969: 52, n. 30.

93 Cf. a first century BC decree (c. 34–33) that mentions the *koina* of the Locrians, Boeotians, Euboeans, Phocians and Dorians (*IG* II^2, 4114; *Syll*^{3} 767). See also Picard 1979: 297.

94 See *SGDI* 2070 (cf. *IG* IX 1^2 3: 618, 625) for the maintenance of the Dorian *koinon* within the Aetolian Confederacy.

Although the evidence is weak, we cannot rule out that Epicnemidian Locris had, at some time in the Hellenistic period, a federal State of its own.[95]

United by geographical, cultural and ethnic ties, Epicnemidian Locris consisted of a number of *poleis* that at least maintained their internal autonomy. Despite this common identity, Epicnemidian Locris was not free of internal rivalries and conflicts between the various cities within its boundaries, conflicts typical of Greece as a whole. The most notable cases we know of are the disputes between Thronium and Scarpheia, the two most important *poleis* in the region, at least from the second half of the second century onwards, arising from the system of representation on the Amphictyonic Council, or caused by the establishment of territorial limits, which were resolved by arbitration rather than armed conflict.

With regard to the first question, its presence on the Amphictyonic Council, the meagre representation of the Eastern Locrians provoked rivalries between the various cities of Eastern Locris because they could only designate one *hieromnemon*. In Delphi, on the left-hand side of the Aemilius Paullus monument, four inscriptions have been preserved that tell us about the dispute between Thronium and Scarpheia for the right to send the Epicnemidian Locrians' *hieromnemon* once every three years. In the first of the four inscriptions (*CID* IV, 123) a court—possibly made up of three hundred Athenian judges—issued a first ruling in favour of the Scarpheians, although it remitted the final decision to a jury of sixty-one judges. Probably this first text was the letter sent by the court of the three hundred Athenian judges to the amphictions of Delphi, informing them of the decision. The second inscription (*CID* IV, 124) seems to be an Athenian summary of their proceedings as arbitrators, and gives the final ruling of a jury of sixty-one judges in favour of the Thronians by fifty-nine votes to two. This second inscription is the only one of the four preserved in good condition, and tells us what the dispute between the two cities was about and the arguments they each used to defend their positions: the Thronians considered that it was their right to appoint a third of the Epicnemidian Locrians' total representation on the Amphictyony since it was their responsibility to provide a third of the offerings for the amphictions; for their part, the Scarpheians claimed that, according to traditional uses and customs, all the Locrians were entitled to elect the *hieromnemones*, and they should be elected by the Confeder-

[95] This union, if it existed, did not extend to the adoption of a common calendar, since the month of Aphamius in Thronium corresponded to Itonius in Scarpheia, a clearly Thessalian influence, and the month of Hypius in Thronium was equivalent to Hermaeus in Scarpheia.

acy of the Locrians as a whole. The Scarpheians based their claim on the favourable ruling by the Athenians—given in the first text—and also on another favourable ruling, given by the amphictions, for which no inscription has survived. The two other inscriptions on the Aemilius Paullus monument are very poorly preserved.[96] One is a list of names that is usually considered to be the list of Athenian judges that decided the claim; the other is in such poor condition that the only thing we can tell is that it is related with the dispute in some way. In addition to the four inscriptions on the Aemilius Paullus monument, one other inscription has been preserved, in Pherae,[97] also concerning the dispute between Thronium and Scarpheia about representation on the Amphictyony. It is not known whether the inhabitants of Pherae—or the Thessalians as a whole—were perhaps involved in the case as well as the Athenians, or if, more plausibly, the amphictions sent a summary of the proceedings to each member state, and the text sent to Pherae is the only one that has been preserved. Ager[98] considers that the arbitration began around 165–160 and that the inscriptions discussed here would date to about 110. If he is right, it would have been a long conflict that must have centred largely on the internal politics of Epicnemidian Locris throughout that period.

In the latter part of the second century, there was also a boundary dispute between the cities of Thronium and Scarpheia: the inscription (*FD* III 4.1, number 42) recording it tells us that the inhabitants of these two cities could not agree on the boundaries of some land referred to as *Chonneia*, and appealed to the Roman Senate as mediator. Finally, another agreement dating to the first half of the first century concerning the boundaries between two communities, the *Engaioi* and the Thronians of the Gates, is preserved in Delphi (*FD* III 4.2, number 159). The two communities belonged to Scarpheia and Thronium respectively, and as we have seen, in this period the two *poleis* were also competing over representation on the Amphictyonic Council, so we can reasonably assume that the rivalry between them was very intense and had deeper roots than mere sporadic disagreements and in fact reflected the traditional enmity between the two leading *poleis* of Epicnemidia—Scarpheia and Thronium—exacerbated by the growth of Scarpheia, which would have displaced Thronium as Epicnemidia's leading city in the Roman period.

96 *CID* IV 125 and 126, cf. also Ap. F, p. 391, inv. 355.
97 Bequignon 1937a: 79, nº 2.
98 Ager 1996: 57–59 number 11.

Before the Second Macedonian War, c. 197, we know of a Locrian Confederacy officially called the Opuntians in union of the Locrians (*Syll*³ 597) and which probably did not include the Epicnemidian Locrians, who belonged to the Aetolian Confederacy. However, there is some evidence that allows us to defend the existence of a joint Locrian federal State, at least from the second century. *IG* IX 1² 5: 1920 refers to a Confederacy of the Eastern Locrians, which is the first time the name is preserved. In a date sometime after 168, the Confederacy of the Locrians awarded gold crowns to Cassander and Alexander, the sons of Menestheus, two citizens of Alexandria Troas[99] and the Confederacy of the Locrians also mediated in the dispute between the *Engaioi* and the Thronians of the Gates. This suggests that Scarpheia and Thronium, on which the two communities were respectively dependent, and by extension the rest of Epicnemidian Locris at that time belonged to a Confederacy that included all the Eastern Locrians. The change in the name of the federal State could be due specifically to the inclusion of the Epicnemidian Locrians who, until 168, would have been subject to the Aetolians. However, around this time, the representation of the Eastern Locrians in Delphi was divided, as the dispute between Scarpheia and Thronium tells us, so that two out of every three years the Hypocnemidians sent a representative and every third year it was the Epicnemidians' turn. In fact, Hypocnemidian representation is attested on various occasions,[100] and Olympiodorus of Scarpheia was the *hieromnemon* representing the Epicnemidian Locrians around 134 (*FD* III 2, number 213). This implies recognition of Epicnemidian identity by the other Eastern Locrians, and its proportional representation, a third compared with the Hypocnemidians' two thirds, could—like the amphictyonic representation—be significant in federal institutions.

Other inscriptions provide an insight into the internal organisation of some Epicnemidian *poleis*. Thanks to an inscription (*IG* IX 1² 5: 2031) we know that Thronium's magistrates included an archon eponymous, a secretary and a treasurer. It seems that Thronium preferred that at least the most important offices should be held by a single person. The *polis* also had a democratic system, with a Council, called the *boule*, and an assembly or *damos*.[101] The boundary agreement between Scarpheia and Thronium

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99 *Syll*³ 653 A (in the temple of Apollo in Troas) lin. 6 and 653 B lin. 23 (in Delphi).

100 *CID* IV, 111, lin. 7 (first half of the second century); *CID* IV, 114. Inv. 192 + 507 + 598 + 139 + 2 unnumbered fragments = *Syll*³ 692, lin. 20 (in the archonship of Aristion, Autumn 134/3 or 130/29); *CID* IV, 119 D, lin. 9, E lin. 10, F lin. 13–14 (120–115 or 117/6); *Syll*³ 826 E III 3, F 15 (117/6).

101 Boeckh *CIG*, 1751. Cf. Leake 2.178, n. 1; *SGDI* 1510, today lost. The reference to the Opuntians on the last line is doubtful.

(*FD* III 4.1, 42), dated to the end of the second century, also tells us something about the institutions of the two *poleis*. The document is dated by the two archons of each *polis*; the adoption of the double archonship probably reflecting the influence of the Roman consular system. As well as the two archons for the *polis* of Scarpheia, the *synedroi* played a part in concluding the agreement. These can be interpreted as members of the *boule*, or else this institution had changed its name to *synedrion*. The internal organisation of Thronium is rather more complex since, as well as the two archons and the *synedroi*, the *probouloi* were also involved in the agreement, perhaps as presidents of the *boule* or the *synedrion*. However, in the first half of the first century, in the agreement between the *Engaioi* and the Thronians of the Gates (*FD* III 4.2, number 159), Thronium appears to have returned to the system of a single archon eponymous.

In conclusion, throughout the Hellenistic period, Epicnemidian Locris was a thoroughfare, a crossroads, whose fortified settlements, cities of defensive and strategic importance, were vital for controlling Thermopylae, but which also controlled the frontiers and the passes that led to the interior and the south. This strategic importance attracted, campaign after campaign, the great armies that disputed control, not only of central Greece, but the whole of the mainland, since controlling Epicnemidian Locris meant possessing the principal overland route between Northern Greece and the South. This is why, despite the region's small size, Epicnemidian Locris was far from being a peripheral and marginal region, sometimes very much to its detriment, and found itself caught up in the problems, conflicts and its socio-economic changes of the Hellenistic period, and played an important role in many of them. Only after 146 did Rome succeed in imposing lasting peace on the region.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE ROMAN PERIOD: FROM 146 BC TO JUSTINIAN

George Zachos*

The Locrians, as we have seen in Chapter 13, were probably on the anti-Roman side during the Achaean War of 147–146 BC. All the Greek Leagues were dissolved by the Romans, either in retaliation, according to Pausanias,[1] or because the strongest among them had been crushed and others had "pathetically folded".[2] Consequently the Eastern Locrians probably shared the same fate, although this is not clearly stated in Pausanias' account. A few years later the Leagues were restored thanks to Roman clemency,[3] but it is not clear what happened to the Locrians.[4] Certainly, the Epicnemidians were not among the *hieromnemones* in Delphi in 134–117 BC, unlike the Hypocnemidians and West Locrians mentioned in the inscriptions of this period.[5] The presence of Olympiodorus from Scarpheia in a Delphian inscription dated in 134 (or 124) BC does not change this picture, since he was simply a witness in manumission.[6] At the end of the second century BC, perhaps around 110 BC,[7] however, there was a dispute between Scarpheia and Thronium about the *hieromnemosyne* of the Epicnemidians, a dispute that began around 160 BC. The Locrian League is mentioned in the inscription but without any epithet (e.g. a geographical designation). Although it

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1 Paus. 7.16.9–10.

2 Kallet-Marx 1995: 76–82.

3 Paus. 7.16.9–10; Larsen 1968: 503; Accame 1972: 16–17; Martin 1975: 553–558, 595; Kallet-Marx 1995: 81.

4 The reference to the Locrians in an inscription of the second half of the second century BC from the Aetolian Thermos [*IG* IX 1² 1: 72; Grainger 2000: 16, 221 note 163, Lycopus II (7)] "ἁ πόλις τῶν 'Οπουντίων καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ μεθ' 'Οπουντίων" cannot be used as an evidence for the existence of the League at that time, neither can it be dated with certainty before or after 146 BC.

5 *CID* IV, 111, 114, 119 D–F; Summa 2010: 100–104.

6 *FD* III 2, 213.

7 Chapter 13.

cannot be ruled out that the League had been re-established shortly after 146 BC, like others, lack of evidence obliges us to consider the possibility that it was restored at the end of the century and was associated with regaining the Epicnemidian position in the Amphictyony (*κατά τα πάτρια*, as mentioned in the inscription). The restoration of the League and the return of the Epicnemidians to Delphi may have rekindled the old controversy between the two cities, which now appealed to Rome.

The Locrian League is cited again without any epithet in another Delphian text, dating to the first half of the first century, in relation to the dispute between two communities, the "Engaioi" and the "Thronians of the Gates",[8] dependent on Scarpheia and Thronium respectively. The lack of any geographical designation leaves open the possibility that the Hypocnemidians, Epicnemidians and Hesperians were part of the same coalition.

Scarpheia and Thronium settled not only the matter of the *hieromnemosyne* at the end of the second century, but also the boundaries of some common or neutral land or enclave referred to as *Chonneia*,[9] located between the two cities. The two parties made separate agreements (an *homologon*); their decision was sent to the Roman Senate and a copy was dispatched to Delphi. G. Colin suggests that *Chonneia* was a "remblai"—land formed by recent alluvial deposits that belonged to neither city—and was intended for sacred land. It is difficult to determine the specific area now, since the points of reference used for demarcation (properties, tower, fence, ditches, meadows, tracks, cross-roads) can no longer be identified. Besides, it was mainly defined in relation to the Aphamius River, 50 Doric feet in width and channelled on both sides with dikes and ditches. W.K. Pritchett identified the Aphamius as the modern Andera (Liapatorema) stream located at km 186 on the national Athens-Lamia highway, at the bridge between Boagrius and the village of Molos. In addition, assuming that Colin is right about the sacred purpose of *Chonneia*, he related it to the remains of a possible Early Christian Basilica found in the area.[10] The whole hypothesis is rather ambiguous, but it reaches the conclusion that Aphamius, the modern Andera (Liapatorema or Agios Dimitrios) torrent, was the boundary between the territories of the two cities.[11]

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8 *FD* III 4.2, 159.

9 *FD* III 4.1, 42.

10 Pritchett 5.176–177; 6.116–118.

11 Chapter 2; Mitsou and Mitsou 2010: 95, 146–156.

However, the differences between the two cities are fundamental, since they had different calendars during this period (late second to early first century BC).[12]

Scarpheia	*Thronium*	*Delphi*	
⟨A⟩phamius	Itonius		*FD* III 4.1, 42
Hermanius	Hippeius		*FD* III 4.2, 159
Phyl⟨i⟩kus		Endyspoitropius	*FD* III 2, 228

During the Mithridatic Wars, Epicnemidian Locris was probably under the control of the Asiatic army, at least for a short period of time, since Taxiles led his army out of Thessaly in 86 BC into Elateian territory to meet Archelaus. Both armies remained encamped in the region until the battle of Chaeroneia.[13] In the aftermath of his victory in Orchomenus, it is uncertain whether Sulla's harsh treatment of the Opuntian cities (Halae, and possibly Daphnus and Alope), whose ports supplied his enemies,[14] was also applied to the Epicnemidian cities.

A few years later, the musician (kithara player) Sosimenes, son of Hegesimachus from Scarpheia, was victorious in the *Amphiaraea* and *Romaea* Festival at Oropus.[15] He continued the artistic tradition of his mother city in fourth century BC.[16]

At the time of Caesar's Civil War, Pompey originally controlled the areas south of Thermopylae,[17] but Caesar commissioned Q.F. Calenus to cut Pompey's supplies, recruit volunteers and turn the cities in his favour. So the Locrians followed C. Domitius Calvinus, his general, to Thessaly[18] and presumably took part alongside Caesar in the battle of Pharsalus.

Shortly before the battle of Actium, the League of Boeotians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phocians and Dorians bestowed honours on M. Junius Silanus,

12 Samuel 1972: 72.

13 Plu. *Sull.* 15; Paus. 10.34.4–5; Zachos 2013: 118–119.

14 Plu. *Sull.* 26.3–4; Bouyia 2000b: 287; Dakoronia 2008: 287.

15 *IG* VII 416; Petrakos 1997: 418, 421–426, no. 523, col. I.18–19 (80–48 BC).

16 Cf. Philodamus and his brothers participating in the Pythian Games in the fourth century BC (*Syll*^{3} 270), Lycon invited by Alexander the Great to participate in his campaign (Plu. *Alex.* 29.3; *Mor.* 334 E; Athen. 12.539a), and a music teacher mentioned in an Athenian Acropolis inscription (*IG* II^2, 3045); Mitsou and Mitsou 2010: 42–55.

17 Florus 2.13.19.

18 *BC* 55–56; D.C. 41.51.3; Leach 1978: 193.

Marc Antony's proquaestor.[19] This means that central Sterea Hellas was under the control of Antony. Despite the inscription's phrase "saviour and benefactor", which was apparently only an attempt to flatter the emperor, the participation of these nations alongside Antony was not voluntary, judging from Plutarch's reference to the behaviour of Antony's agents when grain was being transported from Boeotia to Anticyra at the time of the battle of Actium.[20]

Epicnemidian Locris became part of the Province of Achaea and the Eastern Locrians retained one vote in the Amphictyony, reorganised by Augustus.[21]

The Locrians are cited, along with the Achaeans, Boeotians, Phocians, Euboeans and Dorians, as members of the *Panachaeans*, in an honorific decree for the *grammateas* of the League T. Stateilius Timocrates.[22] The date of the inscription, between the reign of Tiberius and that of Nero, is disputed.[23] The Locrians are also mentioned as members of the *Panhellenes* in a decree dated c. AD 37,[24] and in a dedication to Emperor Claudius at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Boeotia.[25] According to J. Oliver, the League of 34/33 BC merged with the Commonalty of the Achaeans at the end of the reign of Tiberius, which he asserts is when the decree of Timocrates was enacted, and the *Panachaeans* were renamed *Panhellenes* until 37 BC.[26] The Dorians of Metropolis were absent from this coalition and it has been suggested, by U. Kahrstedt, that they may have been absorbed by the Phocians[27] or, according to J. Oliver, by the Locrians.[28] The Epicnemidians remained in the League until at least the time of Hadrian, as we shall see.

A more specific issue is a letter by Hadrian inscribed on a bronze stele bearing the bust of the Emperor in the pediment, now in the Louvre Museum.[29] It is dated to the end of AD 137 or the early months of AD 138 and was a response to a request from the citizens of Naryx.

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19 *Syll*³ 767; *IG* II² 4114; cf. Plu. *Ant.* 59; Tod 1922: 175; Larsen 1938: 450–451; Deininger 1965: 89; Martin 1975: 600.

20 Plu. *Ant.* 68; Millar 2004: 134–135.

21 Paus. 10.8.50; Bowersock 1965: 97–98.

22 *Syll*³ 796; *IG* IV², 1, 80–81; Peek 1969: 28–29, no. 34.

23 Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001: 233–235, Arg. 252.

24 *IG* VII, 2711; Martin 1975: 219–228, 613, number 2; Oliver 1971.

25 *IG* VII, 2878.

26 Oliver 1978: 185–188.

27 Kahrstedt 1950: 70.

28 Oliver 1978: 187.

29 *SEG* 51.641; Jones 2006: 151–162; Knoepfler and Pasquier 2006: 1281–1313; Knoepfler 2006.

Hadrian confirms the status of the city, enumerating several institutions to which Naryx (and consequently the Epicnemidians) belonged. The Narycians contribute to the Amphictyony and the League of the Boeotians: they provide a *Boeotarch*, they choose a *Panhellene*[30] and send a *theêkolos*. He also adds that they have a council, magistrates, priests, Greek tribes, the legal system of the Opuntians and pay tribute together with the Achaeans. They are also mentioned by the most famous Roman and Greek poets as "Narycians", and some of the well-known heroes came from Naryx.

The participation of the Narycians (e.g. Epicnemidians) in three bodies (Amphictyony, Boeotian League, Panhellenion) is a common feature among the nations of Central Greece, since we observe it in the Boeotians and the Phocians as well.[31] Although these two leagues were maintained in the second and third centuries, the Locrians were absorbed into the Boeotians. The verb *parechei* (provide) in the inscription perhaps implies that the cities of the League held the office of Boeotarch in rotation.[32] The reference to the Amphictyony is also associated with the reorganization of the constitution by Hadrian.[33]

The reference to the Laws of the Opuntians is quite striking and brings to mind Aristotle's *Opuntian Constitution*, although it should be considered a general reference to the laws of Eastern Locris.[34]

C.P. Jones asserts that the references to the tribes and the laws could be associated with the rebuilding of the city sometime after its destruction by the Phocian Phayllus in 352 BC and before 280–270 BC.[35] However, the re-foundation of the city by Alexander or one of his successors[36] is purely speculative.

As for the emperor's reference to the city's heroic past, it is certainly associated with Oïleus,[37] one of the Argonauts, and with his son Aias,[38] who came from the Epicnemidian city, and maybe with Lelex, who is mentioned

30 On Panhellenion in Hadrian's times, Romero 2002.

31 *IG* IX 1:218; Sotiriadis 1909: 130; *IG* VII, 2497, 3426; Oliver 1970: 116 numbers 31–32; Bricault 2005: 101.

32 Jones 2006: 154.

33 Lefèvre 1998: 79–83; Sánchez 2001: 426 ff., esp. 432–433.

34 Knoepfler and Pasquier 2006: 1305–1306.

35 Jones 2006: 155–156.

36 Wilhelm 1911: 186–187.

37 Apollod. *Arg.* 1.69–70; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.

38 Call. *Fr.* 35 (R. Pfeifer, Callimachus 1, Oxford 1949); [Lycophron] 1148; Diod. 14.82.8; Str. 9.4.2; Ovid. *Met.* 14.468; Suda s.v. Νάρυξ.

by Ovid as one of the heroes who hunted the Calydonian boar,[39] although this last reference is a misunderstanding of the mythological tradition concerning the relationship between the Locrians and the Lelegians.[40] Also, if indeed Lycophron's Cassandra italicized, an epos that strongly influenced the Italian epics,[41] we realize that Hadrian was well aware of the heroes who originated in Naryx. Moreover, according to Plutarch, the custom of sending Locrian Maidens to Ilium had recently ceased.[42]

Hadrian's letter is of particular interest since the emperor lists the necessary elements for considering Naryx a *polis*; a similar approach is found in Pausanias' description of the Phocian Panopeus.[43] But, while the *periegetes* mentions, first, the architectural features of a *polis* (magistrates' buildings, theatre, gymnasium, agora, fountain) and, second, the participation in the Phocian League and the city's mythological past/heritage,[44] Hadrian focuses on the institutions (council, magistrates, priests, Greek tribes, federal organizations), on the city's autonomy (having its own laws), its administrative dependence (the city belonged to the province of Achaea and paid tribute), but does not neglect the city's heroic heritage.[45] All these considerations are possibly connected with the resurgence of discussing city matters in the Second Sophistic.[46]

But what caused this response from the emperor? There are three possible reasons for it.[47]

Possibly, there was the question of the status of Naryx, a threat mentioned in line 8 of the text.[48] We should not forget that at the beginning of the second century AD there were several conflicts between cities of the region (Phocis, West Locris), in some of which Hadrian had intervened.[49] Apart from this, sometimes an emperor elevated a *kome* to the status of a *polis* or reduced a *polis* to the status of a *kome*.[50]

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39 Ovid. *Met.* 8.311–312.
40 Lerat 1952: II.5–6.
41 West 1984.
42 Plu. *Mor.* 557 C.
43 Paus. 10.4.1; Alcock 1993: 29, 119, 126, 131, 148; Alcock 1995, *passim.*
44 Hutton 2005: 129–131; Rzepka 2010: 390.
45 Cf. Rzepka 2010: 385–392.
46 D. Chr. *Orat.* 36.
47 Jones 2006: 160–162.
48 Chaniotis, *SEG* 51.641; Knoepfler 2005: 68.
49 *FD* III 4.3, 292–293= *CIL* III 1, 567A–C = *Syll*³ 827; *IG* IX 1:61; Luzzatto 1965; Doukellis and Zoumbaki 1995: 222–224.
50 Jones 2006: 161.

It is quite possible that the whole affair started during Hadrian's journey from Thessaly to Southern Greece in 124–125[51] or 126 AD,[52] when he passed through Naryx, Elateia, Hyampolis and Abae,[53] or that it was associated with the commission of L. Aemilius Juncus to the cities of Achaea a year later.[54]

On the other hand, it may have been a response to Naryx requesting its existing rights be renewed, a common practice during the Imperial period on the accession of emperors, omitted by the Locrian city until 137/8. The reason for this neglect could be its inability to meet the cost of the embassy, and now that the Narycians had been told of Hadrian's illness they decided to dispatch an embassy before it was too late. Perhaps the purpose of the embassy was not simply to confirm Naryx' rights but to ask for financial aid, a common occurrence amongst Greek cities during the reign of Hadrian.[55] If the latter hypothesis is in fact correct, then the inscription on the base of the statue found in Rengini in 1919,[56] in which the Narycians call the emperor "saviour and founder", could be a result of this mission. This text was found in the ruins of a Roman building, possibly a temple, in the place called Agios Ioannis in Paliokastra, where the ancient city was located. Perhaps, then, Hadrian endowed the city with a temple, as he did in neighbouring Abae and Hyampolis, where a temple and a portico were built.

Another interesting case is an inscription on the base of a statue from the temple of Athena Itonia in Karditsa. According to the text, the *koinon* and *synedroi* of the Thessalians honoured M. Ulpius Domitius Leuros Scarphe, the son of Leuros.[57] If the latter title is a variant form of Scarpheus, the city of Scarpheia offered the grant of citizenship to a member of the famous Hypatian family of *Kyloi* and *Eubiotoi*. More specifically, the Leuros of the aforementioned text married Flavia Habroia, a protagonist of Lucian's work, *Lucius or the Ass*. Flavia was granddaughter of Titus Flavius Kyllos, *archon* of the *Panhellenes* in AD 157 and *agonothetes* at the Great Panhellenic Games.[58] Since T.F. Kyllos would have been born around the turn of the first century AD, Leuros must have been granted the citizenship of Scarpheia around

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51 Weber 1907: 156–197, esp. 156–157, 191–196; Garzetti 1960: 394–395.

52 Henderson 1968: 110–113.

53 *IG* IX 1:144; Paus. 10.35.4–6; Zachos 2013: 127–128.

54 Garzetti 1960: 415; Groag 1939: 64–66.

55 *IG* VII 1841 (Thespiae).

56 Pappadakis 1920/21: 141–143; *SEG* 3, 425.

57 Giannopoulos 1927/28: 218–220.

58 Sekunda 1997: esp. 224 (16b). Habicht 1987: 311 argues that this Leuros was possibly the brother of Sekunda's Leuros (*SEG* 37, 493). About *Kylloi* and *Eubiotoi*, cf. also Larsen 1953.

the second half of the second century. But why did Scarpheia honour him as a citizen?

Actually we know nothing else about M. Ulpius Domitius Leuros except that he was of consular rank. However, his wife's family held offices not only in the *Panhellenion* but also in the Amphictyonic League, two important organizations with which the Epicnemidian city was associated.

As a result of Diocletian's administrative reform (284–305), Locris became part of the province of Achaea, and from AD 695 onwards, under Justinian II, it belonged to the *theme* of Hellas, part of the prefecture of Illyricum.[59]

Although there is no evidence concerning Epicnemidian Locris, it is unlikely to have escaped the raids of the Costoboci,[60] Heruli, and the Goths of Alaric, who left their mark on the adjacent regions. More specifically, the Costoboci unsuccessfully besieged the neighbouring city of Elateia,[61] and a levy of local troops was recruited in Thespiae to fight them.[62] Alaric entered Thermopylae unopposed in the spring of 395 BC, since the proconsul Antiochus and Gerontius,[63] who guarded the pass of Thermopylae, withdrew with their troops when informed of the impending raid by the Goths, who destroyed the countryside and the cities south of Thermopylae, slaughtering the men older than puberty and enslaving the women and children.[64] The disasters were apparently fatal for the countryside since the farmhouses in Agia Triada, in the territory of Nicaea,[65] and Trilofo, on the northern bank of the Boagrius River, in the territory of Thronium,[66] were abandoned. It was also during these troubled times that the two coin hoards found near Atalanti were buried.[67]

59 Charanis 1972: XXI, 4–5; Avramea 1974: 22 ff.; Koder and Hild 1976: 50. Locris was possibly under the command of Karavisianoi in the seventh century, cf. Charanis 1972: XVIII, 174–175; Trombley 2000: 991.

60 Russu 1959; Scheidel 1990; Cherf 1991b, 134–136.

61 Paus. 10.34.5; Zachos 2013: 128–129.

62 Jones 1971. However, Stanton 1975: 526, argues that it refers to a levy raised in 169 at considerable expense of manpower for M. Aurelius' German campaigns.

63 Gerontius was probably the donor whose name appears on the mosaic in the porch of the Basilica of Daphnousion, Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987: 36–38; Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2000: 240.

64 Zosim. 5.

65 Tileli and Psarogianni 2010: 241–248 (mid-third to late fourth century). The addition of a tower during the second phase of construction may have been a vain attempt to defend against the invaders.

66 Papastathopoulou 2007. The farmhouse is dated by the author to the period between the end of the second and the middle of the third century. Nevertheless, there is some ceramic material that can be dated to the fourth century.

67 Vlachaki 2007: 137.

Scarpheia became a major city centre of the region in the early fifth century, as indicated by an inscription found in Megara. More specifically, a meeting of Hellenic cities held by the governor Cl. Varius at Corinth in 401/402 (during the joint reign of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II) decided to raise grain levies (*annona*) from the cities of Boeotia, Euboea and Aetolia, calculated according to the *Epinemisis* (Indiction), to be deposited in Scarpheia's *horrea*.[68] Thus, in Late Antiquity Scarpheia was one of the two granaries of Greece, along with Corinth, and presumably a major port in Central Greece. Furthermore, holding the office of *praepositus horreorum* is an indication that it was a significant administrative centre in the area. Scarpheia's novus status was possibly related to its proximity to the Thermopylae Passes. Furthermore, it lay on the part of the Roman road depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which connected the coast with the Cephisus basin and then Southern Greece.[69] It was also the site of a bishopric from the mid-fourth to the early sixth century.[70]

The peace that followed for about a century and a half resulted in prosperity, as indicated by the construction of the Early Christian basilicas and the associated Late Roman settlements in Locris (Agios Titos/Port of Thronium,[71] Agios Konstantinos/Port of Daphnus,[72] Basilica of Daphnousion/Alope,[73] Agios Ioannis Theologos/Halae)[74] and East Phocis (Elateia,[75] Tithorea),[76] as well as the farming and storage facilities on the coast of Livanates[77] and in Paliomagazia of Atalanti.[78] The growth on the coastal zone from

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68 *Syll*³ 908; *IG* VII, 24; Trombley 1989: 217–219; Robertson 1999: 97. It probably refers not only to Aetolia, Boeotia and Euboea but to the entire region from Thessaly to Attica, since this inscription is a copy of the *diatyposis* and was found in Megara, Sironen 1992: 225–226.

69 Miller 1964 [1916]: 578, part VIII 1, route VI 81, maps 148, 183, 185. On the routes, Avramea 1974: 98–99 (coastal road and road from Mendenitsa); Koder and Hild 1976: 95–96.

70 Koder and Hild 1976: 257. The assumption that Scarpheia was the capital of the Greek Pentapolis (Sythiakaki 2002: 117) is simply a misunderstanding. Also, the location of Pentapolis in nearby Doris (Honigmann 1949) is fairly speculative, cf. Rousset 1989: 224–226.

71 Gialouri 2009: 1254.

72 Lazaridis 1969; 1970; 1972. On the date, Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987: II.169 note 222; Sythiakaki 2002: 117 note 40.

73 Orlandos 1929a; 1929b; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987: II.173–176, pl. 291–299; Sythiakaki 2002: 117–118. On the Late Roman cemetery, Dakoronia 2000: 16–17; Bouyia 2000b: 55 note 46; Sythiakaki 1997, 551. On a public bath, Sythiakaki 1995: 406.

74 Goldman 1940: 394, 490, 506–507, fig. 250; Coleman *et alii* 1992: 270, 285–286; Coleman, Wren and Quinn 1999: 313–321.

75 Zachos 2013: 46, 132.

76 Gialouri 2004; Gialouri and Anastasiadou 2010.

77 Dakoronia 1992b: 202–203, fig. 6, pl. 61ζ; Dakoronia 1995; 2002a: 80 n. 212.

78 Dakoronia 1985b: 167, pl. 56β.

Scarpheia to Halae is associated with the emergence of the Euboean Gulf as a secure channel in a time of piracy.

The fortifications at Thermopylae prevented Antes, a proto-Slavic tribe, from invading Locris in AD 517, but they were unable to prevent the raids by the Onogundurs (Onogurs) a few years later.[79]

Most of the studies of the period accept Procopius' reference to Justinian I ordering his logothete Alexander "Psalidios" to restore the defences in Central Greece, including the fortifications in Thermopylae, around AD 540. These had been damaged by the earthquake at Corinth in AD 522, allowing the Onogurs to pass through Thermopylae in AD 539.[80] Procopius attributes the works at Thermopylae, the repairing of the walls at Heracleia and Myropolis/Fylake (east of Eleftherochori), the association of the two cities with *diateichisma* and the diversion of the river to the moat around their walls[81] to Justinian's overall plan to protect the Asopus basin and prevent the barbarians reaching southern Greece. However, recent Carbon-14 analysis indicates that at least in the case of the Dema pass, the fortifications were constructed before the sixth century AD, possibly during the reign of Valens and Theodosius II or even Marcian, as a result of the raids by Alaric and the Huns.[82] Irrespective, however, of whether the court historian exaggerates the effect of Justinian's plan,[83] the fortification at Demetrias, Thebes in Phthiotis and Echinus that Procopius includes in his master's grandiose work,[84] as well as the Byzantine construction phase of the Castle of Lamia, the fortifications in Halae and those in Chalcis[85] verified by archaeological data are evidence that the emperors made provision to protect the coastal area of the Pagasetic—Malian—Euboean Gulf and at the same time ensure secure navigation. The significance of this sea route in Roman times is proved by Itinerarium Antonini (route 328), derived from an *itinerarium maritimum*, the source of which is a *Periplus Miliasmus* of Sterea Hellas.[86]

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79 Procop. *Goth.* 2.4; Avramea 1974: 99; Popovic 1979: 607.

80 Avramea 1974: 98–102; Koder and Hild 1976: 53; Sythiakaki 2002: 115.

81 Procop. *Aed.* 4.2.16–28; Cherf 1991b: 140–141.

82 Cherf 1984: 594–598; Cherf 1991a; 1991b: 138–139.

83 Cameron 1985: 109.

84 Procop. *Aed.* 4.3.5.

85 Procop. *Aed.* 4.3.16–20.

86 The port of Larymna was in use until at least the seventh century, Trombley 2000: 992. On the ancient sources and the fortifications in the Pagasetic-Malian Gulf, cf. Avramea 1974: 98. On an *itinerarium maritimum*, Axioti 1980: 198 fig. 2, 205. On *Periplus-Miliasmus*, Sallmann 1971: 211–214.

The fortifications at Thermopylae survived the earthquake in the spring of 551[87] and prevented Cotrigurs crossing to the South in 558/9.[88] In contrast, the Slavs, who appear for the first time during the reign of Tiberius Constantine or Maurice, managed to invade southern Greece, and delivered the final blow to the region.[89]

The abandonment of the Basilica of Daphnousion and the Livanates coin hoard are clearly associated with these turbulent times. The final issues from the Basilica and its outbuildings are dated in 575/6,[90] when the Livanates hoard had been hidden.[91] Both pieces of evidence should be related to the Slavic raid of 578.[92]

Epicnemidian Locris is mentioned in a scholium written by Arethas of Caesarea concerning the Avar-Slav invasions during the reign of Maurice. It was added by the archbishop himself in the margins of the *Dresden manuscript* written in 932, which contains the patriarch Nicephoros' *Chronicle* (806–817). The reference by Arethas to "the country of Aenianes and that of the Locrians both the Epicnemidians and the Ozolians, and also Old Epirus, Attica, Euboea", is just an addition to the corresponding passage of Monemvasia's Chronicle, "and all Hellas, namely, Old Epirus, Attica and Euboea", and definitely a literary anachronism.[93]

This period saw the beginning of the decline of the countryside that continued until the tenth century. The earthquake of 551, the devastation by the Slav and Arab raids, together with the iconoclastic turbulence, are blamed for the crisis of the seventh to ninth centuries in Southern Greece. The major coastal centres in Locris were abandoned and their inhabitants moved to the naturally fortified hills of the hinterland.[94]

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87 Procop. *Goth.* 8.16–25. The earthquake mentioned by Procopius has been erroneously identified (Chadou 2010: 812–815) as that occurring on 6 or 7 July in Lebanon, mentioned by Evagrius (4.23), Croke 2005: 486.

88 Agath. 177.194; Procop. *Anecd.* 26.33; Avramea 1974: 101; Koder and Hild 1976: 53; Popovic 1979: 611.

89 Rosser 1985; Popovic 1979: 621, 630. For further bibliography, Sythiakaki 2002: 116, 132 n. 17.

90 Sythiakaki 2002: 116, 133 n. 19; Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2000: 242; Vlachaki and Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2006: 1121, 1123.

91 Spyropoulos 1970b; Lampropoulou 1981; Vlachaki 2007.

92 Sythiakaki 2002: 116; Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2000: 242–243; on the association of the coin hoards hidden during this period with Slavic raids, Metcalf 1962; Charanis 1972: XII, 163–172; Popovic 1979: 620; Penna 1979; Avramea 1997: 72–80.

93 Charanis 1972: X, 147, 152–153; XVIII, 173.

94 Sythiakaki 2002: 116–117.

Certainly the earthquake and tsunami of 551 AD that struck not only the cities but also the countryside (*komai*) claiming many victims in Scarpheia and destroying one of the outbuildings of the Basilica of Daphnousion[95] were unquestionably crucial events in its subsequent fate. However, it is better to see the collapse that occurred in the second half of the sixth century as the result of a series of events, such as the tectonic movements of the fourth to sixth centuries AD,[96] a severe global climate change in the period 536–545, the plague of 542,[97] barbaric raids and financial problems. The latter would become even more evident in the following century after the loss of Egypt and the other eastern provinces. However, we should be rather wary of the Byzantine *Dark Ages* (seventh-ninth centuries), because of the difficulties that arise in interpreting the finds due to the discontinuity observed in the ceramic series and coin issues.[98]

95 Vlachaki and Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2006: 1123.

96 Pirazzoli 1986.

97 Procop. *Goth.* 2.22–23; Cristie 2004: 170–172.

98 Charanis 1972: XII, 172; Cristie 2004: 163–194. On a monetary decline in South Sterea and Attica at the end of the sixth century, Sythiakaki-Kritsimalli 2000: 242.

CONCLUSIONS

In Antiquity the branch of the *ethnos* of the Eastern Locrians that lived around the Cnemis knew their homeland as Epicnemidian Locris. It extended from the Middle Gate of Thermopylae in the west, where Leonidas and his (our) men fought, to the slopes of Mt. Cnemis and the Dipotamos valley in the east, and from the so-called Sea of the Locrians in the north, on the continental shore of the Euboean Channel, to the peaks of the Callidromus mountains in the south.

Until at least the beginning of the Hellenistic period the region was very different from today. Now the area is characterised by a continuous and fairly wide coastal plain that extends several kilometres to the north of the foothills of the mountains, but in Antiquity this plain did not exist at many points along the coast and the high limestone mountains, today inland, reached the sea, leaving behind a series of deep, narrow valleys cut deep into the steep mountainsides. Epicnemidian Locris was thus a region of rugged terrain with limited cultivable land and it also lacked any appreciable mineral resources. Then fifty per cent of the region's total area was more than 400 m asl, with 25% over 600 m asl, while, for example, only 30% of the modern eparchy is over 400 m. Epicnemidian Locris was also exposed to considerable tectonic instability in which the relatively frequent earthquakes associated with general movements of the Anatolian, Aegean and Hellenic microplates were sometimes accompanied by severe tsunamis.

The soil of the steep mountainsides and sheer sides of the valleys was highly vulnerable to erosion. Early human impact contributed to the effects of nature and made the topsoil even more unstable, as vegetation and wooded areas were stripped for pastures, firewood or crops, and vines and olive trees introduced. This combination of natural and anthropogenic factors was responsible for vast amounts of sediment being washed down the mountains. The confined nature of the Malian Gulf and the Euboean Channel prevented this sediment from being washed out to sea by coastal currents, so by the end of Antiquity the coastline had already changed enormously, and what had once been a narrow and rocky coastline for most of the period of our study became one dominated by a wide coastal plain.

So ignoring the modern coastal plain, when we imagine the ancient relief, we need to envisage a region of rugged and varied topography, with deep

valleys and a dense network of narrow streams, its high mountains susceptible to great seismic activity and subject to intense human activity that destroyed the woodland and stripped the vegetation. The ancient coast, up to the Classical period, must have been very rocky, marked by sheer cliffs battered by the sea and by scarce and fragmented river deltas, dotted with marshes. The subsequent degradation caused by human activity, together with the advance of the coastline, means that the ancient settlements are now a considerable distance from the modern coast. Nevertheless, the region would have been more humid and wooded then than it is now, and it had a considerable variety and quantity of forest resources and abundant water that, here and there, gushed from the springs at the foot of the limestone slopes, and the coast also offered a number of natural harbours.

Epicnemidian Locris was a relatively small region of about 321.277 sq km that extended some thirty-three km NW-SE and approximately thirteen km N-S. It was two thirds smaller than Opuntian Locris, a fifth of the size of Phocis and a ninth of the size of ancient Boeotia (c. 2,818 sq km) or Attica (c. 2,450 sq km), and similar in area to *poleis* such as Sicyon in the Peloponnese, which had an area of 396 sq km. Without the modern coastal plain the region was about 14% smaller, 50 sq km, than it is now (c. 370 sq km).

Excluding today's coastal plain, the Epicnemidian landscape was dominated in Antiquity by two principal mountain chains, Mt. Cnemis (945 m asl) and Mt. Callidromus (1,419 m asl), which determined the distribution of the settlements and the road network and marked the frontiers with neighbouring regions. The northern spurs of the Callidromus mountains, in the west and centre of the region, marked a series of longitudinal valleys running N-S, while Mt. Cnemis, to the east, defined an especially rugged part of the coast with a series of transverse W-E valleys into the interior as far as the valley of the river Dipotamos where we once again find the longitudinal valleys so characteristic of the centre and west of Epicnemidia. Together with the Dipotamos valley, the valleys that occupied the centre of the region—the longitudinal valleys of the rivers Potamia and Boagrius—were by far the most important of all the valleys.

In keeping with its strategic position between the mouth of the Spercheius, the Malian and Euboean Gulfs and the Callidromus Mountains, Epicnemidian Locris had an important network of routes, roads and mountain passes for intra and inter-regional communication. It was thus of key importance for reaching the north (Thessaly, Macedonia), centre (Phocis, Boeotia) and south (Attica, Peloponnese) of Greece in Antiquity. However, until

recently the research has given insufficient attention to the potential of its road network.

The road network consisted of a hierarchy of interconnected transversal (W–E) and longitudinal (N–S) routes, the latter being particularly important for linking the main urban centres of Epicnemidia with Phocis, to the south via the mountain passes in the Callidromus. Thus there were three main routes running W-E: 1) the one close to the coast linked the Thermopylae pass to modern Kamena Vourla, where the coastal route was interrupted; 2) the one through the interior from Alponus to Mendenitsa, Naryca and Anifitsa, and 3) the secondary roads (*atrapoi*) which in the east ran between Mts. Cnemis and Callidromus, coming out in the Dipotamos valley in the east. From N-S, the routes followed the valleys of the rivers Latzorema, Potamia, Aphamius and Boagrius as they flowed towards the sea. The most important was the route along the Boagrius, which connected the cities of Thronium and Naryca with the Vasilika pass and may have been paved, signposted and suitable for wheeled traffic (*hamaxilatos hodos*) along part of the way. It was later included in Roman itineraries.

Other routes that bordered the territory of Epicnemidian Locris were also important, such as the famous Anopaea path described by Herodotus, which was used by the Persians to encircle Thermopylae in 480 BC, and was a typical mountain path. Finally, on the eastern frontier of Epicnemidia, the corridor through the Dipotamos valley, between Daphnus and Hyampolis, was the main axis connecting Epicnemidian Locris with Opuntian Locris, Phocis and Boeotia.

Given the geographical and geomorphological characteristics of the region, the mountain passes were—in some cases until well into the twentieth century—essential elements of regional communication. Of these, the best known was that at Thermopylae, a coastal corridor between the mountains and the sea that, as a link in the road network, was the only way of crossing central Greece by land without losing sight of the coast. This fact explains Thermopylae's high strategic, frontier and defensive value in the Archaic period. Of the three gates that made up the pass, the east *pyla* gave access to Epicnemidian Locris at Alponus, the region's most westerly *polis*, while the amphictyonic sanctuary of Anthele was at the west *pyla*, in the territory of Malis. Further from the coast, in the central part of the Callidromus chain, Phocis and the Cephisus valley could be reached via several mountain passes. The most important were, from west to east, the Kleisoura, controlled by the ancient settlement that occupied the site of modern Mendenitsa; the Fontana pass, dominated by the city of Naryca; and the Vasilika pass, the longest and most complex of all, approached from the

site of Anifitsa and which was used to reach the Phocian city of Elateia in the south.

Navigation of the Euboea Channel was also of undoubted importance for the life of Epicnemidia because of its fishing resources, the opportunities it offered for trade and provisioning several states and because it connected various settlements by sea in the absence of a route along the coast in certain places and the narrow paths along the valleys. Although Epicnemidian Locris was not a naval power, given the small size of its *poleis*, the Euboean Channel supplied the population with fish, complementing agriculture, and facilitated the transport of large quantities of raw materials such as wine, of which the region appears to have had a surplus. The small Locrian boats also engaged in piracy on this narrow sea.

Looking at the structure of settlement, despite the relatively small size of the region, Epicnemidian Locris had a significant number of settlements, some fourteen not counting possible ports. At least five (Alponus, Nicaea, Scarpheia, Thronium and Naryca) were *poleis* and also, in our opinion, Paliokastro Anavras and Cnemides. It is possible that Mendenitsa also constituted a *polis*, while Trikorfo, Velona, Karavydia/Profitis Ilias, Palianifitsa, Allangi/Voulomeni Petra and Tachtali would be *choria*, although we cannot rule out that one of these settlements might also have formed the *asty* of a *polis* at a particular time. Thus we would have no less than five or six *poleis* and possibly as many as eight, if we add Cnemides, Paliokastro Anavras and Mendenitsa, ten with Palianifitsa and Tachtali or twelve with Trikorfo and Karavydia. In short, at least half and perhaps even two thirds or more of the settlements known in Epicnemidian Locris constituted the *asty* of a *polis* given that in such small territories it is not possible to find a large number of *choria*. In the case of the Dipotamos valley, Daphnus, with its port situated at the site of modern Agios Konstantinos, would be a *polis* and Agnanti and Zeli would be *choria* within its territory.

Obviously, with few exceptions, they were small *poleis*. An average of 40 sq km per *polis* if we assume there were eight and an average, if we include secondary settlements but exclude possible ports, of 23 sq km per site. The average distance between settlements was approximately 4 km, so each centre would have some 2 km of cultivable land, an average of half an hour's walk, around it.

All the inhabited settlements were sited at a certain height above the surrounding plain. This gave them visual control over the cultivable land and communication routes. Within a general settlement pattern characterised by a settlement on the delta and another at the head of the valleys, some *poleis*, Alponus, Nicaea and Cnemides, together with the settlement

at Trikorfo—were then on or very near the coast, and were fairly small, wedged between the Callidromus and Cnemis mountains and the sea and with miniscule coastal plains available to them. In these cases, the *asty* itself was also the port, or the latter was very close. Other *poleis*, such as Scarpheia and Thronium, were situated at the heads of valleys near the coast, with an intermediate location, between 80 and 200 m asl. They usually had considerable cultivable land and a port some distance away. Finally there were the inland settlements, situated at the bottom of the longitudinal valleys of the Callidromus or in the transverse valleys to the south of Mt. Cnemis, all of them located at a considerable height, between 500 and 600 m asl. In the case of the Dipotamos valley, Daphnus had an area of approximately 55 sq km and its *asty* was at an intermediate position, between its port at Agios Konstatinos and the *choria* of Agnanti and Zeli at the head of the valley, similar to Scarpheia and Thronium. The principal settlements of Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley (Scarpheia, Thronium and Daphnus) were located in this relatively intermediate location, which was an ideal place to live.

The coastal *poleis* of Alponus, Nicaea and Cnemides, were very small, with an area of between 10 and 18 sq km, never reaching 20 sq km. Each of them occupied approximately 5% of the region. Even taking into account the different conditions in terms of altitude and fertility, most of the Epicnemidian *poleis* appear to have been fairly homogeneous with an area of around 35–40 sq km. This is the case of Scarpheia, Anavra, Mendenitsa and Naryca. Each of them accounted for 10% of the region. Finally Thronium was apparently the region's largest *polis*, with access to an area of more than 100 sq km, that is, it occupied over a third of the whole of Epicnemidian Locris. This area is easily associated with Thronium's predominant role, while Scarpheia's importance can be attributed, in addition to the fertility of its soil, to its absorption of neighbouring communities, Profitis Ilias and Mendenitsa, until it doubled its size, together with the development of port facilities throughout the Roman era.

Only Thronium and Scarpheia, if we assume that Profitis Ilias and Mendenitsa formed part of the *chora* of Scarpheia at some point, and Daphnus, in the Dipotamos valley, appear to have had sufficient space for secondary settlements to be established in their territory, apart from the ports. In the other cases, the territory was farmed from the *asty*. Finally, much of the territory of the Epicnemidian *poleis*, around 40%, was at a height of more than 400 m, which would have obliged them to extend the area under cultivation as far up the mountainside as possible and engage in other activities that would complement or perhaps replace arable farming, such

as hunting, fishing, exploiting forestry resources and stock raising. Stock raising must have played a more important role here than in other richer *poleis* of the Greek world, and perhaps it was not complementary to arable farming, but an alternative to it.

As our knowledge stands at present, settlement of the region appears to have started at the beginning of the Neolithic, and Trilofo/Trikorfo is the most ancient settlement known anywhere in Epicnemidian Locris. After its initial settlement in the EN the region appears to have been restructured in the course of its historical development, with the abandonment of Trikorfo. Throughout the Bronze Age the initial settlement of the region continued to spread, and we have perhaps one known site in the EH (Tachtali), to which can be added Alponus and Naryca in the MH. This would apparently indicate slow and gradual demographic growth during the early Bronze Age. Through the cementeries settlement seems to have doubled in the course of the LH and in addition to the sites already known for earlier periods, by the late Bronze Age, Kastri Agnantis/Kritharia and Gvela and Agios Georgios Zeliou in the Dipotamos valley and in Epicnemidia, perhaps Cnemides/Neochori, Mnimata Pournaras near Paliokastra Rengini and Pournarotsouba near Thronium had also appeared, until there were at least six or seven settlements, although only the Mycenaean necropoleis of the Dipotamos valley have been systematically excavated. Nevertheless, the meagre evidence available allows us to offer some interpretations. The alluvial plain in the centre of the region, around what would later be Thronium and Scarpheia, on the rivers Boagrius and Potamia, does not appear to have been developed sufficiently to sustain settlements of any size while Mycenaean settlement seems to have been particularly important in the interior of the Dipotamos valley. The excavations, centred mainly in the Dipotamos valley, show the that the area was important during the Mycenaean period: finds of chamber tombs, the principal form of burial, some of them very rich (with vases, figurines, seals, jewellery, etc.) indicate a high degree of cultural, social and economic development and also the existence of external contacts closely connected with other sites in Opuntian Locris, Euboea and Boeotia. These necropoleis also provide us with information about a regional elite that governed these LH communities.

From the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods we have the necropoleis of Agios Dimitrios, beside the modern town of Kainourgio, in Epicnemidia and Isiomata/Daphnus, Kastri Agnantis and Agios Georgios Zeliou in the Dipotamos valley. There is another important necropolis at Fournos in Anavra dating to the Late Geometric period. Naryca has also produced material from the Geometric period. Alponus may have existed at this time

since it was inhabited in the subsequent Archaic period. Settlement probably declined somewhat from the end of the LH onwards and during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric, reaching its lowest point in the MPG. From the LG onwards, the population began to recover.

In the Geometric period Kainourgio has a well-organized cemetery with grave goods that include vases, jewellery and occasionally weapons. These materials are evidence of the development of a thriving Locrian crafts and also reveal Thessalian and Euboean influences. Anavra is a fairly rich cemetery from which mainly bronze objects have been recovered. In the Dipotamos valley, the excavations in Daphnus have brought to light residential architectural remains from the Sub-Protogeometric and parts of two apsidal buildings of Geometric date (Sector Γ), and also architectural remains attributed to a sanctuary that would first have been used in the Late Geometric (Sector Δ) and signs of smelting activities in the same period (Sector E). All this reveals a picture of progressive social differentiation, prosperity and economic development throughout the Geometric period that would lead, around the end of that period, to the configuration of the region's principal *poleis*.

The Archaic period, especially the sixth century BC, was undoubtedly a time of demographic growth, and by the end of that period we know of between five and seven settlements (Alponus, Thronium, Scarpheia, Naryca, Daphnus and perhaps Palianifitsa and Agios Georgios in Zeli), a similar or even larger number than in the LH.

The Archaic period is undoubtedly a critical part of the history of Epicnemidian Locris because this was when the *poleis* arose in this territory and the consolidation of the Locrian *ethnos* probably took place. The existence of the aristocracy of the Hundred Houses may have served as the first element of social and political integration in Locris; at the same time, the process of development of the *poleis*, which perhaps began towards the end of the eighth century BC, must have continued throughout the seventh century. However, the characteristics of the territory prevented the emergence of large *poleis*; only Opus, in the other part of Eastern Locris, which is not included in our study, achieved sufficient size and status to become the most important centre of Eastern Locris. The pressure from Opus, the weight of an aristocracy linked to cultic obligations arising from Aias' guilt, and the relative weakness of the other emerging *poleis* contributed to encouraging, between the seventh and sixth centuries, the emergence of an ethnic consciousness centred both on old eponymous heroes (Locrus) and, especially, the figure of Aias. The tradition of the birth of the hero in Naryx must have been an additional factor in the integration of Epicnemidian Locris in

koinon of the Eastern Locrians whose existence in the sixth century BC seems certain. Besides, the integration of Eastern Locris in the Pylaean-Delphic Amphyctiony, probably from the early days of its inception, has special relevance in Epicnemidian Locris because of the close relationship of this region with the pass of Thermopylae, a key communications node in central Greece and whose existence seems to have dictated, at least in part, the settlement structure in Epicnemidian Locris.

We know few historical facts for Epicnemidian Locris before the sixth century BC. From then on, however, more information becomes available. Epicnemidian Locris played an important role in the conflicts between Thessalians and Phocians that occurred in that century, since the Thessalian troops usually passed through it. It is difficult to know whether the Locrians were merely passive elements in these conflicts by simply allowing troops to cross their territory or, conversely, played a more active part, as allies of the Thessalians, for example. That question is far from being answered, but in either case, traditions of Phocian occupation of the Locrian city of Daphnus can be interpreted as a Phocian response to Locrian hostility, active or passive. It is difficult, however, to place this occupation in an exact chronological context and recent excavations in Daphnus/Isiomata do not, at present, appear to have produced any additional evidence that would clarify it. Perhaps in the course of the sixth century BC, as in the case of Naryca, the Epicnemidian *poleis* began to build stone fortifications in the polygonal "Lesbian" style, evidence that these *poleis* were strengthened during the course of Archaic period.

It is at the end of the Archaic period that we have some more detailed information about the history of the Epicnemidian Locrians. The invasion of the Persians led by Xerxes in 480 BC put the Locrian policy of alliances to the test. Although at first inclined to accept the Persian conditions, perhaps on similar terms to the Thessalians, the physical presence of the allied army, led by Leonidas, in their territory forced the Locrians to support the allies' cause. The Battle of Thermopylae was fought on the borders of their territory, one of their cities, Alpenus, serving as a field hospital and all the Locrian forces joining the army led by Leonidas, and there were even some casualties in the Locrian contingent. However, the Persians surrounded the Greeks by using the Anopaea path, whose eastern end reached the coast at Alpenus. Although we do not know for sure if the Persians punished the Locrians just as they did the Phocians, the fact is that the following year, in 479, Locrian soldiers fought alongside the Persians against Greek allied troops at the Battle of Plataea. Once the war ended with the Persian defeat, however, this did not prevent the Locrians erecting memorials at

Thermopylae to commemorate their brief participation on the Greek side in that battle.

The data suggest that the demographic growth that characterised the Archaic period continued in the Classical period. Despite the conflictive period of the Third Sacred War, by the late fourth and early third century BC we apparently have thirteen or more sites (Alponus, Roumelio/Nicaea, Paliokastro Anavras, Scarpheia, Mendenitsa, Thronium, Paleokastras Renginiou/Naryca, Allangi/Voulomeni Petra, Velona, Palianifitsa, Cnemides, Tachtali and Daphnus and perhaps Kastri Agnantis and Agios Georgios in Zeli in the Dipotamos valley and Trikorfo/Tarphe-Pharygae in Epicnemidia), doubling the number of known Archaic period settlements. The population of Epicnemidian Locris was probably at its highest in the whole of Antiquity during the first part of the Hellenistic period, when it had some sixteen sites. This, then, is the general picture of a veritable process of colonisation of the territory's hinterland, of which we can sense general lines. Firstly, the whole of the coastline appears to have been completely occupied by the new settlements of Nicaea and Trikorfo. Other privileged areas of settlement were the interior of the Potamia valley where Profitis Ilias and Mendenitsa were apparently founded and along the transverse valleys in the east of the region, where Velona and Voulomeni/Petra were probably settled. Agnanti and Agios Georgios Zeliou seem to have been reoccupied in the interior of the Dipotamos valley. Consequently the demographic growth experienced by Epicnemidia, perhaps especially in the late fourth and third centuries BC, made it necessary to farm all the available land. Although new *poleis* must have emerged, several of the new sites would have been *choria* or secondary settlements. It is possible that some settlements were fortified during the time of Phocian domination of the region. Such as Paliokastro Anavras, during the Third Sacred War the fortifications would be built in the trapezoidal isodomic ashlar style that is so characteristic of Phocis and which is virtually absent from neighbouring regions such as Opuntian Locris and Boeotia. Fortification is consistent with the demographic growth and the exploitation of all useable land that occurred between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the Hellenistic period, a time when we can observe the implementation of an innovative programme of fortification in isodomic ashlar style that took into account not only the *asty* of each *polis* but which led to the creation of an ambitious defensive system aimed at controlling the whole of the *chora*, the main passes and the frontiers of each *polis* with fortified settlements, fortresses and watchtowers.

Because of the strategic importance of the region, which controlled the passes that connected central Greece with the Peloponnese via Thermopy-

lae and offered the possibility of disrupting the maritime traffic in the Euboean Gulf, the different powers that sought hegemony in Greece constantly contended with each other to gain control over it. At various times it came under the control of Lacedaemonians, Athenians and Boeotians and, at the end of the period (338–323), it joined the Hellenic League under the hegemony of Macedonia. The region was also exposed to the ambitions and hostility of its neighbours, particularly the Phocians, who occupied Epicnemidian Locris and the Dipotamos valley in the Third Sacred War, at least between 351 and 346.

With regard to the relationship of the Epicnemidian Locrians with the rest of the Eastern Locrians during the Classical period, the Epicnemidians may, in the course of the fifth century, have belonged to the *koinon* of the Hypocnemidian Locrians under the hegemony of Opus, although this is by no means certain. At the end of the fifth century or perhaps at the beginning of the fourth, Thronium minted coinage bearing its name and Mt. Cnemis on the reverse. Another issue, probably also from Thronium, dating to the late fourth century, bears the legend of the Epicnemidian Locrians. These coins apparently show what was probably one of the basic features of the Classical period: the emergence or crystallisation of an Epicnemidian identity distinct from that of the Eastern Locrians as a whole. To some extent this Epicnemidian identity would have developed to counter the hegemonic pretensions of Opus, led by Thronium, then the leading city of Epicnemidia, whose interests it would also serve. The Epicnemidian Locrians may have left the confederation of the Hypocnemidian Locrians some time after the end of the fifth century or in the first half of the fourth century but they certainly did not belong to it during the time of the Phocian occupation. After the Third Sacred War the Epicnemidian Locrians probably did not return to the confederation of the Eastern Locrians and may even have formed their own federal state, which would correspond with the coins minted at the end of the Classical period. Another of the fundamental aspects of the fourth century was the introduction of democracy in the Epicnemidian *poleis*, a political system that became fully established in the Hellenistic period. Boeotian hegemony may have been an influence in both federalism and democracy. Finally, the Classical period was apparently a period of relative economic prosperity, aspects that became more evident towards the end of the Classical period and early Hellenistic period once the Third Sacred War had ended. The region was also involved in maritime transport and trade, and the data suggest that it was a relatively stable and consolidated society, open to external cultural influences.

During the Hellenistic period, Epicnemidian Locris was once more a crossroad of even greater strategic importance than in earlier periods. Such importance was again due to the strategic position of its settlements, vital for controlling the eastern exit of the Thermopylae pass and the routes across the Callidromus massif to Elateia and the Cephisus valley. Campaign after campaign, this strategic position attracted the great armies of Macedonia, Aetolia, the Galatians, the Antigonids, and finally Rome, since it gave control not only of Central Greece but of the whole of mainland Greece, as of the main route between Northern and Southern Greece. That is why, in spite of the region's small size, Epicnemidian Locris was repeatedly caught up in the conflicts of the Hellenistic period, and played an important role in them, obviously subjected to foreign powers. That was the case in a series of episodes: at the Lamian War, with Leosthenes and the anti-Macedonian coalition; in the Galatian invasion, when Brennus was momentarily stopped; in the long struggle between Aetolia and the Macedonians Kings Demetrius II, Antigonus Doson and Philip V, who unsuccessfully tried to hold it; during the arrival of Antiochus III and his significant defeat in 191; and, finally, again in the last stand of Critolaus before Scarpheia's defeat.

Geographically and culturally linked through its ethnic ties, Epicnemidian Locris consisted in this period of a number of *poleis* that at least maintained their internal autonomy and, as it usually happened in the rest of Greece, were not free of conflicts among themselves, being the most notable cases those related to Thronium and Scarpheia. Despite the position of Epicnemidian Locris, subjugated to the various powers with interests in the region, especially the Aetolians, it seems to be a clearly defined unit, capable of sending representatives to the Amphictyony, the *ethne* of which were organised in Confederacies with its own institutions, as was also a practice in the Aetolian Confederacy.

The Epicnemidian Locris was probably on the anti-Roman side during the Achaean War. After the war, in the mid-second century BC, the Locrian League was dissolved and was restored perhaps at the end of that century. It was under the control of Mithridatic troops in the first century BC, although we do not know if its cities were punished by Sulla. The Locrians fought with Caesar at Pharsalus and Marc Anthony controlled the region before Actium. After 31 BC Epicnemidian Locris became part of the Province of Achaea, and continued to be represented in the Amphictyony of Delphi and throughout the Julian-Claudian period it was a member of the Panachaean League, subsequently renamed the Panhellenic League. In the second and third centuries AD the Epicnemidian Locrians formed part of the Panhellenion and the Boeotian League, which absorbed it.

In the second and first centuries BC the political life of Epicnemidian Locris was marked by successive disputes between Scarpheia and Thronium that ultimately required the arbitration of the Roman Senate. These included the controversy about representation at Delphi concerning the land between them, called *Chonneia*, and between the *Engaioi* of Scarpheia and the Thronians of the Gates. In addition to the traditional hostility between them, these disputes may have had deeper-seated causes, such as the rise of Scarpheia and Thronium's desire to maintain its pre-eminent place in the region. Hadrian's letter to the city of Naryca, dated 137/8 AD, tells us about the local institutions of an Epicnemidian city of the period with its council, magistrates, priests, own laws and its administrative framework within the Province of Achaea, the payment of taxes and its membership of different Leagues.

The region's population appears to have declined from the second century BC onwards, probably reaching its lowest point in the course of the second century AD. In fact, Strabo records a series of places that in his day were deserted. Despite the difficulty we faced in determining their specific location, a good number of them would have been in Epicnemidian Locris. Tarphe, Bessa and Augeiae were abandoned, and also Daphnus as the Fourteenth Ephorate's excavations in the Asclepieion of Daphnus has confirmed.

The region suffered from incursions by the Costoboci, Heruli, Goths and Huns in the third and fourth centuries AD, which affected at least the farmhouses (Agia Triada, Trilofo) and then enjoyed a century and a half of peace and prosperity in which the Early Christian Basilicas (Agios Titos/Port of Thronium, Agios Konstantinos and Daphnousion in Alope) were built. The carefully constructed arched graves at Scarpheia and Palaiokastra Renginiou/Naryx containing multiple burials demonstrate well-organized and populous communities during the Late Roman and Early Christian periods. At this time Scarpheia was undoubtedly the main political and administrative capital of the region and probably most of central Greece. It was mainly the depredations of the Slavs and Arabs together with other disasters (earthquakes, plagues, financial difficulties, iconoclastic controversy) that led to the abandonment of many settlements in the sixth century AD, especially those on the coast, whose population would have taken refuge in the fortified settlements of the hinterland.

To sum up, Epicnemidian Locris was, at one and the same time, both strategic and peripheral, little known but inescapable. It was a region little suited to dense human occupation, and one in which its inhabitants had to adapt to numerous difficulties: shortage of cultivable land, seismicity, torrential flooding of rivers and constant expansion of the marshes. To some

extent, the very fact that human life took root, and at times prospered, in the region was a not inconsiderable feat and a lesson in adaptation and endurance.

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